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Documentation, Reconstruction and Deconstruction

Research on Female Virgins and Women Priests in Early Christianity since the 1960's*

by

Henrik RYDELL JOHNSÉN

(Lund)

1. *Introduction*

The contribution of women's studies and gender studies to the study of early Christianity in the last 40 or 50 years is no doubt great. The focus in this essay, however, will not so much be on this contribution as such, as on the changes that it has generated, and the assumptions that have determined these changes. In what ways has the impact of feminism changed the study of early Christian women? And how has this scholarly discourse evolved and transformed during the past four or five decades? And what assumptions have determined the changes?

In order to limit the presentation I will focus on two specific issues: women priests and the ideal of female virginity.¹ My intention is not to give a complete picture of studies on

* This review essay has been written with grants from the Swedish Riksbankens jubileumsfond within the research-project "Christian Manliness, a Paradox of Modernity: Men and Religion in a Northern-European Context, 1840 to 1940" at the department of history, Lund University.

¹ The review is basically concerned with the early church in the sense of the post-apostolic period up to the fourth or fifth century, but I will also touch upon some works within New Testament studies that have had a broader impact.

early Christian women, nor to include all that has been written on these two issues, but to sketch some general tendencies and developments, and exemplify them in terms of these two issues. Given the parameters of this essay, the main focus will also basically be restricted to Anglo-American scholarship, or rather, the Anglo-American scholarly discourse on these issues, including some non-Anglo-American works with an important impact on this discourse. It is apparent that Anglo-American scholars have largely dominated the scholarly field on early Christian women, and very much determined its development.² There are, thus, good reasons for studying this discourse in its own right, but it does definitely not mean that e.g. French, German or Italian scholarship have not been of importance. And it must be stressed that a broader, or a different focus, might very well have rendered a different picture with partly different questions in focus, and perhaps, also with different phases in the scholarly research, or with phases overlapping differently, or developing at a different pace.

When second-wave feminism emerged in the 1960's, it also greatly affected the study of women in the early church. It generated a new impetus to focus on women in the sources, and also, directly or indirectly, new kinds of studies. Even if feminism was crucial to this development, there were also other factors, not the least general tendencies in historiography, e.g. the change from "event-oriented history"³ to different sorts of social history, or the emergence of post-structuralism.

The various types of study of early Christian women published in the 1960's and the 1970's did not imply a similar scholarly method,⁴ but rather a new perspective on the history of early Christian women, often with a critique of

² For women's studies in general in relation to Anglo-American and European scholarship, see e.g. G. GRIFFIN, R. BRAIDOTTI, "Introduction: Configuring European Women's Studies", in *Thinking Differently: a Reader in European Women's Studies*, ed. by G. GRIFFIN, R. BRAIDOTTI, London, 2002, pp. 1-28.

³ The expression is George G. Iggers', see G. G. IGGERS, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, Hanover, NH, 2005, p. 3.

⁴ See e.g. E. A. CASTELLI, "Heteroglossia, Hermeneutics, and History: A Review Essay of Recent Feminist Studies of Early Christianity", *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 10.2 (1994), pp. 75-77.

androcentrism in earlier studies. The effect of second-wave feminism was, thus, not only a new focus on women, but also a critique of how scholars had dealt with women previously. But the new studies were of course not affected by the feminist movement to the same extent. If we take feminism as a political stance regarding the liberation of women, or as an “emancipatory standpoint” aiming at political and cultural change, it is evident that such a stance was not equally evident in all new studies on women in the 1960’s and the 1970’s. In her path-breaking study, *In Memory of Her*, from 1983, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza explicitly stated that one of her purposes of her book was to “to empower women in their struggle against... oppressive structures.”⁵ In other studies such a stance was not equally explicit, but only implicitly perceptible in different ways; in a wish to indirectly inform the modern ecclesiastical debate about women, or to offer a critique of a male-centered history-writing, or in a wish to restore women to history, or merely in a deliberately chosen perspective on women.

It has been argued that the “force of feminism” within women’s history has slowly waned since the 1960’s; that there has been a tendency towards an increasingly less explicit feminist perspective; or that the history of women has slowly diverged from an explicit feminist stance.⁶ I have no intention of proving such a trend, but it is evident, and I will touch upon it later, that the feminist “vantage point”, present in different degree in the studies of early Christian women, has been challenged on several fundamental points since the pioneers of the 1960’s and the 1970’s. This development is of course not to deny the great contribution of these studies to the study of early Christianity in general, but rather a reflection of a fruitful and ongoing debate within the study of women’s history.

⁵ E. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins*, London, 1983, p. xx, see also pp. 30-31.

⁶ See J. M. BENNETT, “Feminism and History”, *Gender & History*, 1.3 (1989), pp. 251-272.

2. *Documentation of misogyny*

Several scholars have tried to describe the past four or five decades of scholarly research on early Christian women in terms of important phases.⁷ Often the proposed phases largely conform to general tendencies in historiography, e.g. a shift from classical historicism, to different kinds of social history, and then to Postmodern historiography.⁸ When it comes to studies of female virginity and women priests, a version of these three phases is useful to illustrate changes in the scholarly research, although the phases are apparently overlapping:

- (i) Documentation of misogyny
- (ii) Reconstruction of women's lives
- (iii) Deconstruction of gender⁹

These phases are useful in order to illustrate changes in perspective and questions, but also to clarify how those changes have evolved in reaction to earlier studies. In the following I will discuss in what sense these three phases have taken shape in the research on early Christian women, with a special focus on the issues of women priests and the ideal of female virginity in early Christianity.

When second-wave feminism began to affect the study of early Christianity in the 1960's and the early 1970's, it took different forms. In Biblical studies it gave rise to dif-

⁷ See e.g. L. L. COON, *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity*, Philadelphia, 1997, pp. xix-xx: (i) concentration on misogyny, (ii) recovery of the "secret history" of early Christian women; (iii) post-structuralist interpretations of social constructions of gender. Cf. also e.g. E. A. CLARK, "Devil's Gateway and Bride of Christ", in her *Ascetic Piety and Women's Faith: Essays on Late Ancient Christianity*, Lewiston, 1986, p. 24; ID., "The Lady Vanishes: Dilemmas of a Feminist Historian after the 'Linguistic Turn'", *Church History*, 67.1 (1998), pp. 1-31; ID., "Women, Gender, and the Study of Christian History", *Church History*, 70.3 (2001), pp. 395-426.

⁸ See e.g. IGGERS, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*.

⁹ Deconstruction is not used here exactly in the way it was coined by Jacques Derrida, but in a more general sense, to denote the dismantling and critical analysis of social and linguistic constructions of sexual categories. For a discussion of overlapping and differences between feminism and deconstruction, see e.g. M. POOVEY, "Feminism and Deconstruction", *Feminist Studies*, 14.1 (1988), pp. 51-65.

ferent efforts to reinterpret the early Christian tradition in the light of a feminist critique, by postulating different kinds of distinctions, e.g. between a gender equal *essence* of the early Christian tradition, and a misogynistic and culturally dependent *accidence*.¹⁰ Other scholars like Leonard Swidler (1971 and 1979), even tried, by evaluating positive and negative statements in the biblical sources, to argue for Jesus as a “feminist.”¹¹ But another type of study that emerged, and that concerns us more here, was a critique of how scholars previously have dealt with women and the history of women in the early church.

This type of study meant that scholars, sometimes in reaction to studies of the first kind, tried to detect and clarify a misogynistic strain in the early Christian sources,¹² either in how early Christian male authors had treated women in their texts, or in how women had been hindered from attaining different positions and roles within the early church. Much of this second type of study, thus, focused critically on the image of women and the role of women, in a way that scholars had not done previously.

The documentation of misogyny took different forms, despite the common perspective. In several important works of the late 1960’s and the 1970’s, the theologian Mary Daly, called attention to misogyny in the Christian tradition, and on that basis (at least from 1975) rejected the Christian tradition all together.¹³ Daly’s works became an important point of reference for other scholars, not the least as a provocation

¹⁰ See e.g. L. M. Russel’s distinction between “God’s Tradition” and “human traditions”, or “men’s traditions”, in L. M. RUSSEL, *Human Liberation in a Feminist Perspective*, Philadelphia, 1974, pp. 78-80, 85-86. For a critical review of this tendency, see SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA, *In Memory of Her*, pp. 14-21.

¹¹ See e.g. L. J. SWIDLER, “Jesus was a feminist”, *Catholic World*, 212 (1971), pp. 171-183; ID., *Biblical Affirmations of Woman*, Philadelphia, 1979.

¹² Cf. COON, *Sacred Fictions*, p. XIX; CLARK, “Devil’s Gateway”, p. 24.

¹³ See especially M. DALY, *The Church and the Second Sex*, 2nd ed. with a new introduction, New York, 1975. The first edition of the book was issued in 1968. In the introduction to the second edition Daly explicitly criticized aspects of her own earlier book, not the least her wish to detect equality between men and women in the Christian tradition.

that generated different sorts of reactions.¹⁴ Several studies got to argue against such an exclusive focus of misogynism. I will return to those later.

Less polemical than Daly, but also an important example, is Klaus Thraede's article "Frau" published in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* in 1972. In this article, Thraede to a large extent measured early Christianity in terms of women's emancipation, and he concluded that the early church in much had tried to stop such emancipatory efforts:

in contrast to all kinds of beautifying presentations as well as such that try to defend the liberation of women in the early church... a general decline for the phenomenon of women together with a relapse into stages of development almost overcome by pre-Christian life and thinking, must be affirmed in early Christianity. The 'conflict' [over the role of women] did in this case end with a victory for a misogyny appropriated by the church, or in the best case, in a truce with remnants of (Antique) Ethics at the expense of (Antique) women's emancipation, together with a sanctioning of manly superiority at home and in church."¹⁵

Another notable example is Rosemary Radford Ruether's article "Misogynism and Virginal Feminism in the Fathers of the Church" from 1974, where Radford Ruether exposed different forms of misogyny in the church fathers' ideals and images of women, but also tried to explain them theologically.¹⁶ The focus for Radford Ruether was, notably, the church fathers and their writings or their ideals of e.g. female virginity, not the women or the female virgins themselves.

¹⁴ See e.g. E. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA, *In Memory of Her*, pp. 21-26; A. JENSEN, *God's Self-Confident Daughters: Early Christianity and the Liberation of Women*, Louisville, Ky., 1996, p. x; P. RANFT, *Women and Spiritual Equality in Christian Tradition*, New York, 1998. Cf. also COON, *Sacred Fictions*, p. XIX.

¹⁵ K. THRAEDE, "Frau", in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 8, ed. by T. KLAUSER *et al.*, Stuttgart, 1972, p. 265 (my translation).

¹⁶ R. RADFORD RUETHER, "Misogynism and Virginal Feminism in the Fathers of the Church", in *Religion and Sexism: Images of Women in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. by R. RADFORD RUETHER, New York, 1974, pp. 150-183.

The benefit of these types of early studies was not the least that they indirectly or directly pointed out apparent misogynistic strains in early Christian sources that had not caught much attention earlier. Another important feature of these studies, however, was that, in a certain sense, they actually continued the trajectory of the earlier “androcentric” works. Klaus Thraede, for example, based his conclusions regarding women’s participation in church offices, often on the same kind of sources, and often with a similar interpretation of the sources as in what feminist scholar’s characterized as “androcentric” studies. One example is the conclusion that women were not allowed to hold church offices in the “Great church”, and when we find women in such positions it is only in “heterodox” communities influenced by Montanism, Gnosticism, or Marcion;¹⁷ a conclusion that would be challenged later on. Usually this kind of documentation of misogyny, thus, dealt with texts written by men; sometimes church documents but mostly texts by the church fathers. Thus, by discussing men’s attitudes towards women, rather than the reality or the lives of the women themselves, these studies to a large extent were still focused on men rather than on women. This feature was perhaps the most important target for a new type of study that called for a redirection of the scholarly focus, from attitudes towards women among male authors, to a reconstruction of the actual lives of the early Christian women themselves.

3. *Reconstruction of women’s lives*

The studies of early Christian women that appeared in the 1970’s and the 1980’s was part of a new general tendency in women’s history, to turn away from an exclusive focus on male authors and male texts, to a more explicit effort to reconstruct women’s actual history. In an often quoted article from 1976, “The Social Relation of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women’s History,” Joan Kelly-Gadol tried to capture

¹⁷ Cf. THRAEDE, “Frau”, p. 238 and e.g. J. DANIELOU, “Le Ministère des femmes dans l’Église ancienne”, *La Maison-Dieu*, 61 (1960), pp. 70, 79-80, 90-92.

this new tendency. According to Kelly-Gadol, women's history ought to have a dual goal: "to restore women to history and to restore our history to women."¹⁸ This meant an ambition to write women, especially their own experience and agency, back into history.¹⁹ Notions like "experience" and "agency" were thus important; but it was also notions that, in fact, later on were called into question.

When it comes to the study of early Christian women, the change of perspective towards a reconstruction of women's lives and women's history could be seen at the end of the 1970's.²⁰ What this reconstruction meant, or ought to mean, for the study of early Christian women was articulated theoretically and methodologically in the early 1980's. Especially two works are important: *In Memory of Her* by Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, from 1983, and an article by Bernadette J. Brooten, "Early Christian Women and Their Cultural Context: Issues of Method in Historical Reconstruction", from 1985.²¹ In general, Schüssler Fiorenza and Brooten argued for

¹⁸ J. KELLY-GADOL, "The Social Relation of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women's History", *Signs*, 1.4 (1976), p. 809.

¹⁹ Cf. J. W. SCOTT, "Women in History: II. The Modern Period", *Past and Present*, 101 (1983), p. 147; G. BOCK, "Historische Frauenforschung: Fragestellung und Perspektiven", in *Frauen suchen ihre Geschichte*, ed. by K. HAUSEN, München, 1983, pp. 26-35.

²⁰ See e.g. R. RUETHER, E. McLAUGHLIN, eds., *Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*, New York, 1979, who explicitly wish to "make a contribution... toward the recovery of important chapters of women's history" (p. 16). There are also earlier articles that implicitly or explicitly aims at a reconstruction of women's actual history, e.g. B. J. BROOTEN, "Junia... Outstanding among the Apostles' (Rom 16:7)", in *Women priests: A Catholic Commentary on the Vatican Declaration*, ed. by L. SWIDLER, A. SWIDLER, New York, 1977, pp. 141-144; E. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA, "Die Rolle der Frau in der urchristlichen Bewegung", *Concilium*, 7 (1976), pp. 3-9; ID., "You Are Not To Be Called Father': Early Christian History in a Feminist Perspective", *Cross Currents*, 29 (1979), pp. 301-323.

²¹ SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA, *In Memory of Her*; B. J. BROOTEN, "Early Christian Women and their Cultural Context: Issues of Method in Historical Reconstruction", in *Feminist Perspectives on Biblical Scholarship*, ed. by A. Y. COLLINS, Chico, Calif., 1985, pp. 65-91. Other discussions on how to reconstruct the history of women in early Christianity are e.g. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA, "Die Rolle der Frau", pp. 3-9, or several articles by E. A. CLARK, see e.g. "Early Christian Women: Sources and Interpretation", in *That Gentle Strength: Historical Perspectives on Women in Christianity*, ed. by L. L. COON, K. J. HAL-

a similar kind of change.²² The change that was argued for was a critique of earlier scholarship, not just of so called “androcentric” studies, or even efforts to reinterpret the Christian tradition in the light of a feminist critique, but, in a certain sense, also a critique of studies that had put misogyny in the early church in focus. The critique articulated by Brooten and Schüssler Fiorenza had at least two crucial points in common.

First, as Brooten captured already in the opening sentence of her article, there was a need for a change of perspective: “If one desires to learn about the lives, practices, and beliefs of early Christian women, one should focus primarily on those women”, Brooten stated.²³ It may sound self-evident, but, as I have mentioned, this was not how scholars had done when discussing women in the early church earlier. Moreover, scholars had often tried to write a women’s history by using literature, as Brooten stated, “as a sort of attic archive, drawing out historical details pasting together a collage which then passes as historical reality.”²⁴ Such procedure did not just pertain to “androcentric studies” written before second-wave feminism, or “feministic” reinterpretations of the Biblical tradition, like that of Leonard Swidler, but also to a large extent the earlier studies of misogyny, by e.g. Klaus Thraede or Rosemary Radford Ruether, mentioned earlier. What was required instead, according to Brooten, was to:

respect the integrity of literature, recognizing that the very historicity of a literary document implies studying it for itself, in its present form, with its own contours. It would, therefore, be inappropriate to search the New Testament for snippets of information about women, cutting them out and placing them side by side with similar snippets about other first-century women painstakingly clipped from other literary and non-lit-

DANE, E. W. SOMMER, Charlottesville, 1990, pp. 19-35; ID., “Devil’s Gateway”.

²² Brooten also refers to Schüssler Fiorenza, and says that she has “tried to build on Schüssler Fiorenza’s work”, see BROOTEN, “Early Christian Women”, p. 66, n. 1.

²³ BROOTEN, “Early Christian Women”, p. 65. See also pp. 80-81.

²⁴ BROOTEN, “Early Christian Women”, p. 81.

erary sources, glueing the whole thing together and passing it off as the reality of women's lives in the first century.²⁵

Moreover, as Schüssler Fiorenza as well as Brooten pointed out, women were usually absent or marginalized in the texts written by male authors. The task of this new kind of women's history was, thus, to challenge this absence and to reconstruct the lives of women in the early church, or to "restore" them to the history that usually had been told. To Schüssler Fiorenza this meant to address the social context of the texts rather than merely the androcentric texts themselves. Thus, a new hermeneutics was needed, a "hermeneutics of suspicion" that could uncover the remnants of "liberating experiences" that were still left in the traditional sources, as Schüssler Fiorenza argued.²⁶ It would require that scholars brought a new set of questions to the sources, but also, as Brooten pointed out, that new *kinds* of sources were considered.²⁷

Secondly, the problem with the earlier focus on male authors and male texts, according to Schüssler Fiorenza and Brooten, was an explicit or implicit confusion of text and reality. The texts of the patristic writers were not reflections of reality, they argued, but subjective or prescriptive images of women. The confusion of text and reality meant, thus, as Schüssler Fiorenza stated, that the absence of women in the sources, or their marginalization, did not imply an *actual* absence of women as agents in the early history of Christianity:

It must not be overlooked that the marginality and invisibility of women in biblical history is produced by androcentric texts and linguistic reconstructions of history insofar as androcentric texts tend to erase women as active participants in history. Regardless of how androcentric texts may erase women from

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA, *In Memory of Her*, pp. 108-110, 133. The term "hermeneutics of suspicion" does not derive from Schüssler Fiorenza herself, but from Paul RICŒUR, see his *Freud and Philosophy: an Essay on Interpretation*, New Haven, 1970.

²⁷ BROOTEN, "Early Christian Women", p. 67.

historiography, they do not prove the actual absence of women from the center of patriarchal history and biblical revelation.²⁸

Consequently, Schüssler Fiorenza and Brooten also challenged the supposed objectivity and value-neutrality of earlier scholars.²⁹ In a certain sense, this critique of a supposed objectivity was paralleled by a post-structuralist critique of objectivity. However, and I will return to this development later, the poststructuralist critique would carry the discourse a few steps further, and even challenge other assumptions, even assumptions of e.g. Schüssler Fiorenza herself.³⁰

To challenge the absence of women in the history of the early church was, however, not an easy task. The lack of sources on women, or texts written by women, from the early centuries was also a part of women's history, as Brooten stated.³¹ To come to terms with the problem Brooten stressed the need to consider other kinds of sources than texts written by male authors. Besides the few extant texts probably written by early Christian women,³² scholars should consider non-literary sources too, like inscriptions, papyrus letters, legal documents, contracts, tax receipts, and bills. Other kinds of literary sources than doctrinal writings written by men, not the least hagiography, or *Lives* of holy women, would also be valuable "if studied critically".³³ This emphasis on different and new kinds of sources was reflected in the actual

²⁸ SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA, *In Memory of Her*, pp. 28-29. Cf. BROOTEN, "Early Christian Women", p. 66.

²⁹ SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA, *In Memory of Her*, p. 30; BROOTEN, "Early Christian Women", p. 67.

³⁰ For a critique of Schüssler Fiorenza, see S. G. DAVANEY, "The Limits of the Appeal to Women's Experience", in *Shaping New Vision: Gender and Values in American Culture*, ed. by C. W. ATKINSON, C. H. BUCHANAN, M. R. MILES, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1987, pp. 31-49.

³¹ BROOTEN, "Early Christian Women", p. 66. Cf. CLARK, "Early Christian Women", p. 19: "To reconstruct the history of women in a distant era for which the sources are few, the gaps enormous, and the rhetoric tendentious is a daunting project for even the most intrepid scholar."

³² There are just a few texts preserved that are, or seem to have been, written by women.

³³ BROOTEN, "Early Christian Women", p. 91. Cf. CLARK, "Early Christian Women", p. 19, and the list of "lower" genres that according to Clark often are richer sources to the lives of women than "higher" genres like theological

studies and works of the 1980's, too. A collection of a few texts probably written by early Christian women appeared in 1981.³⁴ A range of studies on various *Lives* of holy women, and on the apocryphal *Acts* of the apostles, where women also played a prominent role, appeared in this period e.g. by Stevan L. Davies (1980), Dennis Ronald MacDonald (1983), Elizabeth A. Clark (1984), Ruth Albrecht (1986), Virginia Burrus (1987), and Anne Jensen (1988, 1992).³⁵ In several of these studies the texts were sifted and, typically, treated more or less as reflections of the lives and experiences of early Christian women or as sources in order to document their agency.³⁶ Some scholars even argued for a female authorship behind some of these texts.³⁷ Thus, in such literature scholars now saw a possibility to at least in some sense capture the

treatises: letters, homilies, pilgrimage accounts, martyrologies, hagiography and apocryphal *Acts*.

³⁴ P. WILSON-KASTNER *et al.*, eds., *A Lost Tradition: Women Writers of the Early Church*, Washington, DC, 1981. The collection contains *The Martyrdom of Perpetua*, the Virgilian Cento by Faltonia Betitia Proba, *The Pilgrimage of Egeria* and a poem by Empress Eudocia.

³⁵ S. L. DAVIES, *The Revolt of the Widows: The Social World of the Apocryphal Acts*, Carbondale, 1980; D. R. MACDONALD, *The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon*, Philadelphia, 1983; E. A. CLARK, ed., *Gerontius: The Life of Melania the Younger*, New York, 1984; R. ALBRECHT, *Das Leben der heiligen Makrina auf den Hintergrund der Thekla-Tradition: Studien zu den Ursprüngen des weiblichen Mönchtums im 4. Jahrhundert im Kleinasien*, Göttingen, 1986; V. BURRUS, *Chastity as Autonomy: Women in the Stories of Apocryphal Acts*, Lewiston, NY, 1987; A. JENSEN, "Thekla: Vergessene Verkündigerin", in *Zwischen Ohnmacht und Befreiung: Biblische Frauengestalten*, ed. by K. WALTER, Freiburg, 1988, pp. 173-179; ID., *Gottes selbstbewusste Töchter: Frauenemanzipation im frühen Christentum?*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1992; also in English transl.: *God's Self-Confident Daughters: Early Christianity and the Liberation of Women*, Louisville, Ky., 1996.

³⁶ See e.g. ALBRECHT, *Leben der heiligen Makrina*, pp. 42-43, or several works on the *Acts of Thecla*, see DAVIES, *Revolt of the Widows*; MACDONALD, *Legend and the Apostle*; BURRUS, *Chastity as Autonomy*; for a discussion and references regarding these studies on the *Acts of Thecla*, see S. MATTHEWS, "Thinking of Thecla: Issues in Feminist Historiography", *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 17.2 (2001), pp. 40-41.

³⁷ E.g. the *Acts of Thecla*, see MATTHEWS, "Thinking of Thecla", p. 40, for references. A female authorship of the *Acts of Thecla* has been challenged by later scholars, see K. COOPER, "Apostles, Ascetic Women, and Questions of Audience: New Reflections on the Rhetoric of Gender in the Apocryphal Acts", in *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*, 31, ed. by E. H. LOVE-

lives of real women, e.g. the lives of real female virgins. But, and I will return to that later, these efforts were about to be challenged by scholars in the 1990's.

However, the confusion of text and reality in earlier scholarship that Schüssler Fiorenza and Brooten pointed out, did not just concern the *presence* of women in the sources, but also *how* they were depicted. There was confusion, they argued, between the roles and positions *prescribed* to women in the sources, and their *actual* roles in society and the church.³⁸ Neither in this sense were the texts written by male authors a direct reflection of historical reality.

In the 1970's scholars had begun to question the traditional and predominant view regarding the role of women in the early church, articulated by scholars such as Jean Daniélou (1960) and Roger Gryson (1972).³⁹ According to Daniélou and Gryson women played an important part in the early church as missionaries and teachers, but they never exercised any kind of sacerdotal or priestly office in the church: "it has never been a question whether women could hold any kind of sacerdotal or priestly office in the church. We never see a women offering the Eucharistic sacrifice, conferring ordination, preaching in the Church", Daniélou had stated.⁴⁰ If there had been women acting as priests, it was only in heretical movements, and not in the "Church". This was how the patristic male authors had presented the case and this was how scholars usually had understood the sources.⁴¹ The same

RING, Atlanta, 1992, pp. 147-153; ID., *The Virgin and the Bride: Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, Mass., 1996, p. 55.

³⁸ SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA, *In Memory of Her*, pp. 28-29, 84-85; BROOTEN, "Early Christian Women", pp. 73-74, 78-79. See also earlier articles by SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA, e.g. "Die Rolle der Frau", pp. 4-7.

³⁹ DANIELOU, "Ministère des femmes", pp. 70-96; R. GRYSON, *Le ministère des femmes dans l'Église ancienne*, Gembloux, 1972; in English translation: *The Ministry of Women in the Early Church*, Collegeville, Minnesota, 1976.

⁴⁰ DANIELOU, "Ministère des femmes", p. 70 (my translation). See also GRYSON, *Le ministère des femmes*, p. 173.

⁴¹ DANIELOU, "Ministère des femmes", pp. 79-80, 90-92; GRYSON, *Le ministère des femmes*, pp. 176-177.

view was also reflected in the Vatican declaration regarding women priests that appeared in 1976.⁴²

Scholars like Schüssler Fiorenza (1976, 1979), Brooten (1977) and others,⁴³ in contrast, suggested that the biblical sources usually had been read by scholars from an androcentric perspective, and thus, reducing the role played by women in leading positions during the first centuries. Women acting as apostles, prophets, leaders of house churches and missionaries that Schüssler Fiorenza and Brooten pointed out in the biblical sources, were just the tip of an iceberg, Schüssler Fiorenza argued.⁴⁴

In the studies that followed, a new attention to non-literary sources like inscriptions, but also reinterpretations of literary sources played an important part in order to challenge, furthermore, the predominant view regarding women priests in the early church: Should we really take our literary sources at face value?

On a larger scale, scholars had from the 1980's increasingly pointed out, partly on the basis of inscriptions, that women, especially of the privileged elite, generally took greater part in public affairs – both as patrons and officeholders in society at large and in religious contexts – than had previously been assumed on the basis of merely literary sources. Bernadette J. Brooten's own study on women leaders in late antique Judaism, published in 1982, was based upon inscriptions,⁴⁵ and suggested that women had, at least in exceptional cases, acted as leaders in synagogues.⁴⁶ Brooten's study generated or appeared simultaneously with other inscriptional studies

⁴² The declaration also generated scholarly debate, see e.g. L. SWIDLER, A. SWIDLER eds., *Women Priests: A Catholic Commentary on the Vatican Declaration*, New York, 1977.

⁴³ See e.g. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA, "Die Rolle der Frau"; Id., "Word, Spirit and Power: Women in Early Christian Communities", in *Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. by R. RUETHER, E. McLAUGHLIN, New York, 1979, pp. 29-70; BROOTEN, "Junia... Outstanding among the Apostles", pp. 141-144.

⁴⁴ SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA, "Die Rolle der Frau", p. 7.

⁴⁵ B. J. BROOTEN, *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue: Inscriptional Evidence and Background Issues*, Chico, Calif., 1982.

⁴⁶ BROOTEN, *Women Leaders*, p. 149.

of women in the late antique society in general, by Ross S. Kraemer (1988 and 1992)⁴⁷ and others.⁴⁸ Shelly Matthews has captured the process including the importance of inscriptions: "Several literary and epigraphic sources from the time of the late Republic and into the second century CE suggest that the matrons of elite Roman families wielded political influence. This phenomenon seems to be a paradox, since such sources contend with others portraying idealized Roman matrons as confined solely to domestic roles." However, she continues, a "consensus has emerged among scholars of women in antiquity that the ability of elite Greco-Roman women to carry out public duties in a staunchly patriarchal system infused with such domesticating portraits of women is due to a general blurring of boundaries between private and public affairs among the elite classes."⁴⁹

Similarly, the attention to inscriptions and a new "suspicious" reading of literary sources, in the 1980's and 1990's, challenged the traditional picture of women as being entirely excluded from the priestly office in the early church. Although Bernadette J. Brootten's study of women leaders of the synagogues in a certain sense paved the way for other similar studies, the most important and challenging work regarding women priests in early Christianity was Giorgio Otranto's ground breaking work from 1982.⁵⁰ On the basis of a letter by pope Gelasius I (492-496) to the bishops in Southern

⁴⁷ R. S. KRAEMER, ed., *Maenads, Martyrs, Matrons, Monastics: A Sourcebook on Women's Religions in the Greco-Roman World*, Philadelphia, 1988; ID., *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions among Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greco-Roman World*, Oxford, 1992.

⁴⁸ See e.g. R. MACMULLEN, "Women in Public in the Roman Empire", *Historia*, 29 (1980), pp. 208-218; S. DIXON, "A Family Business: Women's Patronage and Politics at Rome 80-44 B.C.", *Classica et Medievalia*, 34 (1983), pp. 91-112; R. VAN BREMEN, "Women and Wealth", in *Images of Women in Late Antiquity*, ed. by A. CAMERON, A. KUERT, Detroit, 1985, pp. 223-242.

⁴⁹ S. MATTHEWS, "Ladies' Aid: Gentle Noblewomen as Saviours and Benefactors in the *Antiquities*", *Harvard Theological Review*, 92.2 (1999), pp. 214-215.

⁵⁰ G. OTRANTO, "Note sul sacerdozio femminile nell'antichità in margine a una testimonianza di Gelasio I", *Vetera Christianorum*, 19 (1982), pp. 341-360. Otranto's article was translated into English in 1991 by M. A. Rossi in her article: "Priesthood, Precedent, and Prejudice: On Recovering the Wom-

Italy, where the pope criticized women that “officiate at the sacred altars”, Otranto argued that at least some women must have been practicing priestly duties in southern Italy as late as the fifth century. Other sources were adduced. Prohibitions and polemics against the admission of women to the priestly office in other literary sources, by the church fathers or in the records from the early church councils, were not taken as indicators of the absence of such practices, as scholars had done previously, but as evidence for the very same practice, that seemingly was in need of prohibition. A number of inscriptions from the same area as to which Gelasius letter was addressed, where women were actually referred to as *presbytera* also confirmed, according to Otranto, his conclusions. Thus, what scholars traditionally had understood as titles referring to wives of male priests, or just to “old” women, Otranto now suggested was referring to actual women priests or presbyters. The article by Otranto were then, in the 1990’s, followed by new readings of church orders by e.g. Charlotte Methuen (1995) and Francine Cardman (1999),⁵¹ new studies of early Christian women as patrons and leaders of early house churches by e.g. Elizabeth A. Clark (1990) and Carolyn Osiek and Margaret Y. MacDonald (2006),⁵² and new comprehensive analyses of inscriptions referring to women as priests or presbyters by Karen Jo Torjesen (1993), Ute Eisen (1996), and Kevin Madigan and Carolyn Osiek (2005).⁵³

en Priests of Early Christianity”, *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 7.1 (1991), pp. 73-94.

⁵¹ C. METHUEN, “Widows, Bishops and the Struggle for Authority in the *Didascalia Apostolorum*”, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 46.2 (1995), pp. 197-213; F. CARDMAN, “Women, Ministry, and Church Order in Early Christianity”, in *Women & Christian Origins*, ed. by R. S. KRAEMER, M. R. D’ANGELO, Oxford, 1999, pp. 300-329.

⁵² E. A. CLARK, “Patrons, Not Priests: Gender and Power in Late Antique Christianity”, *Gender and History*, 2.3 (1990), pp. 253-273; C. OSIEK, M. Y. MACDONALD, J. H. TULLOCH, *A Woman’s Place: House Churches in Earliest Christianity*, Minneapolis, 2005.

⁵³ K. J. TORJESEN, *When Women Were Priest: Women’s Leadership in the Early Church and the Scandal of Their Subordination in the Rise of Christianity*, New York, 1993; U. EISEN, *Amtsträgerinnen im frühen Christentum: Epigraphische und literarische Studien*, Göttingen, 1996; also in English translation: *Women Officeholders in Early Christianity: Epigraphical and Literary Studies*,

Today, several scholars like Cardman and Madigan and Osiek, have underlined the uncertainty that still remains when interpreting sources like pope Gelasius' letter or particular inscriptions.⁵⁴ It is often hard to draw safe conclusions from a singular document or a singular inscription all by itself. But even though it still remains uncertain exactly *what* practices it might have implied when women, in some places at least, acted in certain leadership positions, many scholars today see a gradual restriction of women from such positions in the early mainstream Church, rather than a complete absence of such practices.⁵⁵ Many scholars would agree with Osiek and Madigan's assertion: "What can be said with certainty is that the claim that women have never functioned as presbyters in the "orthodox" church is simply untrue."⁵⁶ Thus, despite the remaining uncertainty when interpreting the early sources or regarding what such position might have implied, this conclusion is certainly one of the more important changes of the scholarly research since the emergence of second-wave feminism.

However, if we now return to Bernadette J. Brooten and Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza a last time, there is a significant appeal, especially in Schüssler Fiorenza's account, that needs to be mentioned. In programmatic terms Schüssler Fiorenza also entreats scholars to recover "elements within biblical texts and traditions that articulate the liberating experiences and

Collegeville, Minn., 2000; K. MADIGAN, C. OSIEK, ed. and transl., *Ordained Women in the Early Church: A Documentary History*, Baltimore, Md., 2005. See also B. J. CAPPER, "To Keep Silent, Ask Husbands at Home, and not to have Authority over Men (1 Corinthians 14.33-36 and 1 Timothy 2.11-12): The Transition from Gathering in Private to Meeting in Public Space in Second Generation Christianity and the Exclusion of Women from Leadership of the Public Assembly", *Theologische Zeitschrift*, 61.2 (2005), pp. 113-131; 61.4 (2005), pp. 301-319.

⁵⁴ In my view K. J. Torjesen interprets the inscriptions, in much, without such thorough discussion.

⁵⁵ See e.g. E. A. CLARK, "Women", in *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, ed. by E. FERGUSON *et al.*, New York, 1990, pp. 940-941; CARDMAN, "Women, Ministry, and Church Order in Early Christianity", pp. 300-329; MADIGAN, OSIEK, *Ordained Women*.

⁵⁶ MADIGAN, OSIEK, *Ordained Women*, p. 9.

visions of the people of God".⁵⁷ Such an appeal was important, and was paralleled and got repercussions in other works too. From the late 1970's onwards there was a new tendency in the studies of early Christian women, perhaps one of the most important contributions in this phase, to also detect the *limits* of the oppression towards women, or the limits of the misogynistic ideology that earlier had been so forcefully pointed out. In what sense had Christianity promoted changes and liberation for women, *despite* the misogyny detected in the patristic sources?

One of the most important cases that scholars called attention to, already in the late 1970's, was the emergence of the ascetic movement. In contrast to scholars of the earlier twentieth century that had even argued for asceticism as a major cause to the oppression against early Christian women,⁵⁸ scholars did now stress the ways asceticism and female virginity had actually promoted independency and new opportunities previously denied to women. Two early works in this vein are two articles, one by Jo Ann McNamara from 1976, and one by Rosemary Radford Ruether from 1979.⁵⁹ The argument in both of them was put forth in relation to the focus on misogyny in the earlier scholarship, even though there was a typical stress on male attitudes in the earlier article by McNamara, while Rosemary Radford Ruether, in contrast, also tried to discuss "actual" women. McNamara and Radford Ruether did not deny the misogynistic component of the early sources, but nevertheless argued that there was also another side of the coin. Radford Ruether concluded that in "its rejection of marriage and motherhood as the Christian norm, asceticism paradoxically suggested that women might now be liber-

⁵⁷ SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA, *In Memory of Her*, p. 33.

⁵⁸ See e.g. L. ZSCHARNACK, *Der Dienst der Frau in den ersten Jahrhunderten der christlichen Kirche*, Göttingen, 1902, pp. 150-156.

⁵⁹ J. A. McNAMARA, "Sexual Equality and the Cult of Virginity in Early Christian Thought", *Feminist Studies*, 3.3/4 (1976): 145-158; R. RUETHER, "Mothers of the Church: Ascetic Women in the Late Patristic Age", in *Women of Spirit*, ed. by R. RUETHER, E. McLAUGHLIN, New York, 1979, pp. 71-98. Cf. also RADFORD RUETHER, "Misogynism and Virginal Feminism", pp. 158-159.

ated from their definition by these roles.”⁶⁰ McNamara’s and Radford Ruether’s articles were paralleled and followed by a number of studies in a similar vein, e.g. by Elizabeth A. Clark (1979, 1981),⁶¹ Virginia Burrus (1987),⁶² Joyce E. Salisbury (1991),⁶³ Gillian Clark (1993),⁶⁴ and Susanna Elm (1993).⁶⁵ Elizabeth A. Clark, who has contributed extensively to our knowledge of women and asceticism, showed that ascetic noble women in fact did practice asceticism much like men did, and that they thereby gained freedom in ways that otherwise was denied to Christian women, e.g. they could travel (on their own) and they could teach.⁶⁶ McNamara and others even argued for asceticism in terms of a gender “revolution”.⁶⁷ But social advancement in too general terms was in need of nuance and specification, as Kate Cooper argued later: “the social consequence to women of the rise of asceticism was not so much to offer new social prestige as it was to disrupt the traditional criteria for social ranking. Women as a group did not necessarily attain to new social prestige; rather a different group of individual women was able to make social progress.”⁶⁸

⁶⁰ RUETHER, “Mothers of the Church”, p. 72. McNAMARA is not equally clear on the benefits of asceticism, but she nevertheless explicitly states that asceticism promoted temporal independency of women, or spiritual equality with men at least in heaven, see “Sexual Equality”, pp. 151-155.

⁶¹ E. A. CLARK, “Friendship between the Sexes: Classical Theory and Christian Practice”, in ID., *Jerome, Chrysostom, and Friends: Essays and Translations*, New York, 1979, 35-106; ID., “Ascetic Renunciation and Feminine Advancement: A Paradox of Late Ancient Christianity”, *Anglican Theological Review*, 63 (1981), pp. 240-257; reprinted in ID., *Ascetic Piety and Women’s Faith*, Lewiston, 1986.

⁶² BURRUS, *Chastity as Autonomy*.

⁶³ J. E. SALISBURY, *Church Fathers: Independent Virgins*, new ed., London, 1992; orig. 1991.

⁶⁴ G. CLARK, *Women in Late Antiquity: Pagan and Christian Lifestyles*, Oxford, 1993.

⁶⁵ S. ELM, *Virgins of God: The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 1994.

⁶⁶ CLARK, “Ascetic Renunciation”, pp. 180-188.

⁶⁷ J. A. McNAMARA, *A New Song: Celibate Women in the First Three Christian Centuries*, New York, 1983, pp. 2-3; quoted by SALISBURY, *Church Fathers*, p. 123.

⁶⁸ COOPER, *Virgin and the Bride*, pp. 73-74.

A distinctive trait in all of these studies was, thus, a wish to point out that misogyny, detected by earlier scholars, was not the whole story. Or as Susanna Elm stated, that a “too rigid view of a binary opposition also misses a crucial point. It denies the women in question imagination, creativity, and thus the potential, as a ‘marginal and disadvantaged [group] in a society, to appropriate... symbols and ideas in ways that revise and undercut them’.”⁶⁹ A review article by Verna E. F. Harrison of Kerstin Aspegren’s *The Male Woman* also illustrates the change from a more exclusive focus on misogyny. Aspegren in her work (published posthumously in 1990) to a large extent regarded the motive of women becoming “male” in order to be spiritually perfect, as an expression of misogyny. Harrison, in contrast, underlined the importance and benefit, of not just focusing on misogyny in the patristic sources, but rather to investigate whether there “were significant ways found within the culture to overcome these obstacles”.⁷⁰ Harrison, accordingly, suggested that the motif of the “male woman” was used to promote a transition of gender-stereotypes, as Aspegren had argued, but that a transition of gender that involved *men* was promoted too. In certain aspects men were also encouraged to become female,⁷¹ e.g. to attain virtues often considered female, such as “chastity but also silence, obedience, enclosure, inwardness, receptivity, and giving birth spiritually to virtues and to Christ.”⁷²

4. *Deconstruction of gender*

In the 1970’s and the 1980’s, the questions being raised by post-structuralism began to affect history in general, and

⁶⁹ ELM, *Virgins of God*, p. 17. Elm quotes C. WALKER BYNUM, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays of Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*, New York, 1991, p. 17.

⁷⁰ V. E. F. HARRISON, review of K. ASPEGREN, *The Male Woman*, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 43.1 (1992), p. 233.

⁷¹ HARRISON, review of K. ASPEGREN, pp. 233-234. Harrison refers to E. A. CLARK, “Sex, Shame, and Rhetoric: En-gendering Early Christian Ethics”, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 59.2 (1991), pp. 221-245.

⁷² HARRISON, review of K. ASPEGREN, p. 234.

women's history too.⁷³ But feminism and post-structuralism actually had much in common – e.g. “a critique of objectivity” and “an assertion of the political nature of ideas, theory and representation”⁷⁴ – and it has even been argued that feminism began to question traditional perceptions of history, even before Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida had an impact on historiography. According to Kathleen Canning, the rejection of essentialism among early feminist historians in fact made them “among the first historians to discover the power of discourses to construct socially sexual difference and to anchor difference in social practices and institutions.”⁷⁵

However, even if feminism in a certain sense went hand in hand with a post-structuralist critique by questioning the objectivity of male history, and asserting that male history rather ought to be understood as a reflection of an androcentric discourse or ideology, feminist scholars or scholars in women's history, it was argued, had not been aware of that their *own* feminist claims in a certain sense had been totalizing just like the androcentric discourse.⁷⁶ A number of concepts, of crucial importance to women's history and feminist politics, had turned out to be problematic, such as “woman”, “experience” and “agency”.

In two important and influential articles, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis” from 1986, and “The Evidence of Experience” from 1991, the historian Joan W. Scott raised serious questions regarding notions like “woman” and “experience” in women's history, notions that had been crucial for the project of documenting the lives of historical women.⁷⁷

⁷³ For an early example, see J. L. NEWTON, M. P. RYAN, J. R. WALKOWITZ, eds., *Sex and Class in Women's History*, London, 1983.

⁷⁴ J. NEWTON, “History as Usual? Feminism and the ‘New Historicism’”, *Cultural Critique*, 9 (1988), p. 94.

⁷⁵ K. CANNING, “Feminist History after the Linguistic Turn: Historicizing Discourse and Experience”, *Signs*, 19.2 (1994), p. 370. See also J. NEWTON, “History as Usual?”, pp. 87-121.

⁷⁶ See e.g. DAVANEY, “Limits of the Appeal to Women's Experience”, p. 32; CANNING, “Linguistic Turn”, pp. 371-372.

⁷⁷ J. W. SCOTT, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis”, *The American Historical Review*, 91.5 (1986), pp. 1053-1075; ID., “The Evidence

There were especially two things against which Scott objected :

- (i) an essentialism regarding crucial concepts like “women” that did not address, historically, the variable workings of gender.
- (ii) an assumed transparency between texts and reality that did not take into account the linguistically constructed nature of evidence and meaning.

In both cases Scott pointed out the limits of the scholarly approach that previously had been so dominant; the ambition to document and describe the lives of historical women.

To begin with it had, according Scott, become increasingly apparent that it had not been “enough for historians of women to prove either that women had a history or that women participated in the major political upheavals of Western civilization.”⁷⁸ The shortcomings of such descriptive approaches, according to Scott, was that it failed to address the different ways that gender works and had been working throughout history in order to marginalize or oppress women. Often it had been presumed that categories like “woman” and “experience” were more or less historically invariable; thus, the constructed and historically changeable nature of such concepts had not been addressed.⁷⁹ The project of documenting the lives of women had, as Scott somewhat later stated, established “women as historical subjects operating in time,” by making “the idea of ‘women’ singular and timeless: those women in the past (or in other cultures) whose actions set precedents for our own are taken in some fundamental way to be just like us.”⁸⁰ Moreover, Scott stated: “<f>eminist historians have made the identity ‘women’ coherent and singular at the same time that they have provided empirical evidence for irreducible differences among women.”⁸¹ Thus, by presuming

of Experience”, *Critical Inquiry*, 17.4 (1991), pp. 773-797.

⁷⁸ SCOTT, “Gender”, p. 1055.

⁷⁹ SCOTT, “Gender”, p. 1057; see also pp. 1059, 1064-1065.

⁸⁰ J. W. SCOTT, “Introduction”, in *Feminism & History*, ed. by ID., Oxford, 1996, p. 3

⁸¹ SCOTT, “Introduction”, p. 3.

“women” as a universal, monolithic and historically invariable category in the efforts to document the lives of historical women, scholars had in much continued the trajectory of the earlier “androcentric studies”, who likewise had conceived “women” in a universal and essential way. So, just like scholars had earlier criticized a continued focus on male authors when writing women’s history, they now questioned another heritage prior to the impact of second-wave feminism.

In order to come to terms with these shortcomings, Scott suggested a redirection from essentialized to historicized sexual categories, or from a study of *women* as an essential and historically invariable concept, to a study of *gender* and its different workings throughout history. The substitution of “women” by “gender” was, thus, not just a way of broadening the perspective by implicitly including men, but a way to stress the constructed and political nature of sexual categories. Gender, according to Scott, was both a “constitutive element of social relationships”, and a “way of signifying relationships of power”, or “a primary field within which or by means of which power is articulated.”⁸² As such, gender, according to Scott, is perceptible on different levels in society: in symbols, normative concepts, institutions and organizations, and in subjective identity.⁸³

Secondly, Scott also suggested another change; from a study of causes to a study of representations and meanings, thus, a change in accordance with a shift from a scientific to a *literary* paradigm proposed by social scientists. According to Scott, feminist historians had often presumed a transparency between texts and reality, thus, as if the former was a reflection of the latter. In contrast, according to Scott, reality is not just constructed – as scholars had already observed – but constructed through language.⁸⁴ In a certain sense, Scott’s criticism thus carried the critique that earlier had generated the call for a change of focus, from men’s attitudes towards women to the women themselves, one step further. Not only had androcentric studies treated texts by male authors as

⁸² SCOTT, “Gender”, pp. 1067, 1069.

⁸³ SCOTT, “Gender”, pp. 1067-1068.

⁸⁴ SCOTT, “Gender”, pp. 1066-1068; SCOTT, “Evidence”, pp. 776-777.

reflections of reality, but even feminist studies in their efforts to discern an alternative perspective by documenting the lives of women. Both kinds of studies had relied on a more or less direct access to a reality beyond the texts.⁸⁵ This kind of critique was disturbing since it did not just challenge an androcentric perspective, but also how feminist scholars had used sources to document the very presence and agency of women, and thus, their efforts to challenge such an androcentric perspective. It was not the agency of women, as such, that was questioned, but how scholars had used literary sources to document such agency.

What Scott and others argued for met serious critique from several feminist scholars, since it was regarded as subverting not just how scholars had dealt with their sources, and thus, the possibility to grasp the reality of women beyond the texts, but also the possibility of arguing for political changes for women in common terms.⁸⁶ Others argued that “it is compatible to suggest that ‘women’ don’t exist – while maintaining a politics of ‘as if they existed’ – since the world behaves as if they unambiguously did.”⁸⁷ The critique articulated by Scott and others, thus, also challenged the previous scholarship from an even more fundamental front: its connection with a feminist *political* stance, thus, the very origin of women’s history. Later in 1996 Joan W. Scott also claimed: “The desire to legitimize feminist claims about women in order to consolidate an effective feminist political movement treats ‘women’ uniformly and so ahistorically.”⁸⁸ And thus: “To the extent that feminist history serves the political ends of feminism, it participates in producing this essentialized common identity of women.”⁸⁹

⁸⁵ SCOTT, “Evidence”, p. 786, see also pp. 776, 783-784, 789-790. Joan W. Scott questioned not only a direct experience (of reality) regarding the women in the texts, but also of the women historians themselves regarding their objects of study.

⁸⁶ For a discussion of this debate, see CLARK, “Lady Vanishes”, pp. 1-31.

⁸⁷ D. RILEY, *‘Am I That name?’ Feminism and the Category of ‘Women’ in History*, Hampshire, 1988, 112.

⁸⁸ SCOTT, “Introduction”, p. 4.

⁸⁹ SCOTT, “Introduction”, p. 4.

The post-structuralist critique of women's history also began to affect the study of early Christian women at the end of the 1980's, and at the beginning of the 1990's. There were important early works affected by the new perspectives e.g. by Averil Cameron (1989), Margaret R. Miles (1989), Virginia Burrus (1991), and Kate Cooper (1992).⁹⁰ It has been argued that scholars of early Christianity have been slow to adopt the new theoretical perspectives,⁹¹ but these early studies most certainly paved the way for others.⁹²

How, then, did the new tendencies take shape in the study of early Christian women, especially regarding women priests and female virginity? To begin with, the impact of post-structuralism certainly had different effects upon different areas depending on issues and sources. While it has been of less importance for the question of women priests in the early church, it has from the beginning of 1990's been of crucial importance in other areas, such as women and heresy,⁹³ women and Christianization,⁹⁴ and perhaps to an even greater

⁹⁰ A. CAMERON, "Virginity as Metaphor: women and the rhetoric of early Christianity", in *History as Text: The Writing of Ancient History*, ed. by ID., London, 1989, 181-205; M. R. MILES, *Carnal Knowing: Female Nakedness and Religious Meaning in the Christian West* (Boston: Beacon, 1989); V. BURRUS, "The Heretical Woman as Symbol in Alexander, Athanasius, Epiphanius, and Jerome", *The Harvard Theological Review*, 84.3 (1991), pp. 229-248; K. COOPER, "Insinuations of Womanly Influence: An Aspect of the Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy", *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 82 (1992), pp. 150-164. Another early article that touches upon post-structuralism is E. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA, "Text and Reality – Reality as Text: The Problem of a Feminist Historical and Social Reconstruction Based on Texts", *Studia Theologica*, 43 (1989), pp. 19-34, but Schüssler Fiorenza is less inclined to adopt the new theories, and still defends the possibility of recovering women's "voices" in the sources, in much the same way as she had done in her earlier book *In Memory of Her*.

⁹¹ CLARK, "Women, Gender", pp. 423-424.

⁹² Cf. e.g. COOPER, "Insinuations", p. 150; V. BURRUS, "Reading Agnes: The Rhetoric of Gender in Ambrose and Prudentius", *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 3.1 (1995), pp. 27-28; COON, *Sacred Fictions*, p. xx.

⁹³ See e.g. several works by V. BURRUS, "The Heretical Woman"; ID., "Equipped for Victory: Ambrose and the Gendering of Orthodoxy", *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 4.4 (1996), pp. 461-475.

⁹⁴ See e.g. COOPER, "Insinuations"; J. LIEU, "The 'Attraction of Women' in/To Early Judaism and Christianity: Gender and the Politics of Conversion", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, 21 (72) (1999), pp. 5-22.

extent, in studies of female virginity; in patristic writings in general, and in hagiography in particular.

In the 1960's and 1970's scholars had in different ways called attention to misogyny in early Christian sources and practices, in how women were restricted to certain roles or in how early Christian male authors had depicted women and prescribed their appropriate behavior. When scholars then in the 1990's tried to analyze the workings of gender, misogyny in a sense reappeared in focus. The difference, however, was that scholars now did not just document the different ways that sexual roles had oppressed women, but also how such roles were constructed. Sexual roles were not regarded as natural, nor as always constructed in the same way. Different periods and different ideological concerns required or generated different constructions. The writings of the church fathers in general, and their writings on virginity in particular, were used for this kind of study in works by e.g. Averil Cameron (1989), Elizabeth A. Clark (1994) and Theresa M. Shaw (1998).⁹⁵ However, even greater attention was directed towards descriptions of women and female virginity in different kinds of hagiography, e.g. in the *Lives* of early Christian women, or in the apocryphal *Acts* of the Apostles, where women often play an important part.

In the 1980's such hagiography had often been used as sources to the lives of early Christian women. But since the late 1980's several scholars, in contrast, did investigate early Christian hagiography dealing with women, from a new perspective affected by the post-structuralist critique. The works by Averil Cameron (1989), Virginia Burrus (1995), Kate Cooper (1996), Lynda L. Coon (1997), and Elizabeth A. Clark (1998) are early examples.⁹⁶ Just like Joan W. Scott

⁹⁵ CAMERON, "Virginity as Metaphor"; E. A. CLARK, "Ideology, History, and the Construction of 'Woman' in Late Ancient Christianity", *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 2.2 (1994), pp. 155-184; T. M. SHAW, "Askesis and the Appearance of Holiness", *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 6.3 (1998), pp. 485-499.

⁹⁶ CAMERON, "Virginity as Metaphor"; BURRUS, "Reading Agnes"; COOPER, *Virgin and the Bride*; COON, *Sacred Fictions*; CLARK, "The Lady Vanishes". See also P. BROWN, *Body and Society: Men and Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, New York, 1988, p. 153.

had argued, the aims of these studies was not so much to reconstruct the lives of early Christian women, as “to understand the conventions by which gender-specific characteristics were assigned to women and to men, and the rhetorical ends that such conventions could serve”, as Kate Cooper stated.⁹⁷

One important effect of these, and somewhat later studies, was that they radically challenged the use of these texts as sources to lives of early Christian women. Elizabeth A. Clark – one of those scholars that have tried to meet the challenges of post-structuralism – argued against taking too literally statements made in the stories that they were based upon eyewitnesses, or to use the seemingly authentic details of the stories as reflections of reality. In contrast these details ought to be understood – with reference to Roland Barthes – as the author’s “attempt to create an illusory reality in the minds of readers.”⁹⁸

The earlier uses of the hagiographic sources were also subverted from another angle by Kate Cooper in her early and influential article about “womanly influence” from 1992:

A prevailing feature of the system of signs through which both men and women understood references to gender was its central interest in the character and actions of male groups and male individuals. Narrative treatment of the actions or intentions of women did not straightforwardly represent flesh-and-blood women themselves, but rather served to symbolize aspects of the tension to be found among *men*.⁹⁹

This way of viewing female hagiography as primarily intended for the benefit of *men* instead of women was followed by several other works by e.g. Kate Cooper (1996), Lynda L. Coon (1997) and Elizabeth A. Clark (1998).¹⁰⁰ Thus, instead of being valuable sources to the lives of early Christian women, scholars did increasingly argue for this kind

⁹⁷ COOPER, *Virgin and the Bride*, p. 4. See also Coon, *Sacred Fictions*, pp. xv, xx-xix.

⁹⁸ CLARK, “Lady Vanishes”, p. 20.

⁹⁹ COOPER, “Insinuations”, p. 151. Emphasis is mine. A similar idea was earlier also articulated by P. BROWN, see his *Body and Society*, p. 153.

¹⁰⁰ COOPER, *Virgin and the Bride*, pp. 5-13; COON, *Sacred Fictions*, pp. xx-xxi; CLARK, “Lady Vanishes”, pp. 23-30.

of literature, as texts where women are used as *tools* to serve certain ends of the male author. The texts were not just primarily intended for a *male* audience rather than a female one, but the women in the texts were also primarily not descriptions of real women, but literary devices used for the benefit and education of men.

However, this critique of the earlier use of hagiography has not been swallowed wholeheartedly by all scholars; the responses to the challenges have been different. Some scholars, notably e.g. Kate Cooper herself, do still try, at least *indirectly* (e.g. by discussing representation and ideology in hagiographic texts, and how these texts were read and received), to say something about historical women and their experiences.¹⁰¹ Others, like Lynda L. Coon and Stavroula Constantinou have restricted their studies more or less exclusively to *representations* of virginity, and thus, leaving the lives of actual women more or less aside.¹⁰² Others, again, are still arguing for the possibility of discerning a historical reality from the narratives, at least in a restricted sense.¹⁰³ According to these scholars, the challenges raised by post-structuralism are perhaps “a bit too pessimistic”, as Stephen J. Davis phrase it.¹⁰⁴ Or as Virginia Burrus argues, the “discursive space” occupied by Macrina in Gregory of Nyssa’s *Vita Macrinae*:

might also correlate, however inexactly, with the social roles and influence of women: that the textual production of an articulable feminine positionality via the interaction of the female as “object” and the female as the excluded transgressive, may at least indirectly point toward actual subject positions and social

¹⁰¹ See COOPER, *Virgin and the Bride*, ch. 4-6. Cf. E. A. CLARK’s discussion of Gabrielle Spiegel’s notion of the text’s “social logic” in “Lady Vanishes”, pp. 12-14.

¹⁰² COON, *Sacred Fictions*, p. xv; S. CONSTANTINO, *Female Corporeal Performances: Reading the Body in Byzantine Passions and Lives of Holy Women*, Uppsala, 2005, pp. 13-18.

¹⁰³ See e.g. S. J. DAVIS, *The Cult of Thecla: A Tradition of Women’s Piety in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 2001; V. BURRUS, “Is Macrina a Woman? Gregory of Nyssa’s *Dialogue on the Soul and Resurrection*”, in *The Blackwell Companion to Postmodern Theology*, ed. by G. WARD, Oxford, 2001, pp. 249-264.

¹⁰⁴ DAVIS, *The Cult of Thecla*, pp. 8-35, esp. p. 18.

roles available to and occupiable by women historically 'as women.'¹⁰⁵

But even though the discussion of hagiography and the reality of women's lives still seem to be unsettled, scholars have gained new insights by the impact of post-structuralism, but not so much regarding the lives of real women, as the sophisticated workings of gender.

5. *Conclusion*

The aim of this review has been to describe how the scholarly research on early Christian women has changed since the emergence of second-wave feminism in the 1960's, and what perspectives and assumptions that have determined the changes. The focus has been especially on the issues of women priests and the ideal of female virginity. We have investigated in what sense scholarly research has evolved largely in three different, but overlapping, phases that each has radically changed our knowledge of early Christian women: (i) documentation of misogyny, (ii) reconstruction of women's lives, (iii) deconstruction of gender. Since the 1960's scholars have offered serious critique of earlier so called androcentric studies, but also continuously challenged their own assumptions. But the three phases discussed in this essay have not implied distinctive breaks; the different phases have not just overlapped, or sometimes been going on, at least in part, side by side, each perspective or focus have also continued in importance, or reappeared, in different periods, but always in a slightly different form, and with a new and transformed applicability.

¹⁰⁵ BURRUS, "Is Macrina a Woman?", p. 259. See also DAVIS, *The Cult of Thecla*, p. 19.

Summary

This article discusses changes in (mainly Anglo-American) scholarly research on early Christian women since the emergence of second-wave feminism in the 1960's, with a focus on two issues: women priests and female virgins. The aim is not primarily to demonstrate how women's studies and gender studies have changed our knowledge of early Christian women, but to analyze the perspectives and the assumptions that have determined the changes. Three overlapping phases are discussed: (i) documentation of misogyny, (ii) reconstruction of women's lives, and (iii) deconstruction of gender. It is demonstrated how scholars during these phases have seriously challenged the assumptions of earlier scholars, but also, continuously, their own assumptions. It is shown how the perspectives have changed, but also how each perspective have continued in importance, or reappeared, in different periods, but in a slightly different form, and with a new and transformed applicability.

L'origine et les ingrédients du discours hagiographique*

par

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Dans sa thèse sur la Vie d'Apollonius de Tyane, Philippe Hanus se démarque de l'opinion de Monique Alexandre qui, elle, oppose radicalement l'homme divin (le philosophe païen) à l'homme de Dieu chrétien. Selon lui, par contre, il existe, entre la *Vita Apollonii* et les premières Vies de saints chrétiennes, des liens de parenté beaucoup plus étroits que ne laissent entendre la plupart des études consacrées à ce sujet. Dans la Rome impériale, en effet, de nouveaux modèles de sagesse se constituent, similaires sur bien des points dans les univers chrétiens et païens, parallèlement soumis aux questionnements du temps¹.

Que faut-il en penser ? Outre le fait qu'il s'agit d'un débat déjà vieux, il me semble que, si Philippe Hanus a raison, Monique Alexandre n'a pas tout à fait tort non plus. Pour m'expliquer, je voudrais partir du constat général que voici. Entre la fin du III^e et le début du V^e siècle de notre ère, la lit-

* Le présent article est la version élaborée de ma communication faite au colloque international sur *Religions et sociétés du monde gréco-romain : Écritures et mises en scène de Vies*, organisé à l'Université Paris XII les 19 et 20 septembre 2008 en l'honneur de Mme Françoise Prévot. Comme la publication des actes dudit colloque est constamment retardée, j'ai décidé d'offrir mon texte à *Sacris erudiri* (sans toutefois ajouter encore de la bibliographie postérieure à la rédaction de l'article).

¹ Ph. HANUS, « Présentations de recherches », dans *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne*, 24.2 (1998), pp. 229-231. Il renvoie à M. ALEXANDRE, « La construction d'un modèle de piété dans la *Vie d'Antoine* par Athanase d'Alexandrie », dans *Saint Antoine entre mythe et légende*, Grenoble, 1996, pp. 67-68.

térature gréco-latine, tant païenne que chrétienne, produit un certain nombre de textes qui nous intéressent ici et qui n'appartiennent pas forcément au même genre littéraire. Certes, je parle en premier lieu de biographies, plus précisément de biographies spirituelles, mais il est question aussi d'oraisons ou panégyriques, voire de « romans » (ou « nouvelles »). S'il est vrai que cette dernière notion est passablement floue, il faut reconnaître que la biographie antique elle-même est un genre facilement recoupé par d'autres, y compris par l'historiographie².

Voici des exemples païens : les Vies de Pythagore et de Plotin par Porphyre († 301/305), la Vie de Pythagore par Jamblique († vers 325), la Vie (ou plutôt l'éloge funèbre) de Proclus par Marinus de Néapolis († vers 500), l'ἐπιτάφιος λόγος de Libanius († vers 394) pour l'empereur Julien. Chez les chrétiens on peut citer la Vie de Constantin et celle d'Origène par Eusèbe de Césarée († 339)³, la Vie d'Antoine par Athanase d'Alexandrie († 373)⁴, les Vies de sa sœur Macrine et de Grégoire le Thaumaturge par Grégoire de Nysse († 395), l'oraison funèbre pour saint Basile par Grégoire de Nazianze († 390), la *Vita prima* grecque de Saint Pachôme (vers 400), la Vie de Martin de Tours par Sulpice Sévère († vers 420), les Vies de moines par Saint Jérôme († 419/420) et bien d'autres. Des deux côtés, on confectionne également des « biographies collectives » : les Βίοι φιλοσόφων καὶ σοφιστῶν d'Eunape de Sardes († 414) d'une part, l'anonyme *Historia monachorum*

² Cf. A. R. LITTLEWOOD, Art. « Biography and Autobiography », dans *Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenistic Tradition*, t. II, Londres & Chicago, 2000, p. 227.

³ Cf. A. CAMERON, « Form and Meaning, *The Vita Constantini and the Vita Antonii* », dans T. HÄGG & Ph. ROUSSEAU (éd.), *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley & Los Angeles & Londres, 2000, pp. 72-88 (je cite p. 72, à propos de la *Vita Constantini* : « Much debate surrounds its literary form, whether biography, panegyric, or history, or some kind of combination ») ; P. COX, *Biography in Late Antiquity. A Quest for the Holy Man* Berkeley & Los Angeles & Londres, 1983, pp. 69-101 : « Eusebius' 'Life of Origen' : Faces of History » (Eusèbe a inclus sa Vie d'Origène dans le livre VI de l'*Histoire Ecclésiastique*).

⁴ Sur la question de la paternité et des rapports entre le texte grec, la version syriaque et un éventuel original copte, voir G. J. M. BARTELINK, *Athanase d'Alexandrie. Vie d'Antoine. Introduction, texte critique, traduction, notes et index*, Paris, 1994 (Sources Chrétiennes, 400), pp. 27-35.

in Aegypto (vers 400) et l'Histoire Lausiaque par Palladius d'Hellénopolis († peu av. 431) de l'autre⁵.

Nonobstant leurs différences et leur individualité absolument indéniables, ces textes accusent une parenté littéraire et spirituelle qui découle moins de leur genre que d'un discours plus ou moins commun qu'ils véhiculent et que j'appelle le discours hagiographique. Cela n'est pas une construction purement abstraite, c'est une trame qui relie réellement ces ouvrages, qui est sous-jacente à chacun d'entre eux. En quoi consiste-t-elle ? On peut, je pense, la résumer en quatre points :

(1) Ces textes traitent de personnages qui sont liés à Dieu ou au divin par un rapport particulier, sans être eux-mêmes des dieux. Le saint chrétien est sans doute plus l'homme *de* Dieu (ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ, *homo Dei*), le serviteur *du* Seigneur (θεράπων κυρίου, *servus Domini*), l'homme touché par la grace de Dieu, que l'homme divin (bien que des penseurs chrétiens n'ignorent pas l'idée de la divinisation de l'homme⁶). De toute façon, il existe un rapport très intime entre lui et Dieu. Dans les écrits païens on a cru déceler une échelle de divinité : Pythagore par exemple (tout comme Apollonius de Tyane) comporte déjà un élément divin dans son ascendance (fils de dieu), tandis que Plotin acquiert par sa philosophie un *godlike status*⁷. Dans tout les cas, païens comme chrétiens,

⁵ Cf. P. COX MILLER, « Strategies of Representation in Collective Biography. Constructing the Subject as Holy », dans HÄGG & ROUSSEAU, cit. n. 3, pp. 209-254.

⁶ Grégoire de Nysse par exemple (mais le chrétien, même le saint, a toujours besoin de rédemption). Les premiers néoplatoniciens, de leur côté, n'auraient pas compris la distinction entre θεῖος ἄνθρωπος et θεός cf. M. J. EDWARDS, « Two Images of Pythagoras : Iamblichus and Porphyry », dans H. J. BLUMENTHAL & E. G. CLARK (éd.), *The Divine Iamblichus. Philosopher and Man of Gods*, Londres, 1993, pp. 159-172, ici p. 168.

⁷ Cf. COX, cit. n. 3, pp. 34-44 (selon l'auteur, le *godlike status* est aussi celui d'Origène chez Eusèbe). Pour un commentaire, voir M. J. EDWARDS, « Birth, Death and Divinity in Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus* », dans HÄGG & ROUSSEAU, cit. n. 3, pp. 52-71, ici pp. 52-53. De toute façon, l'assimilation de l'homme à Dieu et sa participation à la providence divine (théurgie) est un objectif fondamental de la philosophie antique tardive.

les protagonistes sont des êtres charismatiques et pieux, qui laissent transparaître quelque chose du divin⁸.

(2) Ces documents sont fortement stylisés. Une stylisation inchoative peut s'enraciner dans la subjectivité même de ces « saints » qui se présentent comme historiques et dont la plupart ont sans doute existé⁹. Une tradition orale et/ou écrite s'y ajoute le plus souvent¹⁰, mais il ne faut pas nécessairement adhérer au *il n'y a pas de hors-texte* de Jacques Derrida¹¹

⁸ La piété personnelle de Plotin est moins accentuée par Porphyre (il manifeste même une certaine indifférence aux pratiques de la religion officielle), mais un *δαίμων* divin le protège et, dès sa jeunesse, il était supérieur aux autres humains. Il bénéficiait d'unions mystiques avec le Dieu suprême et, après sa mort, son âme est entrée dans la vie bienheureuse.

⁹ Y compris Pythagore, ou Paul de Thèbes et Hilarion de Gaza, héros monastiques de saint Jérôme (malgré le recours évident de ce dernier à bien des motifs de la fiction littéraire antique). Sur la contextualisation historique et littéraire de Pythagore, voir l'étude approfondie de C. MACRIS, « Pythagore, un maître de sagesse charismatique de la fin de la période archaïque », dans G. FILORAMO (éd.), *Carisma profetico. Fattore di innovazione religiosa*, Brescia, 2003, pp. 243-289.

¹⁰ La variation peut être grande entre un auteur qui a personnellement connu son personnage et qui peut donc puiser en partie dans ses propres souvenirs, et un autre qui ne dispose que d'une longue tradition orale qu'il peut « travailler » à sa guise. Si un biographe/hagiographe utilise des documents antérieurs, il peut s'agir là aussi soit de pièces « historiques » (au sens strict du terme), soit de récits déjà marqués par la légende. Sur la « triple métamorphose des faits bruts » (subjectivité du personnage, tradition postérieure, mise en forme littéraire, trois moments ou phases dont la portée peut varier considérablement d'un cas à l'autre), voir J. FONTAINE, *Sulpice Sévère. Vie de saint Martin*, t. I, Paris, 1967 (Sources Chrétiennes, 133), pp. 185-188.

¹¹ Voir M. VAN MELKEBEEK, *Historische kritiek en postmoderne geschiedschrijving*, Gand, 2001, pp. 81-89.

Le principe « postmoderne » (tributaire, d'une manière ou d'une autre, des idées du linguiste Ferdinand de Saussure), selon lequel on ne peut jamais sortir de la « prison » de la langue et du texte, a d'abord choqué les historiens « positivistes », puis a profondément marqué bien des historiens contemporains. Toutefois, ils ne réussissent jamais à tirer les conséquences ultimes de la maxime de J. Derrida, car ce serait la fin de leur discipline. Je renvoie, à ce propos, à ma discussion avec Patrick Geary lors de la séance de clôture d'un colloque à Zwettl (Autriche) en mars 1993 : cf. M. VAN UYTFANGHE, « Die Vita im Spannungsfeld von Legende, Biographik und Geschichte (mit Anwendung auf einen Abschnitt aus der *Vita Amandi prima*) », dans A. SCHARER & G. SCHEIBELREITER (éd.), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, Vienne & Munich, 1994, pp. 194-221, ici pp. 194-195.

pour admettre que la stylisation la plus importante vient du prisme interprétatif des auteurs¹², qui projettent, dans une large mesure, leurs propres idées ou idéaux sur les figures qu'ils évoquent. Tout saint est un saint « construit »¹³, y compris le cas échéant à l'aide d'éléments fictifs¹⁴. Pythagore par exemple, surtout sous la plume de Jamblique, est un sage ancien revu et corrigé par les conceptions néoplatoniciennes de la fin du III^e siècle de notre ère¹⁵. De même, pour comprendre la Vie de saint Antoine, il faut connaître la théologie d'Athanase¹⁶.

¹² Cf. Cox, cit. n. 3, pp. 145-149 (« Author as Prism »).

¹³ Sur le concept de *historical identity* et de *constructed identities* (à propos d'Apollonius de Tyane), voir T. HÄGG, « Apollonius of Tyana – Magician, Philosopher, Counter-Christ. The Metamorphoses of a Life », dans Id., *Parthenope. Selected Studies in Ancient Greek Fiction*, Copenhagen, 2004, pp. 379-404, spéc. 381.

¹⁴ Voir le chapitre II (« Zur Fiktionalitätsfrage narrativer Texte ») dans T. SCHIRREN, *Philosophos Bios. Die antike Philosophenbiographie als symbolische Form. Studien zur Vita Apollonii des Philostrat*, Heidelberg, 2005, pp. 15-68. Cet auteur fait sien (p. 204) le constat de P. Cox, cit. n. 3, p. 145 : « We know that biography functioned in a literary sens by mythologizing a man's life, that is, by using fiction to convey truth ». A. CAMERON, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire. The Development of Christian Discourse*, Berkeley & Los Angeles & Oxford, 1991, p. 118, préfère parler, à propos des Actes apocryphes des apôtres, de « intended truth ».

¹⁵ Cf. G. STAAB, *Pythagoras in der Spätantike. Studien zu De Vita Pythagorica des Iamblichos von Chalkis*, Leipzig, 2002 ; M. LURJE, « Die Vita Pythagorica Jamblichs als Manifest der neuplatonischen Paideia », dans M. VON ALBRECHT et al., *Jamblich. Pythagoras : Legende – Lehre – Lebensgestaltung*, Darmstadt, 2002, pp. 221-253 (cet auteur veut répondre à la question intrigante de savoir pourquoi Jamblique a projeté son propre néoplatonisme sur la figure de Pythagore). Quant à Porphyre, il n'hésite pas à recourir à plusieurs reprises, au sujet de Pythagore, à une source fictive, en l'occurrence les *Merveilles d'au-delà de Thulé*, un roman d'Antoine Diogène (I^{er} siècle de notre ère ?), parodié par Lucien de Samosate. Voir É. DES PLACES, *Porphyre. Vie de Pythagore, Lettre à Marcella. Texte établi et traduit*, Paris, 1982, pp. 15-16 ; SCHIRREN, cit. n. 14, pp. 171-173.

¹⁶ Sur les accords entre la *Vita Antonii*, le *Contra gentes* et le *De incarnatione Verbi*, voir BARTELINK, cit. n. 4, pp. 36-37, et aussi H. DÖRRIES, « Die Vita Antonii als Geschichtsquelle », dans *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1949, pp. 359-410 ; A. LOUTH, « St. Athanasius and the Greek Life of Anthony », *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. 39 (1988), pp. 504-509. Ph. ROUSSEAU, « Antony as Teacher in the Greek Life »,

(3) Le deuxième facteur a évidemment partie liée avec le troisième : la fonction de ces textes. Celle-ci n'est pas informative en premier lieu, mais performative ; les auteurs veulent convaincre, c'est-à-dire défendre (souvent de manière apolo-gétique), idéaliser, exemplifier leur héros et propager à travers lui une pensée et un mode de vie qu'il est censé incarner¹⁷. Certaines Vies païennes servent d'ailleurs d'introduction à des ensembles philosophiques plus vastes¹⁸. Le titre de Jamblique n'est pas « Vie de Pythagore » mais *Περὶ τοῦ Πυθαγορείου βίου* (Sur la vie pythagoricienne), celui de Marinus est « Proclus ou Sur le bonheur » (Proclus s'y fait, en effet, le porte-parole de l'idéal de l'*εὐδαιμονία* tel que son biographe l'envisage)¹⁹. À leur manière, les Vies chrétiennes ne font pas autre chose, car elles dépeignent toujours une vie actualisée du Christ (cette *imitatio Christi* est même leur message essen-

dans HÄGG & ROUSSEAU, cit. n. 3, pp. 89-109, ici pp. 100-104, est plus prudent sur la paternité athanasienne de la Vie grecque.

¹⁷ Cf. R. GOULET, « Les Vies de philosophes de l'Antiquité tardive », dans Id., *Études sur les Vies de philosophes de l'Antiquité tardive*, Paris, 2001, pp. 3-63, spéc. pp. 4, 19 (sur la finalité protreptique des Vies) ; G. CLARK, « Philosophic Lives and the Philosophic Life. Porphyry and Iamblichus », dans HÄGG & ROUSSEAU, cit. n. 3, pp. 29-51, ici p. 29 : « How should a philosopher live ? Part of the answer to this questions is how philosophers have lived » ; L. BRISSON *et al.* (éd.), *Porphyre. La Vie de Plotin*, II, Paris, 1992, p. 14 (la philosophie comme mode de vie, manière d'être, exercice spirituel).

¹⁸ Porphyre a publié sa Vie de Plotin en tête des *Ennéades* (une nouvelle édition des traités de Plotin), dont elle devait aussi introduire et faciliter la diffusion. Sa Vie de Pythagore faisait partie (ainsi que l'attestent les citations de Cyrille d'Alexandrie) du premier livre d'une *Histoire philosophique* aujourd'hui perdue. La *Vie pythagoricienne* de Jamblique, quant à elle, constituait le début d'une espèce d'encyclopédie du néopythagorisme qui incluait aussi le *Protreptique*. Dans l'hagiographie chrétienne, il y a la Vie de saint Augustin par Possidius (vers 432), qui fait suivre sa biographie d'un impressionnant *Indiculus* des œuvres de l'évêque d'Hippone.

¹⁹ Cf. R. MASULLO, *Marino di Neapoli. Vita di Proclo. Testo critico, introduzione, traduzione e commentario*, Naples, 1985, p. 19 (Marinus attribue aussi des conceptions aristotéliennes à son prédécesseur plutôt platonisant). Sur les aspects rhétoriques de cette « Vie-discours », on lira avec fruit l'introduction d'H. D. SAFFREY & A.-Ph. SEGONDS, *Marinus. Proclus ou sur le bonheur. Texte établi, traduit et annoté*, Paris, 2001.

tiel), fût-ce avec des infléchissements postbibliques dont les hagiographes ne sont pas toujours conscients²⁰.

Une des conséquences de cette fonction performative est ce que Luigi Canetti a appelé la *memoria tendenziosa* : dans la tradition dont on dispose on ne retient que le positif, on oriente et sélectionne les données en fonction de l'objectif qui détermine la stylisation et pour reconstituer un contexte vraisemblable²¹. Plutarque, même dans ses portraits les plus élogieux, ne cachait pas certaines taches et Suétone les étalait toujours au grand jour. Ici les défauts, pourvu qu'on en parle, se réduisent à des péchés de jeunesse²² ou font l'objet de calomnies injustes et réfutées. Une remarque critique occasionnelle se voit éclipsée par la perspective cohérente, c'est-à-dire idéalisante, édifiante, voire missionnaire, de l'ensemble²³. Autant dire que la biographie spirituelle n'est pas neutre ; elle associe le biographique au panégyrique et au plaidoyer²⁴.

(4) La stylisation à fonction performative se fait à l'aide d'un certain nombre d'archétypes²⁵ qui relèvent de l'ἀρετή/*virtus* (vertu) et des ἀρεταί/*virtutes* (merveilles). Le discours hagiographique est, en effet, un discours de vertu et de mi-

²⁰ Cf. M. VAN UYTFANGHE, « L'empreinte biblique sur la plus ancienne hagiographie occidentale », dans J. FONTAINE & Ch. PIETRI (éd.), *Le monde latin antique et la Bible*, Paris, 1985, pp. 565-611, ici pp. 601-607 (évolution de l'ascétisme, de la démonologie, etc.) ; Id., *Stylisation biblique et condition humaine dans l'hagiographie mérovingienne (600-750)*, Bruxelles, 1987, pp. 117-246 (« La base biblique et les inflexions postbibliques »). Sur le saint exemplaire dans l'Antiquité tardive, voir P. BROWN, « The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity », *Representations* 1, 2 (1983), pp. 1-25.

²¹ L. CANETTI, « Verso una genealogia del discorso biografico », *Hagiographica*, 12 (2005), pp. 147-169, ici p. 152 ; GOULET, cit. n. 17, p. 7 ; EDWARDS, cit. n. 6, p. 160, parle (à propos de la Vie de Plotin) de la « tendencious candour of all confessional literature, remembering not what was but what will edify, and making the man as image of his creed ».

²² Voir le pécheur ou la pécheresse converti(e) dans l'hagiographie chrétienne.

²³ Cf. GOULET, cit. n. 17, pp. 21-22 (au sujet de certains personnages d'Eunape de Sardes). Grégoire de Nazianze se permet quelques remarques critiques mais voilées à l'égard de saint Basile (*Or.* 43, 18 ; 43, 24 ; 43, 59).

²⁴ Cf. FONTAINE, cit. n. 10, p. 65 (l'auteur insiste, au sujet de Sulpice Sévère, sur l'ancrage romain de cette alliance).

²⁵ « Archétype de stylisation » est également un terme utilisé par Jacques FONTAINE, *ib.*, pp. 121sq.

racles²⁶. Que cette dernière dimension soit très développée ou au contraire très limitée, voire absente (quelques saints ne sont pas des thaumaturges actifs²⁷), il y a tout de même un minimum d'ambiance surnaturelle parce que Dieu ou les dieux veillent sur le protagoniste²⁸. En revanche, l'ἥθος vécu ou enseigné ou concretisé par des comportements et des actes vertueux est toujours très présent, que ce soit celui de la philosophie ou celui de la vie évangélique ou monastique (d'ailleurs la « vraie philosophie » chez les chrétiens).

Ces topiques de stylisation se raccrochent quelque part au portrait du θεῖος ἀνὴρ tel que Ludwig Bieler l'a brossé²⁹. Cette notion a été vivement contestée récemment parce qu'on l'a trop longtemps considéré comme une espèce de terme technique (ce qu'il n'était apparemment pas dans l'Antiquité) et parce que, dans les textes païens, θεῖος signifie rarement « de nature divine », étant plutôt synonyme de θεοσεβής, θεοφιλής, ὁσιος, etc.³⁰. Les attaques sont venues surtout de spécialistes du Nouveau Testament, qui combattent la thèse ancienne (à laquelle Rudolf Bultmann s'était rallié) suivant

²⁶ Cf. M. DE CERTEAU, Art. « Hagiographie », dans *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, t. 8, Paris, 1968, pp. 207-209.

²⁷ Dans la tradition païenne, Plotin, même s'il a le don de la prophétie et de la clairvoyance (*Vita Plotini*, 11), ne fait pas de miracles proprement dits. Dans l'hagiographie chrétienne, Origène, Mélanie l'Ancienne (voir le panégyrique biographique composé par Paulin de Nole vers 400 = *Epist.*, 29) et l'évêque Honorat d'Arles (voir le *Sermo de vita Honorati* écrit vers 431 par son successeur Hilaire) sont dans ce cas. Les *Vitae* sans ou presque sans miracles constituent néanmoins une veine minoritaire de l'hagiographie antique tardive et médiévale : cf. M. VAN UYTFANGHE, « La controverse biblique et patristique autour du miracle, et ses répercussions sur l'hagiographie dans l'Antiquité tardive et le haut Moyen Âge latin », dans *Hagiographie. Cultures et sociétés, IV^e-XII^e siècle*, Paris, 1981, pp. 205-233.

²⁸ Il est vrai que ce minimum n'empêche pas, dans les quelques cas concernés, une certaine « réduction » du discours hagiographique.

²⁹ L. BIELER, *ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ. Das Bild des « göttlichen Menschen » in Spätantike und Früchristentum*, I-II, Vienne, 1935-1936, réimpr. Darmstadt, 1967.

³⁰ Voir D. DU TOIT, *Theios Anthropos. Zur Verwendung von « Theios Anthropos » und sinnverwandten Ausdrücken in der Literatur der Kaiserzeit*, Tübingen, 1997.

laquelle la christologie néotestamentaire serait tributaire du θεῖος ἀνὴρ hellénistique³¹.

On peut néanmoins se demander si ce combat est encore d'actualité, car à peu près tout le monde admet aujourd'hui que les Évangiles s'enracinent bien *d'avantage* dans la Bible hébraïque que dans la religion grecque (mais je devrai revenir là-dessus). De plus, les discussions sur le sens précis de θεῖος dans les passages concernés n'empêchent nullement que la représentation de ces êtres proches de Dieu ou des dieux, tels que je les ai évoqués sous 1), *existait* bel et bien³² et que cette représentation véhiculait forcément un certain nombre de traits et de topiques. On a reproché à Bieler de les avoir grapillés dans toutes sortes d'ouvrages, de traditions et de siècles différents. Toutefois, Bieler lui-même avait clairement indiqué que sa typologie n'était jamais présente à cent pour cent dans un seul texte³³ et que le dosage et la concrétisation de ces *Züge des göttlichen Menschen* pouvaient varier. Il s'agit, en fait, d'un ensemble de potentialités ; si l'on projette quelques-unes d'entre elles sur un seul protagoniste, celui-ci acquiert un statut supra-humain, quitte à s'intensifier au fur et à mesure qu'un nombre plus grand de ces traits potentiels se réalise en lui.

Voilà donc le tronc commun du discours hagiographique. Qu'en est-il des interdépendances éventuelles de ces textes païens et chrétiens. Laissons de côté encore une fois la question des formes et des genres. Jadis on a beaucoup débattu des schémas biographiques, le schéma péripatético-plutarchien, avant tout chronologique, et le schéma alexandrino-suétonien, plutôt thématique (*sachlich*), qu'on essayait alors de *reconnaître* dans les Vies de saints et aussi dans les Vies

³¹ Voir par ex. E. KOSKENNIEMI, *Apollonius von Tyana in der neutestamentlichen Exegese. Forschungsbericht und Weiterführung der Diskussion*, Tübingen, 1994.

³² David du Toit avait fini par admettre la possibilité de cette existence (cit. n. 30, p. 406). Voir aussi déjà H. C. KEE, *Medicine, Miracle and Magic in New Testament Times*, Cambridge, 1986, p. 84 (le rapport spécial de ces êtres avec le divin ne se déduit pas du seul titre de θεῖος ἀνὴρ).

³³ BIELER, cit. n. 29, I, p. 4.

de philosophes, mais sans beaucoup de succès³⁴. Il va sans dire que ni les chrétiens ni les païens antiques tardifs n'ont dû inventer la biographie, ou mieux les formes narratives biographiques, car – on l'a déjà dit – la biographie est un genre mal circonscrit³⁵. Ce qui, selon Patricia Cox, se réduit à une enveloppe *birth to death*, les auteurs peuvent le remplir à leur guise, non sans créativité³⁶. Dans « ce genre naturel qui surgit spontanément sans faire appel à une codification de règles et à une tradition savante d'interprétation », « il est rarement possible de dégager des cadres formels consciemment reproduits »³⁷. Il suffit de se rendre compte combien les deux Vies de Pythagore sont différentes : celle de Jamblique est d'ailleurs moins « biographique » si j'ose dire, que celle de Porphyre³⁸.

S'il est vrai que les panégyriques purs obéissent à des règles plus strictes, celles de Ménandre de Laodicée plus précisément, force est de constater que là aussi les auteurs chré-

³⁴ Voir M. VAN UYTFANGHE, « L'hagiographie : un 'genre' chrétien ou antique tardif? », *Analecta Bollandiana*, 111 (1993), pp. 135-188, spéc. pp. 144-146 ; ID., « La biographie classique et l'hagiographie chrétienne antique tardive », *Hagiographica*, 12 (2005), pp. 223-248, spéc. pp. 227-229 ; BARTELINK, cit. n. 4, pp. 62-67 (sur les études de F. Leo, K. Holl, H. Mertel, J. List, R. Reitzenstein, A. Priessnig, etc.).

³⁵ Cf. A. DIHLE, « Zur antiken Biographie », dans *La biographie antique*, Genève, 1998 (Fondation Hardt, Entretiens, 44), pp. 119-140, ici p. 121 : « Andere resignierten vor der Aufgabe einer Gattungsbestimmung, denn die Vielfalt der Formen, in denen sich in der gesamten Antike biographisches Interesse Ausdruck verschaffte, schien dafür zu gross zu sein. So leugneten manche auch einfach die einstige Existenz einer als Biographie zu definierenden literarischen Gattung und konnten sich dabei auf die rhetorische Theorie der Antike berufen, in der die Biographie keine Rolle spielt ».

³⁶ COX, cit. n. 3, p. 57 ; W. STEIDLE, *Sueton und die antike Biographie*, Munich, 1963² ; D. HOSTER, *Die Form der frühesten lateinischen Heiligenviten und ihr Heiligenideal*, diss. Cologne, 1963 (cet auteur insiste beaucoup sur les impulsions créatrices venant des variations de l'idéal de sainteté) ; CAMERON, cit. n. 3, p. 72 (Eusèbe en tant que pionnier).

³⁷ R. GOULET, « Histoire et mystère. Les Vies de philosophes de l'Antiquité tardive », dans *La biographie*, cit. n. 35, pp. 217-257, ici pp. 218-219.

³⁸ Voir M. VON ALBRECHT, « Das Menschbild in Jamblichs Darstellung der pythagoreischen Lebensform », dans VON ALBRECHT *et al.*, cit. n. 15, pp. 255-274, spéc. pp. 257, 259-260. Pour une comparaison entre le Pythagore de Porphyre et celui de Jamblique (qui esquisse un programme de sagesse païenne), voir EDWARDS, cit. n. 6 ; CLARK, cit. n. 17 ; GOULET, cit. n. 17, pp. 32-34.

tiens, notamment, s'en écartent quand cela les arrange³⁹. Par ailleurs, au cours de l'Antiquité tardive, l'interaction entre la biographie et le panégyrique ne fait que se renforcer⁴⁰ et des formes biographiques se développent qui, par ce qu'on a appelé leur *personen-zentrierte und episodische Darstellungsweise*, occupent une place quelque part entre l'historiographie, l'encomion et le roman⁴¹.

La question de la dépendance du point de vue du contenu me semble plus intéressante. Sur les emprunts ponctuels, que je limite ici à ceux qui se font entre les auteurs païens et les auteurs chrétiens⁴², les études n'ont pas donné de résultats spectaculaires. S'il n'est pas exclu que Jamblique se souvînt déjà des usages codifiés du monachisme chrétien⁴³, il semble plus probable qu'Athanase a connu la Vie de Plotin (je pense

³⁹ Voir par ex. D. KONSTAN, « How to Praise a Friend. St. Gregory of Nazianzus's Funeral Oration for St. Basil the Great », dans HÄGG & ROUSSEAU, cit. n. 3, pp. 160-179; aussi F. HEIM, « Les panégyriques des martyrs ou l'impossible conversion d'un genre littéraire », *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 61 (1987), pp. 105-128.

⁴⁰ Cf. HÄGG & ROUSSEAU, cit. n. 3, p. 1 (Introduction: Biography and Panegyric).

⁴¹ D. DU TOIT, « Heilsbringer im Vergleich. Soteriologische Aspekte im Lukasevangelium und Jamblichs De vita Pythagorica », dans VON ALBRECHT *et al.*, cit. n. 15, pp. 275-294, ici p. 291.

⁴² Sur les interdépendances païennes, voir GOULET, cit. n. 17, p. 4, n. 2: « Les Vies font parfois référence les unes aux autres. Pour nous en tenir aux Vies de philosophes, Eunape connaît la *Vie de Démonax* par Lucien, la *Vie d'Apollonius de Tyane* et les *Vies des sophistes* de Philostrate, ainsi que la *Vie de Plotin* par Porphyre; Marinus et Damascius emploient des expressions qui évoquent la *Vie de Plotin*. Quant aux deux *Vies de Pythagore* de Porphyre et de Jamblique, elles offrent de nombreux parallèles entre elles qui peuvent s'expliquer par des sources communes ». Sur la thèse de D. J. O'Meara, selon laquelle les écrits de Jamblique sur le pythagorisme devraient aussi offrir un contre-poids à l'édition plotinienne (+ *Vita*) de son maître Porphyre, voir l'opinion nuancée de STAAB, cit. n. 15, pp. 134-143, 460-461.

Quant à l'hagiographie chrétienne, je me contente ici de signaler les deux grands modèles, la *Vita Antonii* (cf. BARTELINK, cit. n. 4, pp. 68-70) et la *Vita Martini* (cf. B. DE GAFFIER, « Hagiographie et historiographie. Quelques aspects du problème », dans *La storiografia altomedievale*, Spolète, 1970 (Settimane di studio del CISAM, 17, 1969), pp. 139-166, ici pp. 159-160.

⁴³ Cf. *De vita Pythagorica*, 253 (μονάζοντες ἐν ταῖς ἐρημίαις), à propos des Pythagoriciens persécutés), mais ce n'est pas un emprunt à un texte hagiographique.

au thème de la honte du corps ou à celui des relations avec l'empereur⁴⁴) ainsi qu'une biographie de Pythagore utilisant les mêmes sources que celles de Porphyre et Jamblique (voir la façon dont il décrit l'ascèse et le régime alimentaire d'Antoine⁴⁵). L'inspiration biblique de la *Vita Antonii* est néanmoins beaucoup plus prégnante.

De tels emprunts ou parallélismes ponctuels n'impliquent guère une imitation servile. Leur fonction, chez Athanase, est plutôt d'établir un contraste entre les héros païens et le nouveau héros chrétien qui dépasse les philosophes du paganisme⁴⁶. On a suggéré que déjà Eusèbe, qui avait sûrement lu la Vie de Pythagore de Porphyre, a « habillé » le théologien Origène en philosophe ascétique pour parer la propagande de l'intelligentsia païenne⁴⁷. Or c'est surtout ce contraste global qui compte dans la question de l'interdépendance. N'oublions pas, en effet, qu'à cette époque païens et chrétiens étaient des rivaux, que leur religiosité antique tardive avaient bien des schèmes de pensée en commun (l'ascétisme, les dons charismatiques, les croyances à des esprits bons et mauvais, etc.), mais qu'ils s'inscrivaient surtout dans leur *propre* tradition

⁴⁴ Voir BARTELINK, cit. n. 4, p. 63 (l'auteur, qui se réfère à une vieille étude de K. Holl, ajoute encore l'abstinence de nourriture et la description du caractère).

⁴⁵ *V. Antonii*, 4, 1 ; 20 ; 45, 3-4. Voir *ib.*, p. 64 (l'auteur renvoie ici également à une vieille étude de R. Reitzenstein, dont il ne partage pas cependant les conclusions). Pour une comparaison générale des vertus d'Antoine et de Pythagore (chez Jamblique), voir M. GEORGE, « Tugenden im Vergleich. Ihre soteriologische Funktion in Jamblichs *Vita Pythagorica* und in Athanasius' *Vita Antonii* », dans VON ALBRECHT *et al.*, cit. n. 15, pp. 303-322.

⁴⁶ *V. Antonii*, 73-80. Cf. A. J. FESTUGIÈRE, « Sur une nouvelle édition du *De vita Pythagorica* de Jamblique », *Revue des études grecques*, 50 (1937), pp. 470-494 ; BARTELINK, cit. n. 4, p. 64. Pour un autre cas d'influences ponctuelles, voir P. HAMBLLENNE, « Traces de biographies grecques 'païennes' dans la *Vita Pauli* de Jérôme ? », dans *Cristianesimo Latino e cultura Greca fino al sec. IV*, Rome, 1993 (Studia Ephemeridis « Augustinianum », 42), pp. 209-234. Mais Patricia COX, cit. n. 3, pp. 53-54, conteste avec raison la vieille tendance (chez Anton Priessnig par ex.) à chercher les vraies racines de l'hagiographie chrétienne (et notamment de la *Vita Antonii*) dans la biographie païenne, spécialement néoplatonicienne.

⁴⁷ Cf. COX, cit. n. 3, pp. 140-141. Voir tout de même la note suivante (la motivation chrétienne de l'ascèse).

(l'ascèse par exemple obéissait à des motivations différentes⁴⁸) et que leurs héros étaient en partie des anti-héros par rapport à l'autre tradition. C'est le cas aussi des intellectuels païens (parmi lesquels quelques « martyrs » persécutés par le pouvoir chrétien) célébrés par Eunape : ces « saints païens », gardiens de valeurs désormais menacées, il les oppose implicitement aux saints chrétiens⁴⁹. De cette dépendance par *contradiction*, j'aurai encore à reparler. Je répète seulement ici que le facteur qui englobe *tous* ces textes, est le discours hagiographique dans son ensemble.

Je ne suis par sorti, jusqu'ici, du cadre chronologique indiqué au début (fin III^e – début V^e siècle), une période qui produit une première vraie concomitance de textes païens et chrétiens marqués par un discours hagiographique à part entière. Je n'en sortirai pas pour ce qui est de l'aval. Le paganisme antique tardif ne produira plus grand-chose, puisque il a fini par perdre la bataille (ajoutons-y qu'il était en soi déjà plus élitare que le christianisme et, de plus, qu'il n'accordait pas le même statut que son rival à l'écrit religieux⁵⁰). À part la Vie d'Isidore par Damascius de Damas (vers 400), que je n'ai pas retenue à cause de son caractère problématique⁵¹, il y aura encore deux Vies de Platon au VI^e siècle⁵², alors que

⁴⁸ Voir FESTUGIÈRE, cit. n. 46 ; C. TIBILETTI, « Motivazioni dell' ascetismo in alcuni autori cristiani », dans *Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Classe di Scienze Morali e Storiche*, 106 (1971-1972), pp. 489-537 ; A. MEREDITH, « Asceticism – Christian and Greek », *Journal of Theological Studies, N.S.* 27 (1976), pp. 313-332. Globalement, l'ascèse chrétienne est nettement plus extrême que celle des païens ; cf. CLARK, cit. n. 17, pp. 46-47.

⁴⁹ Voir S. RIZZO, « 'Sofisti e santi'. Due esemplarità a confronto nell' Impero Romano-Cristiano dei secoli IV e V d. C. », *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 19 (1998), pp. 243-243 ; GOULET, cit. n. 17, pp. 19-21 ; ID., « Les intellectuels païens dans l'empire chrétien selon Eunape de Sardes », *ib.*, pp. 373-386.

⁵⁰ Cf. CAMERON, cit. n. 14, pp. 110-111 (sur la spécificité du christianisme à cet égard).

⁵¹ Elle ne nous est connue que par des fragments qui ne permettent pas une interprétation globale du projet littéraire de Damascius, et de plus elle, n'est pas exclusivement admirative vis-à-vis des philosophes et des sophistes (Isidore et d'autres) dont elle traite (voir le témoignage de Photius) : cf. GOULET, cit. n. 17, pp. 13, 40-41.

⁵² Celle d'Olympiodore et une Vie anonyme qui dépend de lui : cf. BIELER, cit. n. 29, I, p. 24.

la *storytelling* des saints (parallèlement à leur culte) connaîtra un essor absolument spectaculaire dans le christianisme victorieux, dès le très haut Moyen Âge (en Occident et en Orient)⁵³. On doute que, si la religion chrétienne n'était pas devenue officielle, les cercles philosophiques païens l'eussent égalée sur cette voie littéraire.

En amont par contre, jusqu'où peut-on remonter ? Pour ne pas trop allonger le présent article, je renvoie le lecteur à ma contribution au *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* sous *Biographie II (Biographie spirituelle)*⁵⁴, au sujet d'un certain nombre de textes tant païens (La Vie de Démonax par le satiriste Lucien de Samosate⁵⁵, la Vie anonyme du philosophe Secundus le Silencieux, l'introduction au *De Platone et eius dogmate* attribué à Apulée, quelques Vies de souverains – y compris le roman d'Alexandre – et de poètes⁵⁶) que chrétiens (les Actes apocryphes des apôtres, les Pseudo-Clémentines). J'y explique quels sont leurs rapports éventuels avec le discours hagiographique⁵⁷. Quant aux Actes et Passions de martyrs, par lesquels débute l'hagiographie chrétienne, leur caractère « partiel » (ils ne traitent que du procès et de la mort du saint) les rendent moins intéressants dans notre perspective comparative⁵⁸. Il est vrai que la Passion de saint Cyprien de Carthage par le diacre Pontius (vers 259), grâce à son apologie

⁵³ Voir CAMERON, cit. n. 14, p. 119.

⁵⁴ *RAC*, Supplement-Band I, Stuttgart, 2001, col. 1088-1364.

⁵⁵ Cette Vie d'un philosophe cynique auprès duquel Lucien de Samosate (vers 125-180) a lui-même étudié, tient une place à part dans l'œuvre de cet auteur, comme le faisait déjà remarquer Eunape de Sardes. Lucien aime à railler les philosophes et les charlatans religieux, mais ici il suggère une sorte d'héroïsation du protagoniste (voir GOULET, cit. n. 17, pp. 18-19). Thomas Schirren se demande si Démonax n'est pas une figure fictive et si même ici il n'y a pas d'accents satiriques sous-jacents (SCHIRREN, cit. n. 14, pp. 150-156).

⁵⁶ Pour ce qui est des souverains, je commente aussi la Vie d'Auguste par Nicolas de Damas et quelques βίοι de Plutarque (Alexandre le Grand, Pyrrhus, Cléomène III de Sparte).

⁵⁷ Pour des raisons diverses, ces textes sont (quelque peu) en retrait par rapport à ma définition du discours hagiographique.

⁵⁸ En principe, les Passions élaborées correspondent grosso modo aux critères du discours hagiographique, mais les Actes primitifs, tout en n'étant pas de purs procès-verbaux, sont vraiment trop « dépouillés » pour entrer en ligne de compte ici.

de l'évêque dans la première partie de l'ouvrage, inaugure le prétendu βίος πρὸ τοῦ μαρτυρίου⁵⁹.

Quatre décennies plus tôt (vers 220), la Vie d'Apollonius de Tyane de Philostrate offre, elle, tous les ingrédients du discours hagiographique (au contraire des Vies des sophistes du même auteur, lesquelles sont, tout comme les Vies et doctrines des philosophes de son contemporain Diogène Laërce, plutôt inspirées par la curiosité encyclopédique⁶⁰). Certes, je n'ignore pas, quant à moi, une certaine tendance actuelle à interpréter cette œuvre comme un texte « autoréférentiel », soit comme une métabiographie bourrée de signaux ironiques à décoder non pas par tous les lecteurs mais bien par ceux auxquels le « contrat de fictionalité » n'a pas échappé⁶¹, soit comme un beau spécimen de performance épictétique de la part d'un représentant de la seconde sophistique⁶². Ce genre de « lecture », on le sait, est un peu à la mode aujourd'hui chez les littéraires. Est-ce vraiment cela que l'impératrice Julia Domna, cette princesse syrienne très portée sur les questions philosophiques et religieuses, avait commandé à Philostrate⁶³ ?

⁵⁹ Une tentative récente de faire remonter au III^e siècle la Passion/Vie de saint Polycarpe de Smyrne (dont les Actes de la seconde moitié du II^e siècle constituent notre premier μαρτύριον grec) n'a pas convaincu et n'a donc pas ébranlé la datation traditionnelle (IV^e ou même V^e siècle) : voir B. DEHAND-SCHUTTER, *Vigiliae Christianae*, 58 (2004), pp. 209-214.

⁶⁰ Cf. GOULET, cit. n. 17, pp. 15-18 (pas de point de vue cohérent, on décerne « médailles et réprimandes » à la fois).

⁶¹ Ainsi SCHIRREN, cit. n. 14, pp. 317-329. Selon lui, les lecteurs qui n'ont pas compris ces signaux, lisent le texte au premier niveau, c'est-à-dire comme une Vie de philosophe et de thaumaturge.

⁶² Cf. W. GYSELINCK, *Talis oratio, qualis vita. Een tekstpragmatisch onderzoek naar de poëtica van Flavius Philostratus' Vita Apollonii*, diss. Gand, 2008. L'auteur admet que la *Vita Apollonii* est aussi une arétalogie néopythagoricienne et une biographie de θεῖος ἀνὴρ, mais pour ce texte « protéen », il privilégie résolument la lecture « sophistique », rejetant même l'ambivalence chère à Schirren. Qu'on suive ou non l'auteur, il faut reconnaître que la thèse qu'il a soutenue le 18 mars 2008 à l'Université de Gand, était brillante (j'ai été membre du jury).

⁶³ Cf. *V. Apollonii*, I, 3. À la fin de son livre, Schirren doit reconnaître que, toute « métabiographique » que soit l'œuvre, Philostrate met en scène *eine vom Kaiserhaus verehrte historische Gestalt*. Il souligne aussi la *Anziehungskraft* du *Wundermann als theios aner für die Gebildete des 3. Jahrhunderts* (cit. n. 14, p. 329). Sur Julia Domna et son entourage et sur le culte d'Apollonius sous les

Il est exact que Philostrate prend parfois un brin de distance, par exemple en tenant compte *aussi* d'une explication naturelle de tel ou tel miracle, mais il est loin de le faire systématiquement. En fait, il dépeint un être qui est en rapports constants avec les dieux, que certains considèrent comme un dieu, alors qu'Apollonius lui-même s'en défend. Entre le « Ur-Apollonius » et le travail littéraire, évidemment essentiel, de Philostrate, il y a eu toute une stylisation orale *et* écrite (le fameux Damis de Ninive, le prétendu disciple et compagnon d'Apollonius, relève probablement d'un truc littéraire de crédibilisation⁶⁴, mais Philostrate cite aussi d'autres sources⁶⁵ et il a recueilli partout des récits merveilleux sur son héros⁶⁶). Comme l'a écrit Alain Billault, s'il ne se prive d'aucune séduction littéraire, c'est en fonction d'une visée édifiante⁶⁷ : il veut célébrer Apollonius comme un nouveau Pythagore, une personnalité absolument extraordinaire, le sage parfait qui enseigne et montre aux hommes le chemin de la perfection spirituelle, presque un nouvel éducateur de l'humanité, homme de vertu, mais aussi charismatique et thaumaturge (en même temps, Philostrate le lave, de manière apologétique, de tout soupçon d'être un γόης, c'est-à-dire un magicien-charlatan)⁶⁸. La *Vita Apollonii* est sans doute plus que le discours hagiographique

Sévères, voir C. MAKRIS, « Becoming Divine bij Imitating Pythagoras », *Métis*, N.S. 4 (2006), pp. 297-329, ici pp. 313-314.

⁶⁴ C'est ce que pensent la plupart des spécialistes. À moins que les *Mémoires* de Damis ne soient un faux que des néopythagoriciens ont glissé entre les mains de Julia Domna et que Philostrate a éventuellement envisagé comme « vrai » (cf. J.-J. FLINTERMAN, *Power, Paideia and Pythagoreanism*, Amsterdam, 1995, pp. 79-88). Graham Anderson est aujourd'hui un des seuls à défendre encore l'authenticité de Damis : cf. G. L. ANDERSON, *Philostratus. Biography and Belles Lettres in the Third Century A.D.*, Londres, 1986, pp. 155-173.

⁶⁵ Maxime d'Égées, Moeragénès et des écrits d'Apollonius lui-même (l'authenticité de certains titres est sujette à discussion).

⁶⁶ Cf. *V. Apollonii*, I, 2 et VIII, 31.

⁶⁷ A. BILLAULT, « Les formes romanesques de l'héroïsation dans la Vie d'Apollonius de Tyane de Philostrate », *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, 1991, pp. 267-274, ici p. 274.

⁶⁸ Cf. J. BOULOGNE, « Apollonius de Tyane. Le mythe avorté d'une sagesse totale », *ib.*, 1999, pp. 300-310 ; M. VAN UYTFANGHE, « La Vie d'Apollonius de Tyane et le discours hagiographique », dans K. DEMOEN & D. PRAET (éd.), *Theios Sophistes. Essays on Flavius Philostratus' Vita Apollonii*, Leyde & Boston, 2009, pp. 335-374, ici pp. 360-364.

(voir les nombreuses ἐκφράσεις sur toutes sortes de sujets), mais, de toute façon, tous les éléments de celui-ci sont transparents à l'ouvrage.

Son auteur, Philostrate, est-il alors à l'origine de ce discours ? C'est le moment de rappeler les ressemblances « troublantes »⁶⁹ qui existent entre certains passages, notamment miraculeux, de la Vie d'Apollonius et les Évangiles (je pense au récit du démoniaque gérasién, de la résurrection du fils de la veuve de Naïm, ou de l'apôtre incrédule⁷⁰). On a effectivement soupçonné Philostrate d'avoir voulu, par son Τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα Ἀπολλώνιον, créer une alternative païenne pour le Christ⁷¹. Puis on a abandonné cette thèse, parce qu'il s'agit tout de même de deux mondes très différents (ce qui est absolument vrai). Elle refait pourtant surface aujourd'hui, prudemment ou de manière affirmative⁷².

Je m'étais moi-même contenté de l'explication des ressemblances avec le Nouveau Testament donnée par Erkki Koskenniemi. Selon lui, à l'époque de Philostrate, le *Traditionsgut* chrétien, et notamment les récits miraculeux, s'était infiltré de bonne heure dans la *narrativa* populaire. Philostrate y aurait puisé sans connaître l'origine exacte de tout cela⁷³. Je me suis mis à douter après avoir lu un livre très récent de Paul Veyne, où cet historien agnostique défend avec force la nouveauté et l'originalité du christianisme dans le monde gréco-romain et, de plus, soutient que ce même christianisme, encore très minoritaire entre 200 et 300, était perçu alors, dans les milieux lettrés, comme étant « le grand problème religieux du siècle ou

⁶⁹ Comme les appelle J. PUIGGALI, « La démonologie de Philostrate », *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 67 (1983), pp. 117-130, ici p. 117.

⁷⁰ Cf. *V. Apollonii*, IV, 25 ; IV, 45 ; VIII, 31. Sur ces parallélismes (et d'autres), voir VAN UYTFANGHE, cit. n. 68, pp. 336-338.

⁷¹ Sur la vieille thèse de la contrefaçon délibérée (F. C. Baur, P. de Labriolle *et al.*), voir KOSKENNIEMI, cit. n. 31, p. 184 (n. 81) ; VAN UYTFANGHE, cit. n. 68, pp. 342-243.

⁷² Voir VAN UYTFANGHE, *ib.* (J. Boulogne, W. L. Dulière, J. Elsner, H. Kee, S. Swain). J'y ajoute M. EDWARDS, *Neoplatonic Saints. The Lives of Plotinus and Proclus by their Students*, Liverpool, 2000, p. xxiii : « ...in his third (book) he (Philostratus) introduces an unusual series of miracles, which seem to be based on those ascribed to Jesus ».

⁷³ KOSKENNIEMI, cit. n. 31, pp. 205-206.

sa pire erreur » (Veyne ne fait pas ce rapprochement, mais on pourrait peut-être comparer ce dont il parle avec la perception de l'islam dans nos sociétés occidentales contemporaines)⁷⁴. Si cela est exact, le silence de Philostrate sur les chrétiens, 40 ans après que Celse eut déjà cru nécessaire de réfuter leur religion, apparaît comme quelque peu forcé⁷⁵. La commande d'une Vie d'homme divin païen par Julia Domna faisait-elle partie des stratégies déployées à la cour pour contrer le christianisme à la faveur d'une revitalisation du paganisme⁷⁶? Voilà une question qui mérite d'être reposée. Philostrate a pu pour ainsi dire s'y défouler littérairement, avec sans doute des clins d'oeil, mais il a pris la demande de l'impératrice au sérieux⁷⁷. Il comprenait peut-être mal le christianisme et il a moins opéré par imitation directe que par contradiction⁷⁸, en offrant à ses

⁷⁴ P. VEYNE, *Quand notre monde est devenu chrétien (312-394)*, Paris, 2007, p. 35 : « Au cours de ces années, le christianisme, tout en ne rencontrant qu'hostilité ou indifférence dans la masse de la population, avait acquis auprès de l'élite le statut d'une avant-garde discutée ; pour les lettrés, il représentait le grand problème religieux du siècle ou sa pire erreur. À notre époque, si l'on a quelque élévation d'esprit, on se pose des questions éthico-politiques sur l'évolution mondiale ; au III^e siècle on s'inquiétait des hautes vérités et de la destinée de l'âme ; d'où le succès du néoplatonisme auprès des lettrés. La question n'est pas le faible nombre des chrétiens, mais la grande place qu'occupait le christianisme dans l'opinion et les débats publics, en raison de ses supériorités sur le paganisme ».

Dans ce livre, Veyne fait souvent des rapprochements pertinents avec des situations modernes (notamment l'histoire du communisme). Je pense, quant à moi, que, *mutatis mutandis* évidemment, l'islam en Occident se trouve plus ou moins dans la même position que le christianisme de l'époque : il est minoritaire, mais tout le monde en parle et il est souvent perçu comme un problème et une menace.

⁷⁵ Voir déjà W. L. DULIÈRE, « Protection permanente contre des animaux nuisibles assurée par Apollonius de Tyane dans Byzance et Antioche. Évolution de son mythe », *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 63 (1970), pp. 247-277, ici pp. 250-251. Il faut y ajouter que Lucien de Samosate parle lui aussi (de manière négative) des chrétiens, même s'il ne semble pas avoir une connaissance approfondie de leur littérature.

⁷⁶ Cf. BOULOGNE, cit. n. 68, p. 300.

⁷⁷ Tout en ne professant pas lui-même explicitement le néopythagorisme (pas plus qu'Athanase d'Alexandrie, biographe d'Antoine, n'embrassait personnellement le monachisme).

⁷⁸ Voir déjà M.-J. LAGRANGE, « Les légendes pythagoriques et l'Évangile (suite et fin) », *Revue biblique*, 46 (1937), pp. 5-28, ici p. 20 (« imitation dans

contemporains un héros et un saint proprement hellénique, un défenseur de la *παιδεία* grecque, qui réalise en lui toutes les philosophies et toutes les sagesses⁷⁹. Quoi qu'il en soit, le débat est bel et bien rouvert.

Je rappelle par ailleurs – et cela me fait revenir aux textes plus tardifs déjà mentionnés – que la Vie de Plotin a elle aussi été qualifiée d'« évangile de Plotin selon Porphyre » par Lucien Jerphagnon et Marc Edwards⁸⁰. Puis, John Dillon a cru voir dans la Vie de Pythagore de Jamblique non pas une imitation, mais une réplique très subtile à l'Évangile de Jean, donc aussi par contradiction. Par exemple, en insistant sur le fait que Pythagore n'est pas le fils corporel d'Apollon (car seule l'âme est en contact intime avec la divinité), Jamblique a pu viser l'idée chrétienne de l'Incarnation et de la rédemption de l'âme *et* du corps⁸¹. Quant à Libanius, aucun doute n'est plus possible : si Julien est monté au ciel et a été accueilli parmi les dieux, s'il est digne d'être vénéré par les hommes, lui qui exauce les prières de ceux qui implorent son aide⁸², c'est

le choix des thèmes..., mais contradiction dans la manière de les traiter»), et avec de nombreux exemples textuels concrets pp. 20-24.

⁷⁹ Cf. BOULOGNE, cit. n. 68, p. 303.

⁸⁰ J. JERPHAGNON, « Les sous-entendus anti-chrétiens de la *Vita Plotini* ou l'évangile de Plotin selon Porphyre », *Museum Helveticum*, 47 (1990), pp. 41-52 ; EDWARDS, cit. n. 7 (pour Mark Edwards, le Plotin de Porphyre n'est pas simplement un saint païen, mais un Christ païen ; il voit surtout des parallèles avec le quatrième Évangile). On notera ici l'observation que saint Augustin a faite en 410 (*Epist.*, 118, 33), selon laquelle les platoniciens sont sortis du bois quand le nom du Christ s'est répandu (pour le contexte, voir BRISSON, cit. n. 17, pp. 38-39).

⁸¹ J. DILLON, « Die Vita Pythagorica – ein 'Evangelium'? », dans von ALBRECHT, cit. n. 15, pp. 295-301 ; voir aussi von ALBRECHT, cit. n. 38, p. 257 (sur *De vita Pythagorica*, 7-8, à propos des origines de Pythagore). Pour plus de bibliographie sur la thèse de la tendance anti-chrétienne latente du *De vita Pythagorica*, voir LURJE, cit. n. 15, pp. 252-253 (pour cet auteur la « théologisation » pythagoricienne du platonisme était censée offrir à l'homme tourmenté du III^e siècle une vraie sotériologie, moins simpliste que celle du christianisme). La contribution de DU TOIT, cit. n. 41, se contente d'analyser les ressemblances et les différences (modèles sotériologiques opposés) entre le *De vita Pythagorica* et l'Évangile de Luc, sans parler de dépendance).

⁸² *Or.*, 18 (oraison funèbre pour Julien), 304-308.

bien en rival du Christ (ou du moins en rival des saints)⁸³, car l'empereur lui-même combattait l'Église en la pastichant en partie.

Si les savants cités ont vu juste, alors même par le seul biais des textes païens on arriverait jusqu'aux Évangiles, qui ont évidemment largement inspiré l'hagiographie chrétienne (dont l'*imitatio Christi* est la quintessence, rappelons-le), mais qui auraient donc suscité également des initiatives littéraires païennes concurrentes. Si les Évangiles n'avaient pas existé, Philostrate, Porphyre et Jamblique auraient-ils écrit leurs Vies spirituelles ? Il est évidemment impossible de répondre à une telle question spéculative. Probablement oui (car il serait difficile d'attribuer au seul avènement du christianisme la coloration religieuse et notamment théurgique, prise par la philosophie païenne antique tardive⁸⁴), mais alors d'une manière quelque peu différente⁸⁵.

On a beaucoup discuté du genre littéraire des Évangiles. La *Formgeschichte* refusait d'y voir des Vies de Jésus, les évangélistes n'auraient été que des collectionneurs de *Traditionsgut* et d'*Episodenerzählungen* nés dans les communautés chrétiennes

⁸³ Cf. A. D. NÖCK, « Deification and Julian », *Journal of Roman Studies*, 47 (1957), pp. 115-123 ; G. FATOUROS, « Julian und Christus. Gegenapogetik bei Libanios ? », *Historia*, 45 (1996), pp. 114-122 (selon cet auteur, Libanios, dans ses oraisons funèbres pour l'empereur [*Or.*, 18, mais aussi 17 et 24], attribue délibérément à Julien aussi bien des vertus chrétiennes que païennes). Libanios voit en Julien une espèce de demi-dieu : cf. P. PETIT, « L'empereur Julien vu par le sophiste Libanios », dans *L'empereur Julien. De l'histoire à la légende (321-1715)*, Paris, 1978, pp. 67-87, ici p. 77. Sur le paganisme de Julien lui-même en tant que « paganisme chrétien », voir E. BEGEMANN, *Altes oder neues Heidentum ? Die Rückwirkungen des Christentums auf die Theologie und Religionspolitik Julianus Apostatas*, diss., Darmstadt, 2006.

⁸⁴ Voir à ce propos P. HADOT, « La fin du paganisme », dans H.-Ch. PUECH (éd.), *Histoire des religions*, II, Paris, 1972, pp. 81-113. Sur la théurgie : H.-D. SAFFREY, « La théurgie comme phénomène culturel chez les néoplatoniciens (IV^e-V^e siècles) », *Koinônia*, 8 (1984), pp. 161-171 ; DILLON, cit. n. 81, pp. 13, 19.

⁸⁵ En ce sens que certains détails subtils ou certaines orientations auraient alors manqué. Voir aussi EDWARDS, cit. n. 6, p. 168 : « ... it may be that Iamblichus, like Philostratus, has introduced some details into his narrative for the amusement of the learned who would like to know that his hero is superior to Christ ».

primitives⁸⁶. Entre-temps, plusieurs études ont resitué les Évangiles dans le cadre de la biographie antique ou plutôt dans la grande *Literaturfamilie* des écrits à caractère biographique dont j'ai déjà parlé⁸⁷. Lorenzo Zani les a qualifiés avec raison de *biografie testimoniali*⁸⁸. Ce qui est sûr en tout cas, c'est que le rôle des évangélistes en tant que rédacteurs/narrateurs est valorisé beaucoup plus par la recherche actuelle, tout comme on se rend compte maintenant, depuis les études de Michael von Albrecht, que la Vie de Pythagore de Jamblique n'est pas un ramassis maladroit et confus de matériaux préexistants, mais un ouvrage bien conçu et structuré en fonction du dessein de l'auteur⁸⁹. Ce qui est sûr également, c'est que, quel que soit leur genre littéraire (*sui generis* ou apparenté à d'autres), les Évangiles véhiculent un discours hagiographique.

Pour les chrétiens, Jésus a un statut sotériologique absolument unique, mais dans les Évangiles il n'est pas encore Dieu (« Pourquoi m'appelez-vous bon ? Seul Dieu est bon »)⁹⁰. Il vit plutôt dans une relation intime avec Dieu, qu'il appelle son Père. Il est Fils de l'homme et Fils de Dieu mais pas encore

⁸⁶ Le point de départ aurait été le « kérygme » (κῆρυγμα), qui a transformé le prédicateur (Jésus) en « prêche » (= objet même de la prédication). Sur le genre des Évangiles, voir les *Forschungsberichte* dans *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, II, 25, 2, Berlin & New York, 1984, pp. 1031-1432 ; 1543-1707.

⁸⁷ Cf. Ph. SHULER, *A Genre for the Gospel. The Biographical Character of Matthew*, Philadelphia, 1982 ; R. A. BURRIDGE, *What are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, Cambridge, 1992 ; D. FRICKEN-SCHMIDT, *Evangelium als Biographie. Die vier Evangelien im Rahmen antiker Erzählkunst*, Tübingen, 1997 (cet auteur insiste beaucoup sur la flexibilité des écrits biographiques et rappelle, p. 237, ce constat général : « ...antike Autoren waren problemlos in der Lage, mit vorhandenen Gattungsregeln spielerisch und kreativ umzugehen »).

⁸⁸ L. ZANI, « I vangeli e la biografia di Gesù », dans A. CERESA-GASTALDO (éd.), *Biografia e agiografia nella letteratura cristiana antica e medievale. Atti del convegno tenuto a Trento il 27-28 ottobre 1988*, Bologne, 1990, pp. 9-42, ici p. 35.

⁸⁹ Voir KOSKENNIEMI, cit. n. 31, p. 187 (Évangiles) ; LURJE, cit. n. 15, pp. 236-242 (*De vita Pythagorica*).

⁹⁰ Mc 10:18 ; Lc 18:19. Voir aussi Mt 27:46 ; Mc 15:34 (« Mon Dieu, mon Dieu, pourquoi m'as-tu abandonné ? »), et les récits de miracles où les louanges s'adressent directement à Dieu (par ex. Mt 9:8 : « À cette vue les foules furent effrayées et glorifièrent Dieu qui donne un tel pouvoir aux hommes »).

Dieu le Fils (c'est là une réflexion dogmatique ultérieure). La stylisation est évidente, par sa propre autoconscience sans doute mais surtout par la foi des autres en lui, par une tradition orale et écrite⁹¹ et, comme je viens de le souligner, par le travail littéraire des évangélistes. Évidemment, ici aussi tout est sélectionné et orienté en fonction du dessein performatif : convaincre les lecteurs (et les auditeurs) de ce que Jésus est le Rédempteur, le Messie attendu qui accomplit les Écritures (c'est une donnée capitale), susciter la foi en lui et en même temps montrer le chemin de vie enseigné par lui. Tout en n'étant pas des traités de vertus illustrées, les Évangiles dévoilent bien un *ῥῆθος* et les miracles (*en partie* inspirés par l'Ancien Testament⁹²) y jouent un rôle prépondérant. Toute l'ossature du discours hagiographique s'y retrouve par conséquent.

On pourrait donc avoir l'impression que les Évangiles canoniques⁹³ représentent le vrai archétype de ce discours. Ce serait pourtant faire abstraction du monde juif (hellénisé) du début de notre ère⁹⁴ et plus particulièrement de Philon d'Alexandrie († vers 45-50) qui, avec sa Vie de Moïse, offre – je pense – le premier spécimen *connu* d'un texte à discours hagiographique

⁹¹ Pensons à la source *Q* (de l'allemand *Quelle*) qu'on suppose être antérieure à Matthieu et Luc, qui y auraient puisé (tout comme ils auraient utilisé aussi l'Évangile de Marc).

⁹² Cf. B. LINDARS, « Elijah, Elisha and the Gospel Miracles », dans C. F. D. MOULE (éd.), *Miracles. Cambridge Studies in their Philosophy and History*, Londres, 1966², pp. 61-79. Pour d'autres études comparatives, voir M. VAN CANGH, « Santé et salut dans les miracles d'Épidaure, d'Apollonius de Tyane et du Nouveau Testament », dans J. RIES (éd.), *Gnosticisme et monde hellénistique*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982, pp. 263-277 ; ID., « Miracles des rabbins et miracles de Jésus. La tradition sur Honi et Hanina », *Revue théologique de Louvain*, 15 (1984), pp. 28-53 ; W. FAUTH, « Pythagoras, Jesus von Nazareth und der Helios-Apollon des Julianos Apostata. Zu einigen Eigentümlichkeiten der spätantiken Pythagoras-Aretalogie im Vergleich mit der thaumasiologischen Tradition der Evangelien », *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Älteren Kirche*, 68 (1987), pp. 26-48.

⁹³ Parmi les Évangiles apocryphes, il n'y a que les soi-disant Évangiles de l'Enfance (amplifications de *Mt* 2 et de *Lc* 1-2) qui se raccrochent au discours hagiographique, la plupart des autres n'étant pas de véritables narrations.

⁹⁴ Sur les pseudépigraphes et autres textes juifs et leurs possibles rapports avec le discours hagiographique, voir VAN UYTFANGHE, cit. n. 54, col. 1138-1143.

à part entière⁹⁵. Les Évangiles ne dépendent pas de lui (bien que sa conception du *Logos* ait éventuellement pu influencer le prologue de Jean), mais il leur est antérieur. Il écrit pour faire connaître la religion juive et son grand archétype à un public païen cultivé. Il présente Moïse comme un homme de Dieu, élu dès l'enfance, protégé et authentifié par Lui, moyennant de nombreux signes et miracles. Que Moïse ait existé ou non (il y a maintenant des archéologues israéliens qui en doutent⁹⁶), on constate que les sources de Philon sont la Bible et la tradition orale « des anciens de notre nation »⁹⁷, mais qu'il a son propre concept de stylisation (ainsi, la proximité avec Dieu va croissant tout au long de la vie de Moïse, ce qui n'est pas le cas dans la Bible⁹⁸) et son propre objectif performatif et apologétique (vis-à-vis des Gentils), à savoir faire reconnaître Moïse comme le roi parfait (ce que, de toute façon, il n'a jamais été) et aussi comme philosophe, législateur, grand prêtre et prophète, comme une figure exceptionnelle, d'une grande élévation dans son comportement éthique et religieux (vertus ascétiques postbibliques y comprises), bref comme le modèle à proposer à l'accomplissement de l'humanité (on pense ici à l'Apollonius de Philostrate)⁹⁹.

Dans sa préface, Philon assure que les Grecs auraient dû employer leurs dons naturels à raconter la vie des hommes vertueux plutôt que de consacrer leur zèle à faire un beau récit de mauvaises actions¹⁰⁰. Malgré sa tendance à exprimer sa foi juive avec la pensée et le langage grecs, se croit-il donc lui-même le premier à avoir fait ce qu'il a fait dans son Περὶ τοῦ βίου Μωυσέως? Aurait-il inventé le discours hagiographique?

⁹⁵ Ses autres « Vies de patriarches » (*De Abrahamo*, *De Iosepho*) sont plutôt des traités de doctrine et de morale que des biographies spirituelles.

⁹⁶ Cf. I. FINKELSTEIN & N. A. SILBERMAN, *The Bible Unearthed. Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of the Sacred Texts*, New York, 2002.

⁹⁷ *De vita Mosis*, I, 4.

⁹⁸ Cf. FRICKENSCHMIDT, cit. n. 87, p. 176.

⁹⁹ Cf. R. ARNALDEZ et al., *Les œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie. De vita Mosis, I-II. Introduction, traduction et notes*, Paris, 1967, pp. 12-13.

¹⁰⁰ *De vita Mosis*, I, 3.

En 1965, Moses Hadas et Morton Smith¹⁰¹ avaient publié un livre intitulé *Heroes and Gods. Spiritual Biographies in Antiquity*, où, après une ample introduction, ils présentent quatre textes en traduction anglaise : la Vie de Pythagore par Porphyre (en entier) et des extraits de la Vie de Moïse par Philon d'Alexandrie, de l'Évangile selon saint Luc et de la Vie d'Apollonius de Tyane par Philostrate¹⁰². Selon eux, on a affaire, dans ces textes, à des arétalogies, et le paradigme lointain de ce genre littéraire serait le portrait de Socrate transmis par Platon dans ses Dialogues et son Apologie. Leur théorie a suscité peu d'enthousiasme parce qu'ils ont érigé en un genre littéraire plutôt chimérique ce qui semble avoir été originellement un catalogue de miracles attribué à une divinité (*l'aretalogia*)¹⁰³. Ce « fantôme » comme l'a appelé Klaus Berger¹⁰⁴, devait servir, dans le chef des deux savants américains, de modèle hellénistique pour les Évangiles, mais son existence ne pouvait être vérifiée¹⁰⁵. En plus de cela, chez le Socrate de Platon, précisément, un des éléments clés de ce que Hadas et Smith définissent comme une arétalogie (le *supernatural endowment*) n'est pas encore développé¹⁰⁶. Il n'empêche

¹⁰¹ Morton Smith est surtout connu pour avoir découvert en 1958, au monastère de Mar Saba (à une vingtaine de km de Jérusalem), le fameux *Évangile secret de Marc*, qui a soulevé tant de discussions : cf. B. EHRLMAN, *Les christianismes disparus. La bataille pour les Écritures : apocryphes, faux et censures* (traduit de l'anglais par J. Bonnet), Paris, 2007, pp. 113-145.

¹⁰² Londres, 1965 (Religious Perspectives, 13).

¹⁰³ Pour une critique approfondie du concept, voir par ex. Cox, cit. n. 3, pp. 46-51 (cf. p. 46 ; « The basic problem in aretology research is the attempt to substantiate the claim for the existence early in the Hellenistic period of a literary form that follows a fixed pattern for the life of a holy or supernaturally gifted man » ; p. 49 : « It is simply not possible to define a stable literary pattern that such biographies follow if features of the textual content are taken as the organizing or ordering principles ») ; également SCHIRREN, cit. n. 14, pp. 257-258 et n. 139.

¹⁰⁴ K. BERGER, « Hellenistische Gattungen im neuen Testament », dans *Aufstieg*, cit. n. 86, p. 1229.

¹⁰⁵ Précisément parce que les Vies d'hommes saints ou « surnaturellement doués » avec lesquelles Hadas et Smith comparaient les Évangiles, sont toutes (sauf la Vie de Moïse de Philon) postérieures à eux.

¹⁰⁶ Il est vrai que les sources « irrationnelles » du statut de sage que Socrate a acquis aux yeux de Platon, ne sont pas absentes (voir son δαίμόνιον, les oracles et les songes), quitte à être accentuées davantage dans des portraits

cependant que chez Platon (et Xénophon), Socrate apparaît comme un surhomme éthique, et que le lien étroit entre le biographique et l'éthique a été tissé, précisément, par le mouvement intellectuel autour de Socrate, Platon et Aristote (dans son *Éthique à Nicomaque*)¹⁰⁷.

En fait, lorsqu'on envisage chaque composante du discours hagiographique *séparément*, on peut remonter très loin. Reprenons-les donc une par une :

(1) Sans parler des héros et rois mythiques et des demi-dieux, on trouve dans la littérature grecque, de très bonne heure (en fait, depuis Homère) toutes sortes de figures à mi-chemin entre le divin et l'humain (des voyants, des aèdes et rhapsodes, des prophètes, des thaumaturges et des mystagogues)¹⁰⁸. Les Pythagoriciens, selon Aristote, distinguaient parmi les vivants doués de raison trois espèces : les dieux, les hommes et les êtres du genre de Pythagore¹⁰⁹. Platon et Aristote eux-mêmes attribuaient quelque chose de divin au philosophe et au sage, même si cela ne revêtait pas encore la même portée « numineuse » que dans le néoplatonisme de l'Antiquité tardive¹¹⁰. Chez les juifs, la hiérarchie entre Dieu et l'homme de Dieu ou le prophète est plus stricte, de sorte qu'on pourrait dire que la divinisation *ultérieure* du Christ lui-même par le dogme chrétien (Dieu le Fils) apparaît comme plutôt grecque que juive¹¹¹. Néanmoins, l'homme élu ou appelé et inspiré par Yavhé est présent dès les premiers livres de l'Ancien Testament¹¹².

(2) La stylisation des faits historiques dans l'historiographie et la « biographie » (on ne parle pas ici des genres épiques ou fictionnels) est également une chose très « normale » dès la

de Socrate plus tardifs (par ex. le *De genio Socratis* de Plutarque et le *De deo Socratis* d'Apulée) : voir COX, cit. n. 3, p. 33.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. DIHLE, cit. n. 35, pp. 122-124.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. H. D. BETZ, Art. « Gottmensch II », dans *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, t. 12, Stuttgart, 1983, col. 234-288.

¹⁰⁹ *De Pythagoreis*, fr. 192 ; Jamblique, *De vita Pythagorica*, 6, 31 (cf. GOULET, cit. n. 17, p. 24).

¹¹⁰ Cf. COX, cit. n. 3, p. 17 ; GOULET, cit. n. 17, pp. 45-47.

¹¹¹ Mais je laisse de côté ici la discussion sur l'originalité du concept d'« Incarnation », qui sera attaqué par les polémistes païens.

¹¹² Cf. BIELER, cit. n. 29, II, pp. 3-25.

haute Antiquité. Non seulement par la réception d'éléments légendaires ou fabuleux, mais parce que ces auteurs (même les historiographes les plus « pragmatiques ») avaient une attitude très différente de notre « point de vue historique », en ce sens que pour eux, en fin de compte, la vérité factuelle était moins importante que l'illustration d'une vérité morale¹¹³. En cela, leur culture rhétorique leur était évidemment très utile : de là les discours prêtés à tant de personnages (de même, le portrait de Socrate chez Platon et Xénophon est davantage basé sur ce que Socrate « aurait pu dire » aux yeux de ses apologistes que sur ses propos réels¹¹⁴). Avec raison, Jacques Fontaine rappelle, dans l'introduction à son édition de la *Vita Martini* de Sulpice Sévère, le « terrible aveu » de Cicéron : *Concessum est rhetoribus ementiri in historiis, ut aliquid dicere possint argutius*¹¹⁵. Cela ne fut pas nécessairement une invitation à « inventer » des histoires, mais la fiction ou l'invention n'étaient pas interdites pour autant, vu que les *actes* étaient considérés comme des *signes* d'une *qualité* qu'on voulait louer ou blâmer¹¹⁶. Il va sans dire que les livres bibliques participent de la même tendance fondamentale à styliser « en fonction de ».

(3) « En fonction de », en effet. La fonction performative de pans importants de la littérature narrative commande cette stylisation. Chez les Grecs et les Romains, la volonté d'offrir des *exemples* à imiter ou à éviter transformait l'histoire en « éthique appliquée » (*virī boni nati sunt in exemplar*, dira Sénèque¹¹⁷). Le caractère foncièrement pédagogique et paradigmatique de leur historiographie et de leur biographie en découle¹¹⁸, tandis que dans les récits bibliques le rapport entre

¹¹³ Voir l'excellente introduction de l'éditeur dans A. SPIRA (éd.), *The Biographical Works of Gregory of Nyssa. Proceedings of the Fifth International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa (Mainz, 6-10 September 1982)*, Cambridge, MA, 1984, ici pp. 2-4.

¹¹⁴ Cf. COX, cit. n. 3, pp. 7-8.

¹¹⁵ *Brutus*, 11, 42. Cf. FONTAINE, cit. n. 10, p. 179. Ce principe est applicable aussi à bien des textes bibliques.

¹¹⁶ SPIRA, cit. n. 113, pp. 8-9.

¹¹⁷ *De providentia*, 6, 3.

¹¹⁸ Cf. SPIRA, cit. n. 113, pp. 4-5. COX, cit. n. 3, p. 16, résume bien ce qui s'y ajoute à l'époque tardive : « The biographies to which we now turn exhibit the idealizing and propagandistic features of Graeco-Roman biography but

Israël et son Dieu conditionne tout ce qui est bon ou mauvais. Louer ou blâmer, au service de l'édification morale, est donc inhérent à cette littérature, et la rhétorique de l'éloge en particulier a une longue histoire dans le monde antique (qu'on songe à l'éloge funèbre et honorifique ou à l'encomion ou panégyrique proprement dit)¹¹⁹. L'*exemplum Socratis* montre à quel point le facteur apologétique peut s'en mêler, car de tels personnages n'avaient point que des admirateurs (Aristoxène de Tarente par ex. opposait à Platon une image carrément négative de Socrate)¹²⁰.

(4) Ce qu'on louait, c'étaient les qualités morales, les vertus d'une personne, son ἥθος, le cas échéant illustré par des actes. Le discours hagiographique y associe le plus souvent, on le sait, le miraculeux, le merveilleux, les charismes. Prise en soi, cette dimension a évidemment une origine immémoriale dans les civilisations préscientifiques. Sans parler de Yahvé et des dieux (même si les *miracula post mortem* des saints chrétiens ne seront pas sans rappeler les guérisons d'Esculape à Épidaure par exemple), il suffit de remémorer les traditions merveilleuses attachées à la naissance, à la vie et à la mort de tant de héros, demi-dieux et figures charismatiques qu'on rencontre dans bien des genres, de l'épopée à l'historiographie, y compris dans la Bible. Théopompe de Chios († vers 300 av. Jésus-Christ), pour ne citer que lui, admettait sans problème, dans ses *Histoires philippiques*, une longue digression sur les θαυμάσια, à grand renfort de détails sur les prophètes et les voyants concernés¹²¹. La *symbiose* de l'éthique et du surnaturel caractérise sans doute spécialement le θεῖος ἀνὴρ ou le *holy man* de l'époque impériale, mais le principe même a dû avoir des assises plus anciennes (voir *infra*).

with a crucial addition. They were involved in religious controversy and so attempted to sway not mere opinion but belief».

¹¹⁹ Cf. L. PERNOT, *La rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain*, I-II, Paris, 1993 (l'auteur traite spécifiquement de l'époque impériale, mais il s'intéresse aussi aux antécédents).

¹²⁰ Sur Aristoxène (IV^e siècle av. Jésus-Christ), voir *infra*, n. 132.

¹²¹ Zoroastre, Épiménide, Bacis : voir DES PLACES, cit. n. 15, p. 16.

On est donc en droit de conclure que les divers ingrédients ou composantes du discours hagiographique, envisagés individuellement, s'enracinent dans l'Antiquité classique (et même préclassique) et biblique, prêts, il est vrai, à s'intensifier, à s'exacerber, pour ainsi dire à passer à une vitesse sensiblement supérieure à l'époque tardive. La question est évidemment de savoir si la coexistence de ces composantes, dans un ouvrage littéraire cohérent (cette coexistence qui, elle, génère vraiment le discours hagiographique à part entière) est un phénomène typique de l'époque impériale (dès le début de celle-ci) ou si elle a des antécédents reconnaissables. Or c'est ce dernier adjectif qui fait problème, en raison notamment de la transmission (très) fragmentaire (ou simplement inexistante) de certains écrits (ou titres) qui *pourraient* entrer en ligne de compte. Morton Smith, parlant de la prétendue arétalogie, croyait que le snobisme de la littérature classique (« *almost entirely upper-class and rationalistic* ») a longtemps boudé les *holy men* du monde gréco-romain. C'est pour cette raison, ajoute-t-il, que le Nouveau Testament nous semble si différent du reste de la littérature antique¹²². On sent bien que ses recherches s'inscrivaient dans la controverse (interminable) sur l'originalité ou le manque d'originalité des Évangiles.

Est-ce que, chez les juifs¹²³, le troisième fragment conservé (chez Eusèbe de Césarée) du Περὶ Ἰουδαίων d'Artapan (II^e/I^{er} siècle av. Jésus-Christ) vient d'une première *jüdisch-hellenistische Personalbiographie*, celle de Moïse, ou d'un *Mozesroman*, avec réception de légendes extrabibliques ? Cela ne peut être

¹²² M. SMITH, « Prolegomena to a Discussion of Aretalogies, Divine Men, the Gospels and Jesus », *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 90 (1971), pp. 174-199, ici p. 179 (+ n. 38). On rapprochera de cela le constat plus général de Mark EDWARDS, cit. n. 72, pp. XIX-XX : « ...there was perhaps no form of literature that enjoyed such an efflorescence as biography among Greeks of the Roman Empire. It grew from a slender stalk, for nothing remains from the classical age that we could call biography... ».

¹²³ Sur l'« historiographie » judéo-hellénistique en Égypte (connue de manière fragmentaire), voir K. HOHEISEL, Art. « Aegypten II (literaturgeschichte) », dans *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Supplement-Band I, Stuttgart, 2001, col. 14-88, ici col. 57-62.

qu'une hypothèse¹²⁴. D'un autre côté, la Bible hébraïque, dans des genres littéraires divers, contient des *noyaux* de biographies spirituelles de médiateurs élus entre Dieu et les hommes (Moyse déjà, mais aussi Samson, Samuel, Esther, Judith, Jonas, Tobie, Daniel, Élie et Élisée, etc.)¹²⁵. On a même suggéré que dans le cycle d'Élie et d'Élisée, il s'agirait d'extraits provenant de véritables Vies beaucoup plus anciennes que les Livres des Rois¹²⁶. Pour ce qui est de ces derniers, leur genre d'historiographie personnalisée aurait-il été l'*Urbild* de la biographie antique¹²⁷? Rappelons ici quelque chose de moins hypothétique : les auteurs du Nouveau Testament et les hagiographes chrétiens connaissaient bien ces figures stylisées de l'Ancien Testament.

Du côté païen, il va de soi que la tradition relative à Pythagore est beaucoup plus ancienne que le III^e siècle de notre ère et que les sources de Porphyre et de Jamblique sont multiples mais pas toujours faciles à reconstituer, car ou bien les ouvrages sont perdus ou bien il n'en reste que des fragments¹²⁸. Des récits à caractère biographique sur le « maître de sagesse charismatique »¹²⁹ ont existé au moins dès le IV^e siècle avant notre ère, au moment où la légende avait déjà

¹²⁴ Les trois fragments se lisent dans *Praepar. evang.*, IX, 27, 1-37. « Personalbiographie » : voir N. WALTER, « Jüdisch-hellenistische Literatur vor Philon von Alexandrien (unter Ausschluss der Historiker) », dans *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, II, 20, 1, Berlin & New York, 1987, pp. 67-120, ici p. 99 ; « Mozesroman » : voir BIELER, cit. n. 29, II, pp. 26, 30.

¹²⁵ Cf. FONTAINE, cit. n. 10, p. 66 ; FRICKENSCHMIDT, cit. n. 87, pp. 118-135.

¹²⁶ W. MICHAUX, « Les cycles d'Élie et d'Élisée », dans *Bible et Vie chrétienne*, 2 (1954), pp. 76-99.

¹²⁷ Cf. A. MOMIGLIANO, *The Development of Greek Biography*, Cambridge, MA, 1993². Sur ce genre de « zum Teil abenteuerliche Ursprungshypothesen », voir DIHLE, cit. n. 35, pp. 120-121.

¹²⁸ Cf. I. LÉVY, *Recherches sur les sources de la légende de Pythagore*, Paris, 1926 ; W. BURKERT, *Weisheit und Wissenschaft. Studien zu Pythagoras, Philolaos und Platon*, Nürnberg, 1962, pp. 86-87 (« Die älteste Pythagorastradition, 1. Zum Quellenlage ») ; DES PLACES, cit. n. 15, pp. 13-16 ; STAAB, cit. n. 15, pp. 49-109 ; LURJE, cit. n. 15, pp. 236-237 (+ n. 42) ; C. MACRIS, « Jamblique et la littérature pseudo-pythagoricienne », dans S. C. MIMOUNI (éd.), *Apocryphité. Histoire d'un concept transversal aux religions du Livre*, Turnhout, 2002, pp. 77-129.

¹²⁹ Comme le définit Constantin MACRIS, cit. n. 9, p. 265.

fait son travail et où Pythagore était déjà un signe de contradiction, notamment en rapport avec ses prétendus pouvoirs surnaturels¹³⁰, mais aussi parce que les Vies de philosophes de l'époque reflétaient surtout la rivalité entre les écoles philosophiques¹³¹. Aristoxène de Tarente (IV^e s.) lui était favorable (alors qu'il détestait l'école de Platon et donc aussi Socrate), mais il était sceptique, semble-t-il, sur le côté thaumaturgique de sa personnalité, comme le sera beaucoup plus tard Diogène Laërce¹³².

Entre les deux, on connaît divers noms d'auteurs qui ont écrit sur Pythagore, sans qu'on puisse toujours faire la part de l'admiration, de la croyance ou incroyance, du simple enregistrement, de la rationalisation des miracles, de la moquerie pure et simple¹³³. Y avait-il déjà, parmi ces écrits, des Vies de Pythagore pleinement hagiographiques, celles par exemple qui ont été attribuées à des pythagoriciens comme Apollonius de Tyane (I^{er} siècle apr. J.-C.) ou Nicomaque de Gêrase (II^e s. après J.-C.)¹³⁴? Peut-être, mais on ne peut pas le savoir avec certitude. D'autres philosophes anciens ont de bonne heure été entourés d'une aura de θεῖος ἀνὴρ: Empédocle d'Agrigente († 435 av. J.-C.) par ex., qui était un imitateur

¹³⁰ Voir COX, cit. n. 3, pp. 11-12, 32-33 (par ex. Hermippe versus Callimaque); SCHIRREN, cit. n. 14, pp. 130-133.

¹³¹ COX, cit. n. 3, p. 135.

¹³² *Ib.*, pp. 10-11, 16; DES PLACES, cit. n. 15, pp. 183-188; DIHLE, cit. n. 35, pp. 130-131; FRICKENSCHMIDT, cit. n. 87, pp. 154-155; GOULET, cit. n. 17, p. 16.

¹³³ Cf. SCHIRREN, cit. n. 14, pp. 135-137. Les principaux noms (à part Aristote et quelques sources plus anciennes): Héraclide du Pont, Dicéarque de Messine, Timée, Hermippe, Callimaque, Néanthe, Hippobotus, Satyre, Apollonius, Modératus de Gadès, Nicomaque de Gêrase).

¹³⁴ Jamblique ne semble pas avoir utilisé directement Porphyre, mais leur source commune est le plus souvent Nicomaque (cité par les deux). On discute cependant sur la question de savoir si celui-ci est l'auteur d'une véritable *Vita* de Pythagore (voir STAAB, cit. n. 15, pp. 217-222). Quant à Apollonius, cité également à la fois par Porphyre (*Vita*, 2) et Jamblique (*De vita*, 254), on l'a longtemps identifié à Apollonius de Tyane (puisque la Souda attribue à celui-ci une *Vie de Pythagore*), mais cette identification a été contestée (voir *ib.*, pp. 228-237). Philostrate mentionne néanmoins un livre d'Apollonius sur la doctrine de Pythagore (*Vita*, VIII, 19), qui pourrait être identique à sa Vie de Pythagore (cf. SCHIRREN, n. 14, p. 9). Pour un état de la question sur le problème de l'authenticité, voir FLINTERMAN, cit. n. 64, pp. 77-79.

de Pythagore. Diogène Laërce rapporte ces traditions, qu'il emprunte sans doute à Héraclide le Pontique († vers 310 av. J.-C.)¹³⁵.

L'histoire de héros mythiques tels qu'Orphée, Thésée et Hercule (Héraklès) nous est connue de manière diffuse, à travers de multiples sources, épiques notamment. Le *Thésée* de Plutarque n'est pas une Vie hagiographique¹³⁶, tandis que sa Vie d'Héraklès n'est pas conservée. On a supposé que l'*Héracle* de Panyassis d'Halicarnasse (v^e s. av. J.-C.), dont nous avons quelques fragments, fut déjà une biographie épique cohérente qui traitait également de la naissance et de l'enfance du héros¹³⁷, mais les preuves manquent forcément. On sait néanmoins que, depuis Antisthène († vers 365 av. J.-C.), Hercule offrait aux philosophes cyniques un modèle d'existence qui donnait un sens aux labeurs et aux souffrances de la vie¹³⁸. De là à imaginer qu'un proto-évangile synoptique dépendait d'une biographie cynico-stoïcienne d'Hercule perdue, il y a un pas que Friedrich Pfister a franchi en 1937 avec son *Herakles und Christus*¹³⁹, mais que même Morton Smith a qualifié d'absurde¹⁴⁰. On note, certes, quelques analogies entre Hercule et Jésus (elles affectent surtout le début et la fin de leur « carrière » respective) : par ex. dans les deux cas le héros est de lignage divin (mais né d'une mère humaine), il échappe à un danger mortel au lendemain de sa naissance, il subit la tentation au seuil de l'âge d'homme, il termine sa vie terrestre par une passion qu'il accepte, sa mort s'accompagne de prodiges et n'est que le prélude à son apothéose¹⁴¹. Les dif-

¹³⁵ Voir HADAS & SMITH, cit. n. 102, pp. 45-47 ; Cox, cit. n. 3, pp. 31-32 (l'auteur commente ici D. TIEDE, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker*, Missoula, Montana, 1972).

¹³⁶ Sur le sens critique de l'auteur (qui se déduit déjà de la Préface), voir R. FLACELIÈRE et al., *Plutarque. Vies*, t. I (*Thésée-Romulus/Lycurgue-Numa*). *Texte établi et traduit*, Paris, 1964, pp. 5-7.

¹³⁷ Cf. FRICKENSCHMIDT, cit. n. 87, pp. 94-96 (« Herakles und die Entwicklung des Epos zur 'epischen Biographie' »), spéc. p. 95 (sur l'hypothèse de F. Stössl, auteur de l'article « Panyassis » dans *Paulys Real-Encyklopädie*, 18, 3, Stuttgart, 1949, col. 871-923, ici col. 892-895).

¹³⁸ M. SIMON, *Hercule et le christianisme*, Paris, 1955, p. 79.

¹³⁹ *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 34 (1937), pp. 42-60.

¹⁴⁰ SMITH, cit. n. 122, p. 192.

¹⁴¹ Voir SIMON, cit. n. 138, pp. 63-64 (avec quelques autres détails).

férences entre les deux figures s'avèrent cependant fondamentales et le Jésus des Évangiles est nettement plus consistant que l'Hercule de la mythologie¹⁴². J'ajoute qu'inversement on a suggéré que le portrait d'Hercule chez Sénèque portait déjà l'empreinte du christianisme¹⁴³.

À supposer qu'on combine certains raisonnements (de manière artificielle il est vrai, car les tenants ne sont pas les mêmes), l'Antoine d'Athanase dépendait de Pythagore, mais Pythagore (ainsi qu'Apollonius de Tyane et Plotin) aurait fait l'objet d'un contre-évangile. La figure du Christ des Évangiles aurait à son tour été modelée d'après celle d'Hercule et de... Pythagore (si l'on en croit ceux qui admettent que la légende du sage grec a influencé une arétalogie de Jésus antérieure à l'Évangile de Marc¹⁴⁴, tout comme, d'ailleurs, elle aurait laissé des traces dans la stylisation de Moïse chez Philon d'Alexandrie¹⁴⁵). Essayons d'y voir un peu plus clair en formulant quelques conclusions.

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Les quatre facteurs qui déterminent le discours hagiographique, pris en eux-mêmes, plongent leurs racines très loin dans l'Antiquité classique et biblique. Réunis dans un même discours et dans des écrits cohérents, ils n'apparaissent – d'après la documentation dont nous disposons – qu'à l'époque impériale, parallèlement à l'avènement du christianisme et à la transformation (religieuse) de la philosophie païenne. Toutefois, vu la transmission défectueuse de moult textes antérieurs, on ne saurait se prononcer avec certitude. Il

¹⁴² *Ib.*, p. 102.

¹⁴³ Dans les tragédies *Hercules furens* et *Hercules Oetaeus*. Voir L. HERRMANN, *Sénèque et les premiers chrétiens*, Bruxelles, 1979, pp. 75-80 (influence plutôt par contradiction que par imitation). Sur l'évolution ultérieure de la théologie héracléenne dans le sens d'un Hercule rival du Christ (notamment chez l'empereur Julien), voir SIMON, cit. n. 138, pp. 127-159.

¹⁴⁴ Ainsi D. GEORGI, « The Records of Jesus in the Light of Ancient Accounts of Revered Men », dans *Society of Biblical Literature. Proceedings of the 108th Annual Meeting*, t. II, Philadelphie, 1972, pp. 527-542, ici pp. 541-542. Sur les prétendus éléments pythagoriciens dans les Évangiles, voir aussi I. LÉVY, *La légende de Pythagore de Grèce en Palestine*, Paris, 1927, pp. 295-340.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. *ib.*, pp. 137-153.

n'est donc pas du tout exclu que le discours hagiographique soit (beaucoup) plus ancien.

Toujours dans l'état actuel de notre documentation, la veine juive et chrétienne semble pour ainsi dire avoir le droit d'aînesse. Il convient néanmoins de faire attention, en raison de l'incertitude chronologique d'abord, ensuite parce que la chronologie n'égale pas un arbre généalogique. La Vie de Moïse de Philon d'Alexandrie, qui s'insère *à la fois* dans l'univers biblique et dans la culture hellénistique de son auteur¹⁴⁶, n'est pas forcément le paradigme de tout le reste. Les Évangiles ne dépendent pas de lui, mais dépendent tout d'abord, comme bien d'autres « biographies spirituelles », de la personnalité originale de leur protagoniste, Jésus de Nazareth¹⁴⁷, et du mouvement qu'il a suscité autour de lui, un mouvement ancré dans l'apocalyptique juive du début de notre ère. Leur stylisation s'est faite (à partir de l'autoconscience de Jésus) moyennant l'Ancien Testament tout d'abord, mais moyennant aussi des éléments charriés par une *folk-memory* déjà séculaire dans le monde antique (pensons aux phénomènes extraordinaires qui entourent la naissance et la mort du Christ, à son ascension au ciel, à certains types de miracles¹⁴⁸).

Au II^e siècle, Lucien de Samosate et Celse montrent que dans certains milieux païens (lettrés) on avait déjà une connaissance

¹⁴⁶ Cf. ARNALDEZ *et al.*, cit. n. 99, p. 15 : « ...un nouveau témoignage de son immense effort pour tenter d'exprimer avec la pensée grecque l'irréductible absolu de sa foi juive ».

¹⁴⁷ Il suffit de penser à ses nombreux propos radicaux et durs, que les évangélistes n'ont pas gommés, et aussi aux reproches que ses contemporains lui faisaient.

¹⁴⁸ Il n'est pas toujours facile de démêler la contextualité propre, le raccrochement voulu à l'Ancien Testament et la « motivistique » hellénistique et universelle. Ainsi le récit de l'infanticide décrété par Hérode (*Mt* 2 : 16-18) se présente comme l'accomplissement d'une parole de Jérémie (*Jer* 31:15) concernant « Rachel qui pleure ses enfants » (selon une tradition rapportée par *Gen* 35 : 19, le tombeau de Rachel se trouvait à Bethléem). Toutefois, le thème du récit (avec des variantes) se rencontre aussi sous la plume d'un biographe d'Auguste (Julius Marathus) cité par Suétone (*Aug.*, 94, 3). Eduard Norden a pensé à un livre de contes oriental comme source commune (voir BIELER, cit. n. 29, I, pp. 41-42, mais Bieler lui-même n'exclut pas un noyau historique, pourtant forcément problématique lorsqu'il s'agit des récits de l'Enfance).

(très détaillée dans le cas de Celse) du christianisme¹⁴⁹. Il est donc possible, voire probable, que le portrait de quelques saints païens ait été façonné *aussi*, non pas tellement par imitation suivie mais par contradiction avec les Évangiles, et tout à fait dans la tradition propre de la philosophie et de la religion hellénistiques¹⁵⁰. Dans le même esprit, il faut comprendre certains emprunts de l'hagiographie chrétienne à la tradition païenne. « *Christian and Neoplatonist rivalries could seem to be expressing themselves in a war of biography* », écrit Averil Cameron à propos de cette « dialectique »¹⁵¹. Le discours hagiographique leur est commun, il y a des interactions, aussi beaucoup de variation à l'intérieur de chacune des deux traditions¹⁵². Mais la singularité de l'élaboration du discours par les païens et les chrétiens est tout aussi importante¹⁵³. Ainsi je cite, pour ce qui est de l'hagiographie chrétienne : l'inspiration biblique, une hiérarchie plus stricte entre Dieu et son serviteur (comme chez les juifs), la mise en relief de vertus spécifiques (l'humilité chrétienne par ex. dépasse la « modestie » païenne), moins de « réflexivité » que dans les textes païens¹⁵⁴,

¹⁴⁹ EDWARDS, cit. n. 6, p. 169.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. G. FOWDEN, « The Platonist Philosopher and his Circle in Late Antiquity », *Philosophia*, 7 (1977), pp. 359-383 ; ID., « The Pagan Holy Man in Late Antique Society », *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 102 (1982), pp. 33-59. Voir aussi les réflexions de Cox, cit. n. 3, pp. 57 et 65.

¹⁵¹ CAMERON, cit. n. 50, p. 145.

¹⁵² Sur les divers types de saints chrétiens, voir M. VAN UYTFANGHE, « La typologie de la sainteté en Occident vers la fin de l'Antiquité (avec une attention spéciale aux modèles bibliques) », dans G. LUONGO (éd.), *Scrivere di santi. Atti del II Convegno dell' AISSCA (Napoli 22-25 ottobre 1997)*, Rome, 1998, pp. 17-48.

¹⁵³ À ce propos Gregor STAAB, cit. n. 15, pp. 25-27, insiste trop unilatéralement, dans le sillage d'autres savants allemands de la fin de XIX^e et de la première moitié du XX^e siècle, sur la dépendance directe des premiers hagiographes chrétiens par rapport à des modèles païens (même s'il se distance des thèses extrêmes de R. Reitzenstein).

¹⁵⁴ En ce sens que les hagiographes chrétiens tiennent moins à s'expliquer, à se justifier, à juxtaposer des sources (l'une dit ceci, l'autre cela...) en prenant une certaine distance. Sur cet aspect réflexif de Philostrate, voir A. BILLAULT, « Le personnage de Philostrate dans la Vie d'Apollonius de Tyane : autoportrait de l'auteur en biographie », dans M.-F. BASLEZ *et al.*, *L'invention de l'autobiographie d'Hésiode à saint Augustin*, Paris, 1993, pp. 271-278, spéc. 273-276.

mais une portée sociale, ou mieux « communautaire », beaucoup plus grande.¹⁵⁵

Toujours plus grande – il faut le répéter – après la victoire du christianisme à la fin du iv^e siècle, qui est aussi le début du véritable essor de l'hagiographie. L'imitation du Christ (actualisée) restera toujours l'élément clé de la stylisation, mais les topiques de la « légende universelle » ne cesseront de s'y incruster. Le discours hagiographique, lui, s'était formé plus tôt, dans une religiosité à la fois commune, plurielle et concurrente, où les modèles de sainteté empruntaient des voies « parallèles à défaut d'être identiques »¹⁵⁶. On peut disséquer ses ingrédients et en rechercher les origines lointaines,

¹⁵⁵ A. MOMIGLIANO, « Ancient Biography and the Study of Religion in the Roman Empire », dans ID., *On Pagans, Jews, and Christians*, Middletown, Conn., 1987, pp. 159-177, ici p. 177, insiste sur le rôle des évêques chrétiens dans la vie d'un saint chrétien (alors que l'homme saint païen tendait à la marginalité sociale, décrite par FOWDEN, cit. n. 150) : « The Christian saint had to reckon with the bishop, if he was not himself a bishop. It is no accident that the prototype of the saint's life was written by a bishop. There was no Athanasius to mark the boundary for the pagan equivalent of St Anthony ».

¹⁵⁶ HANUS, cit. n. 1, p. 230. À noter que G. CLARK, cit. n. 17, p. 48, préfère parler d'un « vocabulary of commitment common to pagan and Christian » plutôt que de « deliberate countering of Christianity by Porphyry and Iamblichus ». De toute façon, il faut se garder d'assertions trop unilatérales (voir déjà *supra*, n. 46 et 152) telles que celle de Gregor STAAB, cit. n. 15, p. 135 (« Man hat des öfteren angemerkt, dass die *Vita* [Plotini] schon viele Elemente einer Heilignenvita aufweist, – eine Aussage, die nicht deutlich zum Ausdruck bringt, dass im Grunde genommen die 'Hagiographie' die entsprechende Züge aus den vorangehenden Philosophenviten übernommen haben muss »), même si cet auteur, p. 475, admet que le poids des vertus principales (piété et affection) dans la Vie de Pythagore par Jamblique, peut être une réponse subliminale au *Zweitugendkanon* chrétien (amour de Dieu et amour des hommes) ; ou celle de T. HÄGG et Ph. ROUSSEAU, cit. n. 3 (Introduction), p. 12 : « Ancient biography that had been translated into Christian hagiography now became pagan hagiography » (mais cette phrase est à replacer dans son contexte : on y parle d'Eunape de Sardes et on commente les études de Patricia Cox Miller). Les deux observations ne tiennent pas suffisamment compte du parallélisme du discours hagiographique et des interactions mutuelles dans lesquelles il faut aussi prendre en compte la Bible.

Je signale encore, pour compléter la bibliographie : S. PRICOCO, *Monaci, filosofi e santi. Saggi di storia della cultura tardoantica*, Soveria Mannelli, 1992 ; G. FREYBURGER & L. PERNOT (éd.), *Du héros païen au saint chrétien. Actes du colloque organisé par le Centre d'Analyse des Rhétoriques Religieuses de l'Antiquité (C.A.R.R.A.), Strasbourg, 1er-2 décembre 1995*, Paris, 1997.

mais jusqu'à preuve du contraire, l'ensemble reste difficilement saisissable avant notre ère.

Summary

Since the Early Imperial period and especially in Late Antiquity, Greek and Latin literature, both pagan and (Judeo-)Christian, produced a number of texts (spiritual biographies, but also other genres) that contain a hagiographical discourse. If one looks for any of the ingredients of this type of discourse exclusively (characters in a specific relation to God or the divine, multiple historical and literary stylization, performative function, *virtutes* – in the sense of both virtues and miracles – as archetypes), then one can go far back into Classical and Biblical Antiquity. The combination of the ingredients, however, based on what we have and know now, has not really been found before our era. The *Life of Moyses* by Philo of Alexandria seems to be the first specimen of such a complete hagiographical discourse.

Escatología final e intermedia en el poema *Laudes Domini*

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Introducción

La composición anónima titulada *Laudes Domini* ofrece una reflexión poética sobre la concepción de la escatología final e intermedia en la edad constantiniana¹. El poema de 148 hexá-

¹ El poema *Laudes Domini cum miraculo quod accidit in Aeduico* fue transmitido por el códice único *Parisinus Latinus* 7558, antes *Colbertinus* 4133, *Regius* 6411. Hasta mediados del siglo XVI, cuando Guillaume Morel realizó la primera edición, el manuscrito se encontraba en la Biblioteca de San Julián de Tours y, actualmente, se conserva en la Biblioteca Nacional de París. La *editio princeps* de 1560 fue ignorada por los antiguos editores del poema, quienes tomaron como referente la edición de Fabricio de 1564. Cfr. *Cl. Marrii Victoris oratoris Massiliensis, AAHΘEIAΣ, seu commentationum in Genesin lib. III. Epigrammata Varia vetusti cuiusdam auctoris, inter quae sunt et aliquot psalmi versibus redditi*. Hilarii Pictavensis episc. Genesis. Cypriani, Genesis et Sodomae. Dracontii, De opere sex dierum. Omnia versibus, nunc primum e vetustis codicibus expressa, ed. G. Morel, Parisiis, 1560, pp. 85-90; *Poetarum veterum ecclesiasticorum opera christiana, et operum reliquiae atque fragmenta, Thesaurus catholicae et orthodoxae ecclesiae, et antiquitatis religiosae, ad utilitatem iuventutis scholasticae, collectus, emendatus, digestus, et commentario quoque expositus*, ed. G. Fabricius, Basileae, 1564, cols. 765-768; *De Christo Jesu, beneficiis et laudibus eius, aliquot Christianae reliquiae veterum poetarum ecclesiasticorum*, ed. A. Rivinus, Lipsiae, 1652, B I r. ss.; C. Vetii Aquilini Iuveni presbyteri hispani *Historiae Evangelicae libri IV. Eiusdem carmina dubia, aut suppositicia. Appendix II Iuveni sive auctoris incerti carmen De Laudibus Domini*, ed. F. Arevalo, Romae, 1792, pp. 448-455; *Anonymi carmen de Laudibus Domini*, PL 6, cols. 45-50; *De Laudibus Domini Carmen*, PL 19, cols. 379-386; *Carmen de Laudibus Domini*, PL 61, cols. 1091-1094. La edición de Brandes es la primera revisión sistemática y rigurosa del manuscrito y de las anteriores ediciones de las *Laudes Domini*. Cfr. *Über das frühchristliche Gedicht Laudes Domini. Nebst einem Excurse: Die Zerstörung von Autun unter Claudius II*,

metros posee una estructura tripartita: el relato de un milagro acaecido en Galia (vv. 1-33), la alabanza a Cristo (vv. 34-142) y el epílogo (vv. 143-148). Entre las partes, que presentan la cuestión escatológica desde diferentes perspectivas, se advierte una cohesión temática y formal, perceptible en la eficacia técnica con la que se encadenan las secuencias del poema.

El establecimiento de una corte imperial legítima en Galia a finales del siglo III benefició el desarrollo de la región en múltiples aspectos. Con la preferencia de Constantino por la religión de los cristianos, también las Iglesias locales recibieron un nuevo impulso. Tan sólo cuatro meses después del célebre edicto de Milán, en octubre del 313, el obispo Reticio de Autun, junto con otros dos obispos galos, asistió en nombre del Emperador al concilio de Roma para dirimir la cuestión de los donatistas. En el concilio de Arles del 314, convocado por el mismo Constantino, reaparece el jefe de la Iglesia de Autun, cuyo nombre se halla fuertemente unido a la historia literaria de las *Laudes Domini*².

Compuesto entre el 317 y el 323 en la ciudad de Autun, el poema *Laudes Domini* contiene la objeción a la cuestión escatológica y una réplica acorde con la experiencia de la comunidad cristiana local³. Al articular las antiguas costum-

ed. W. Brandes, Braunschweig, 1887. No son muy disímiles las dos últimas ediciones del poema. Cfr. *Laudes Domini. Tekst, vertaling en commentaar*, ed. P. Van der Weijden, Paris - Amsterdam, 1967; *Laudes Domini. Introduzione, testo, traduzione e commento*, ed. A. Salzano, Napoli, 2000.

² Tanto Jerónimo como Agustín destacan la gran reputación del obispo Reticio, obtenida por su acción pastoral y política en el campo de la disputa donatista a favor de la causa imperial. Cfr. *HIER. vir. ill.* 72; *AVG. c. Iul.* 1, 3, 7.

³ La fecha de redacción del poema es suministrada por el epílogo, donde el poeta eleva una plegaria por Constantino I y sus hijos (vv. 143-148). Aunque el texto no revela sus nombres, el plural *pignora* (v. 148) indica que el Emperador tenía entonces al menos dos hijos: la fecha de nacimiento del segundo hijo es el *terminus post quem* de la composición del poema. El mayor, Flavio Julio Crispo, nació antes del 307 y Constantino II nació en Arles pocos días antes del 1 de marzo del 317, cuando ambos hermanos fueron proclamados *Caesares* para el Occidente. Por lo tanto, las *Laudes Domini* no pueden haber sido compuestas antes del año 317. El epílogo refleja el clima de optimismo y seguridad que sucedió al edicto de Milán del 313, después de que Constantino diera inicio a una política a favor de los cristianos que dos años antes habían sido objeto de persecución. Sin embargo, la plegaria *victorem laetumque pares*

bres de la Galia con la fe cristiana, el poeta de Autun expone un relato de fuertes connotaciones patrióticas y religiosas: Cristo mismo operó un milagro de resurrección temporal en la capital de los heduos como testimonio anticipado de la promesa realizada a toda la humanidad⁴.

mihi Constantinum! (v. 146) sugiere que el triunfo del Emperador aún no es definitivo. En efecto, los cristianos no dieron por consumada la victoria antes de que Constantino derrotara a Licinio, su par en Oriente, después de las batallas de Adrianópolis y Crisópolis en el 324. El *terminus ante quem* de la redacción del poema es, entonces, la derrota de Licinio en el año 324. El lugar de la composición se deduce a partir de la introducción al relato del milagro acaecido en la región de los heduos (vv. 7-9).

⁴ Sobre el sentido patriótico del milagro, n. 30. El patriotismo galo-romano ya se insinúa en la introducción del poema mediante la evocación de la fraternidad del pueblo de los heduos con Roma (v. 9). Desde los primeros contactos con Roma, la capital hedua había sido una importante base para la romanización de toda la Galia. En el 121 a. C. ambos pueblos se habían unido en la batalla contra las tribus de los alóbroges y los arvernos. Ante la amenaza de los helvecios, los heduos recurrieron al auxilio del gobernador de la Galia Cisalpina, Julio César, en el 58 a. C. (cfr. FLOR. *epit.* 1, 37). El apoyo a los “hermanos y consanguíneos de Roma”, como se recuerda a los heduos en esta campaña, justificó el emprendimiento de las acciones bélicas que César habría de immortalizar en sus *Comentarios a la Guerra de las Galias* (cfr. CAES. *Gall.* 1, 33; 1, 36; 1, 43; 1, 44). Los heduos también contribuyeron tempranamente a la inclusión de las provincias galas en el sistema político romano. Provenía de Autun el primer sacerdote del templo de Augusto en Lugdunum, erigido como expresión de lealtad al jefe supremo y de íntima alianza con Roma (cfr. LIV. *perioch.* 139). Tácito afirma que los primeros senadores de la Galia Comata fueron heduos “a causa de una antigua alianza y porque sólo ellos entre los galos poseen el nombre de hermandad con el pueblo romano” (cfr. TAC. *ann.* 11, 25). La importancia que tenía para los romanos el asentamiento de un pueblo aliado en Galia, *fratres nostri Haedui*, se refleja en el epistolario de Cicerón (cfr. CIC. *epist.* 7, 10). De nuevo en el siglo III, durante el caótico período que llevó a la creación de un *imperium Galliarum*, es posible distinguir la alianza de Autun con Roma: la ciudad dio su apoyo a Claudio II contra los emperadores galos. En la historiografía antigua es recurrente y distintivo el apelativo de “hermanos” para los heduos (cfr. DIOD. 5, 25, 1; STRABO 4, 3, 2; PLUT. *Caes.* 26, 3). La consanguinidad que Roma había acordado con exclusividad a los ciudadanos de Ilión le fue concedida a este pueblo galo, también descendiente de Troya, según una tradición legendaria cuyos ecos se perciben en la *Apocolocyntosis* de Séneca. Cfr. D. C. BRAUND, “The Aedui, Troy, and the Apocolocyntosis”, *The Classical Quarterly*, New Series, 30, 2 (1980), pp. 420-425. Con tales antecedentes, el autor de las *Laudes Domini* proclama la continuidad de la unión fraternal entre Augustodunum con los descendientes de Remo.

Escatología final

La problemática de la escatología final, es decir, el escepticismo acerca de la promesa del retorno glorioso de Cristo al final de los tiempos, da origen a la composición de las *Laudes Domini*. El poema es una respuesta a la objeción popular sobre la dilación del día del Juicio, en el que se cumplirán las promesas de Dios y cada uno recibirá su recompensa:

Quis queritur sera virtutes dote iuvare?
 Quis promissa Dei lento procedere passu?
 Quis fine humano metitur iudicis urnam
 perpetui tardumque putat, quod saecula debent?
 Accelerare diem, meritis qui praemia reddat,
 nobilis ingenti testatur gloria facto. (vv. 1-6)⁵

Encubierta por un lenguaje expresamente clásico⁶, la segunda epístola de Pedro es la verdadera guía del mensaje formulado tres siglos más tarde por el anónimo poeta de Autun. La carta dirigida a las comunidades cristianas de Asia Menor deja constancia de que las dudas por las promesas escatológicas, ocasionadas por el retardo de la Parusía, causaban quejas y reservas desde la era apostólica⁷. La respuesta que ofrece Pedro al problema sobre la Parusía es la paciencia divina; la dilación se debe a la voluntad salvífica universal de Dios.

En el período inmediatamente posterior al Nuevo Testamento, los escritos de los Padres apostólicos dan testimonio de que las dudas por la dilación de la Parusía se reforzaron, sobre

⁵ “¿Quién se queja de que las virtudes obtengan tarde su recompensa? / ¿Quién de que las promesas de Dios a paso lento marchen? / ¿Quién con la medida humana evalúa la urna del juez eterno / y considera que los siglos pagan tarde su deuda? / La insigne gloria prueba con este hecho grandioso / que se aproxima el día que otorgará al mérito los premios.”

⁶ Cfr. Ov. *met.* 2, 572-573 *lentis / passibus*; Verg. *Aen.* 7, 145 *Advenisse diem, quo debita moenia condant*; 2, 537-538 *praemia reddant / debita*; Verg. *Aen.* 12, 322 *insignis gloria facti*. Cfr. E. DI LORENZO, “Sulla tecnica esametrica delle *Laudes Domini*”, *Sileno. Rivista di studi classici e cristiani*, 30 (2004), pp. 109-120.

⁷ Il Petr. 3, 8-10 *Unum vero hoc non lateat vos, carissimi, quia unus dies apud Dominum sicut mille anni et mille anni sicut dies unus. Non tardat Dominus promissionem, sicut quidam tarditatem existimant, sed patienter agit in vos, nolens aliquos perire sed omnes ad paenitentiam reverti.*

todo en las comunidades judeo-cristianas, a continuación de la caída de Jerusalén⁸. El riesgo más apremiante consistía en el abandono de la escatología tradicional y, consecuentemente, en el rechazo de la Resurrección de Cristo, convicción fundamental y núcleo de la fe cristiana. Así pues, la esperanza en la resurrección de los muertos, que no es sino el desarrollo y prolongación de la fe en la Resurrección del Hijo del Hombre, quedaba desprovista de todo fundamento. Frente a esta situación, los Padres apostólicos intentaron defender la escatología primitiva y reanimar la *Naherwartung* que la había caracterizado, ya por medio de una “espera inminente” artificial que exigía la conversión urgente, ya por medio de una concepción profundamente transformada de tal inminencia⁹.

En la medida en que la *Naherwartung* pierde su carácter temporal para convertirse en una proximidad cosmológica y espacial del Juez omnipresente, la escatología primitiva comienza a helenizarse a través de la aplicación del concepto del alma inmortal al pasaje neotestamentario de la Parusía y de la resurrección universal¹⁰. La literatura hagiográfica da cuenta

⁸ Cfr. T. H. C. VAN EIJK, *La résurrection des morts chez les Pères apostoliques*, Paris, 1974, p. 43.

⁹ Nos referimos en particular a la *Primera carta* de Clemente de Roma (fin del siglo I), a la *Segunda carta* de Clemente (segundo cuarto del siglo II) y al *Pastor* de Hermas (segundo cuarto del siglo II). Cfr. VAN EIJK, *ibid.*, pp. 41-98. Para una consideración teológica de la *Naherwartung*, cfr. H. U. VON BALTHASAR, *Zuerst Gottes Reich*, Einsiedeln, 1966, pp. 9-24.

¹⁰ En la actualidad, el tema de los componentes bíblicos y helenistas genera orientaciones divergentes en la concepción escatológica de católicos y protestantes. Para Cullmann, cuya posición es moderada dentro de la teología protestante, inmortalidad del alma y resurrección de los muertos son dos ideas procedentes de ambientes culturales distintos, que se excluyen mutuamente. Cfr. O. CULLMANN, *Immortalité de l'âme ou Résurrection des morts?*, Paris - Neuchâtel, 1956, p. 83. Sobre la tendencia de la teología católica, cfr. C. POZO, *Teología del más allá*, Madrid, 1967, pp. 47-78. El empleo de terminología neoplatónica en la literatura antigua delata la progresiva interferencia del pensamiento griego en la escatología cristiana. Sin embargo, esto no excluye que la idea de pervivencia sea, asimismo, auténticamente bíblica. Cfr. VAN EIJK, *La résurrection*, p. 9; M. VAN UYTFANGHE, “Platonisme et eschatologie chrétienne. Leur symbiose graduelle dans les passions et les panégyriques des martyrs et dans les biographes spirituelles (II^e-VI^e siècles). 2: les passions tardives”, en *De Tertullien aux Mozarabes, I: Antiquité tardive et Christianisme ancien (III^e-VI^e siècles). Mélanges offerts à Jacques Fontaine*, Paris, 1992, pp. 69-95.

de esta sustitución progresiva de la creencia en la resurrección de los muertos por la concepción griega de la inmortalidad del alma: los relatos de los siglos VII y VIII expresan el ingreso del santo en la vida eterna por fórmulas casi exclusivamente neoplatónicas, mientras que de la resurrección ulterior apenas se encuentra alguna breve mención¹¹.

La intensificación del más allá inmediato es, en efecto, una respuesta a la dilación de la Parusía. El foco de interés en la escatología final y universal se traslada hacia una escatología individual e intermedia, que se concentra en el destino de cada persona desde su muerte hasta la resurrección en el último día. En principio, “la escatología intermedia no está ligada, en su realidad, a la idea de resurrección, sino a la idea de supervivencia después de la muerte; no es una escatología del hombre todo, sino una escatología del alma”¹².

El poema del período constantiniano se sitúa en una etapa intermedia de esta evolución. Por una parte, la inminencia de la venida y de la retribución ya aparece privada de la concreción temporal de los orígenes, como señala la imagen de la “urna del juez eterno”¹³, y el interés por la escatología intermedia se hace patente en el relato del milagro de Autun. Por otra parte, la escatología intermedia no se presenta en términos del dualismo cuerpo-alma, sino que privilegia la concepción primitiva de la resurrección corporal, íntimamente ligada a la Resurrección de Cristo y a su retorno sobre la tierra.

En el poema *Laudes Domini*, la autenticidad de la Parusía es atestiguada por un milagro cuyos protagonistas son dos cónyuges cristianos de la ciudad de Autun. El acontecimiento extraordinario ocurre durante el entierro del hom-

¹¹ Cfr. M. VAN UYTFANGHE, *ibid.*

¹² Cfr. POZO, *Teología*, p. 48.

¹³ El poema presenta la contraposición entre la medida limitada del hombre y la urna del juez eterno, que es Cristo. En las Escrituras, Cristo es el juez por antonomasia, cuyo poder se ha de revelar por completo en el juicio final (II Cor. 5, 10; II Tim. 4, 8). En el poema, *urna* es una metonimia de ‘decreto’, ‘dictamen’. En la Antigüedad romana, la urna era un recipiente en el que los jueces depositaban el voto de absolución o condena. En la *Eneida*, la tutela de la urna concierne a Minos, juez de los muertos en el Hades. Cfr. VERG. *Aen.* 6, 431-433 *nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes: / quaesitor Minos urnam mouet; ille silentum / consiliumque vocat vitasque et crimina discit.*

bre, cuando el cadáver de la esposa, agradecida por la castidad de su marido, extiende su mano para recibirlo en el sepulcro que de común acuerdo habían proyectado. A continuación, se exponen las preguntas por el autor del milagro, cuya respuesta es el panegírico dedicado a Cristo, las “loas del Señor” que dan el título al poema:

Quis dedit affectum tumulo? Quis vincula solvit?

Unde sepulta videt venturam coniugis umbram? (vv. 32-33)¹⁴

De manera particular, la expresión *vincula solvit* anuncia la idea central de la segunda parte del poema. Aunque ésta puede interpretarse literalmente en relación con las ataduras de los miembros de la difunta, descritas minuciosamente en los vv. 22-23, también es innegable que la expresión evoca los relatos milagrosos del Nuevo Testamento (Luc. 13, 16; Act. 16, 26) y, en definitiva, el poder de Cristo de disolver las ataduras de la muerte y de operar el milagro de la resurrección, como afirma seguidamente el poeta¹⁵:

Tu facis haec, Tu Christe Deus, tua signa moventur

paulatimque doces sopita resurgere membra. (vv. 34-35)¹⁶

En el panegírico se reconocen dos secciones: la alabanza a Cristo, creador del mundo junto con el Padre (vv. 36-88) y la alabanza a Cristo, enviado por el Padre como redentor del mundo (vv. 89-142)¹⁷. Con un marcado acento doctrinal, la segunda sección del panegírico resume las *gesta Christi* desde el nacimiento de la virgen María hasta la ascensión al cielo

¹⁴ “¿Quién dio sentimiento al túmulo? ¿Quién soltó las ataduras? / ¿Cómo es que, enterrada, ve la sombra del marido que viene?”

¹⁵ En el comentario del poema, Pieter van der Weijden se limita a relacionar *vincula solvis* con la descripción del amortajamiento del cadáver. Cfr. VAN DER WEIJDEN, *Laudes Domini*, pp. 87-88. En efecto, el poeta subraya que las manos del cadáver habían sido sujetadas al tronco con fuertes ataduras, a fin de enfatizar que el gesto de la difunta esposa a su marido es un hecho sobrenatural (vv. 22-23).

¹⁶ “Tú haces estas cosas, Tú, Cristo Dios, tus signos se manifiestan, / y enseñas a los miembros adormecidos a resurgir poco a poco.”

¹⁷ Cfr. BRANDES, *Über das frühchristliche*, p. 15; G. BARDY, “Les *Laudes Domini*: poème autunois du commencement du IV^e siècle”, *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, arts et belles-lettres de Dijon* (1933), pp. 36-51.

junto al Padre. El poema insiste en el poder de Cristo sobre la muerte, cuyo poder fue destruido con su propia muerte y Resurrección (Act. 2, 24; 2 Tim. 1, 10). Para el autor del siglo IV, la esperanza escatológica no es un motivo de alienación, sino que impone un compromiso con las tareas temporales, que antes de la obra redentora del Señor carecían de sentido:

atque ut missa Deo penitus praecepta paterent,
imperium Tu morti adimis morboque soluto
desperata iubes apprendere munia vitae (vv. 112-114)¹⁸

A los embates contra la idea de la resurrección de los muertos, los Padres de la Iglesia oponen los milagros de Cristo, en especial los de resurrección, a fin de demostrar su poder para realizar también la resurrección futura y definitiva al final de los tiempos¹⁹. En el ámbito de las manifestaciones poéticas del siglo IV, es significativo el testimonio que el papa Dámaso ofrece en su propio epitafio²⁰. Así también el poeta de las *Laudes Domini* invoca contra el “pérfido escepticismo” los milagros neotestamentarios y, en particular, el de la resurrección de Lázaro, que respondió al llamado de Cristo: “*Lazare, veni foras*” (Ioh. 11, 43):

restituisque diem caecis et, ne quid inausum
restaret penitus, quo perfidus error obiret,
indicis sensum tumultis et condita pridem
membra iubes iterum superas consurgere in auras
agnoscuntque suum dilecta cadavera nomen. (vv. 115-119)²¹

¹⁸ “y para que los preceptos enviados por Dios se manifestasen por completo, / tú quitas a la muerte el poder y, disuelta la enfermedad, / ordenas asumir los desalentadores deberes de la vida”.

¹⁹ Cfr. Pozo, *Teología*, p. 106.

²⁰ ED 12 *Qui gradiens pelagi fluctus compressit amarus, / vivere qui prestat morientia semina terrae, / solvere qui potuit letalia vincula mortis / post tenebras, fratrem post tertia lumina solis / ad superos iterum Martae donare sorori, / post cineres Damasum faciet quia surgere credo*. Cfr. A. FERRUA, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, Città del Vaticano, 1942, pp. 111-114.

²¹ “y restituyes el día a los ciegos, y para que nada quedase / sin intentar por completo, de manera que el pérfido escepticismo se retirase, / otorgas sentimiento a los túmulos y ordenas a los ya sepultos / cuerpos que se eleven de nuevo hacia las auras superiores / y los amados cadáveres reconocen su propio nombre.”

El milagro relatado en la primera parte del poema justifica la alabanza a Cristo y, en contrapunto, la alabanza a Cristo esclarece el sentido del milagro acaecido en la ciudad de Autun. Cristo permite la resurrección temporal de la esposa como una señal de la promesa realizada a toda la humanidad; el milagro de las *Laudes Domini* no sólo es un premio por la *pietas* y la *fides* conyugal, sino también una manifestación de la promesa neotestamentaria sobre la futura resurrección de los muertos²².

Escatología intermedia

La preocupación claramente tardoantigua por la escatología intermedia e individual, como ya anunciamos, aparece reflejada en el milagro de las *Laudes Domini*. En la literatura cristiana, el tema de la pervivencia *post-mortem* y anterior a la resurrección de los cuerpos se delinea con precisión a partir de los siglos iv y v. Firmes en la idea de la inminente Parusía, los autores neotestamentarios no proporcionan mayores detalles sobre el destino inmediato de los difuntos y la esperanza en la resurrección futura sigue manteniendo la primacía en los escritores cristianos de los dos siglos siguientes²³.

El milagro de las *Laudes Domini* posee, por un lado, la peculiaridad de interesarse no tanto por el destino del alma inmortal, sino por el destino del hombre en su totalidad y, por otro, la singularidad de plantearlo a través de la escatología de la unión matrimonial. Al destacar que el amor conyugal es “ley divina” (v. 11) y “pacto eterno” (v. 17), el poeta suscribe la doctrina patristica de una relación que supera la ley natural, ya que Dios mismo inscribe el amor en la naturaleza de los

²² Cfr. P. SCHIERL, “Die motive ‘ewige Liebe’ und ‘göttliche Belohnung’ in der Wundererzählung der *Laudes Domini*”, en *Motivi e forme della poesia cristiana antica tra Scrittura e Tradizione classica*, XXXVI Incontro di studiosi dell’antichità cristiana, Roma, 3-5 maggio 2007, Roma, 2008 (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 108), pp. 861-871.

²³ Cfr. M. VAN UYTFANGHE, “L’essor du culte des saints et la question de l’eschatologie”, en *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III^e-XIII^e siècle)*. Actes du colloque organisé par l’École française de Rome et l’Université de Rome “La Sapienza”, Rome, 27-29 octobre 1988, Rome, 1991, pp. 91-107.

esposos para que sean una sola carne y un solo espíritu, y que, por lo tanto, está destinada a perdurar después de la muerte de uno de los cónyuges²⁴.

Para los protagonistas del relato, el pacto de amor eterno se cumple en la unidad de un sepulcro común, de acuerdo con un motivo presente en la poesía latina, especialmente en las *Metamorfosis* de Ovidio²⁵. Después de la muerte de la esposa, el marido construye una tumba en la que también él podrá ser enterrado, de manera que el sepulcro perpetúe la unidad del lecho conyugal:

Sed prior uxorem decreti pagina legit.
Tum desolatus largo iubet ore cavari,
post mortem fiunt quae membris hospita saxa,
susciperet veniens aeternaque foedera iungens,
ut, quos viventes tenuisset lectulus idem,
post praecepta Dei, bustum commune levaret. (vv. 14-19)²⁶

De modo extraordinario, como indica el término *praesaga*, “adivina”, la difunta esposa entendió que su marido había cumplido con el propósito de unirse a ella en la misma tumba para sellar el pacto de fidelidad eterna. Si el milagro es una recompensa por la castidad del esposo después de la muerte de su mujer, se desprende que en la concepción del poeta el amor conyugal eterno es conforme a la voluntad de Dios:

²⁴ Ambrosio señala que el amor de padres a hijos, así como el amor fraterno, es ley natural, pero el amor conyugal es *lex divina*, inscripto por Dios en la naturaleza de los esposos para que sean una sola carne y un solo espíritu. Cfr. AMBR. in *psalm* 118, 15, 17. Puesto que el matrimonio es un pacto sellado por Dios, la unión conyugal está destinada a perdurar después de la muerte de uno de los esposos. Cfr. AMBR. *vid.* 15, 89.

²⁵ Son significativos los ejemplos de Príamo y Tisbe y de Alcíone y Ceix en las *Metamorfosis* de Ovidio. Cfr. Ov. *met.* 4, 156-157 *ut quos certus amor, quos hora novissima iunxit, / conponi tumulo non invidetis eodem*; 11, 705-707 *et tibi nunc saltem veniam comes, inque sepulcro / si non urna, tamen iunget nos littera: si non / ossibus ossa meis, at nomen nomine tangam*. Cfr. SCHIERL, “Die motive”.

²⁶ “Pero la página del decreto escogió primero a la esposa. / Entonces, el desolado esposo ordena que se excaven con una amplia abertura / las rocas que albergan los restos después de la muerte, / ...y cumpliendo los pactos eternos, / para que a quienes un mismo lecho compartieron en vida, / después de los preceptos de Dios, consuele un sepulcro común.”

Sensit vota sui coniunx praesaga mariti
 magnaue temporibus tribuit miracula castis. (vv. 20-21)²⁷

A partir del siglo iv, se multiplican los relatos de sueños, apariciones y milagros, destinados a confirmar la existencia del más allá y la beatitud inmediata de los fieles difuntos²⁸. En el poema *Laudes Domini*, la prueba consiste en una resurrección temporal y se caracteriza por constituir “en langue latine et en vers, le plus ancien récit d’un miracle non-biblique”²⁹. El cadáver de la mujer se reanima momentáneamente durante el entierro del esposo. Para sorpresa de los presentes, la difunta extiende la mano izquierda invitando a su compañero a la tumba con un gesto de amor viviente³⁰:

deprensa est laevam protendens femina palmam,
 invitans socium gestu viventis amoris. (vv. 30-31)³¹

En lo que se refiere al contenido del milagro, un antecedente literario de notables semejanzas con la narración de las *Laudes Domini* es ofrecido por Tertuliano hacia inicios del siglo III en el tratado *De anima*: durante los funerales de una piadosa mujer, el cadáver se reanimó, elevando los brazos en actitud de oración. Afirma Tertuliano que circulaba también otro relato acerca de un difunto que se movió en su tumba

²⁷ “La esposa, adivina, presintió los propósitos de su marido, / y a los tiempos de castidad premió con grandes milagros.”

²⁸ Cfr. VAN UYTFANGHE, “L’essor du culte”.

²⁹ Cfr. J. FONTAINE, *Naissance de la poésie dans l’Occident chrétien. Esquisse d’une histoire de la poésie latine chrétienne du III^e au VI^e siècle*, Paris, 1981, p. 101.

³⁰ El interés del poeta por detallar que el gesto milagroso de la difunta es operado con la mano izquierda otorga al poema un sentido patriótico. Tanto el imaginario judeo-cristiano como el greco-romano suelen privilegiar la mano derecha y el lado derecho en general. Cfr. F. MARCO, “Topografía cualitativa en la magia romana: izquierda y derecha como elementos de determinación simbólica”, *Memorias de Historia Antigua*, 7 (1986), pp. 81-90. Por el contrario, el lado izquierdo asume un valor indiscutiblemente positivo en las operaciones mágico-religiosas gálicas e incluso parece que esta distintiva apreciación de la polaridad espacial repercutió en la primitiva liturgia cristiana de la Galia. Cfr. I. OPELT, “Das *Carmen De laudibus Domini* als Zeugnis des Christentums bei den Galliern”, *Romanobarbarica*, 3 (1978), pp. 159-166.

³¹ “se sorprendió a la mujer extendiendo su mano izquierda, / invitando a su compañero con un gesto de amor viviente.”

para dejar espacio a otro cuerpo y que también entre los paganos se narraban acontecimientos similares³².

Lo que verdaderamente contrasta con el relato de las *Laudes Domini* es la intención y el contexto en el que Tertuliano inserta la narración del milagro. Mientras que en la poesía del siglo IV el milagro funciona como testimonio probatorio y ejemplar, en el *De anima* sirve para ilustrar falsas creencias populares en relación con la indivisibilidad del alma. El énfasis de Tertuliano por demostrar que ninguna partícula del alma puede permanecer en el cuerpo después de la muerte corrobora que el imaginario popular ligaba los fenómenos de resurrección temporal a la creencia en la sensibilidad de los cuerpos exánimes.

A partir de la confrontación con el texto del siglo III, surgen dos importantes reflexiones sobre la escatología intermedia en el relato de las *Laudes Domini*. En primer lugar, se insinúa la relación del milagro de Autun con la concepción del “doble” en el sepulcro, que tanto incidió en las prácticas funerarias de la comunidad cristiana, sobre todo a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo IV con el intenso desarrollo de la inhumación *ad sanctos*³³.

³² TERT. *anim.* 51: “Ceterum anima indivisibilis, ut immortalis, etiam mortem indivisibilem exigit credi, non quasi immortalis, sed quasi indivisibili animae indivisibiliter accidentem. Dividetur autem et mors, si et anima, superfluo scilicet animae quandoque morituro; ita portio mortis cum animae portione remanebit. Nec ignoro aliquod esse vestigium opinionis istius. De meo didici. Scio feminam quandam uernaculam ecclesiae, forma et aetate integra functam, post unicum et breue matrimonium cum in pace dormisset et morante adhuc sepultura interim oratione presbyteri componeretur, ad primum halitum orationis manus a lateribus dimotas in habitum supplicem conformasse rursusque condita pace situi suo reddidisse. Est et illa relatio apud nostros, in coemeterio corpus corpori iuxta collocando spatium accessui communicasse. Si et apud ethnicos tale quid traditur, ubique deus potestatis suae signa proponit, suis in solacium, extraneis in testimonium”.

³³ Sobre la función de los cuerpos en la *opitulatio sanctorum*, cfr. Y. DUVAL, “Sanctorum sepulcris sociari”, en *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III^e-XIII^e siècle). Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome et l'Université de Rome “La Sapienza”, Rome, 27-29 octobre 1988*, Rome, 1991, pp. 333-351; sobre la concepción del doble en la epigrafía funeraria cristiana, cfr. P. A. FÉVRIER, “La tombe chrétienne et l’au-delà”, *Les temps chrétiens de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge (III^e-XIII^e siècles). Colloques internationaux du CNRS, 604, Paris 9-12 mars 1981*, Paris, 1984, pp. 163-183.

Si para el destino del alma se encuentra una solución convencional en el patrimonio de la poesía clásica y de la filosofía antigua – principalmente la imagen virgiliana de la ascensión celeste y el vuelo ascendente de origen platónico³⁴ –, el destino del cuerpo entre la muerte y la resurrección final planteaba una ambigua superposición de creencias escatológicas difíciles de conciliar. Es posible que en el relato de las *Laudes Domini*, según sugiere la terminología relativa a la animación de los restos mortales, esté implícita la concepción escatológica de la permanencia de un principio vital en el sepulcro que un siglo antes, por motivos esencialmente filosóficos, Tertuliano había intentado refutar³⁵.

La comparación de relatos de resurrección temporal permite, por otra parte, definir mejor el clima espiritual y teológico que condicionó al autor anónimo de las *Laudes Domini*. Desde la obra del siglo III hasta la de Gregorio de Tours, que en la segunda mitad del siglo VI reivindica el milagro del poema del siglo IV para ilustrar la biografía del obispo Reticio de Autun, se verifica una traslación de acentos dentro de los elementos de la narración miracular³⁶. Frente al cauteloso

³⁴ Cfr. P. COURCELLE, “Quelques symboles funéraires du néo-platonisme latin: le vol de Dédale-Ulysse et les sirènes”, *Revue des études anciennes*, 46 (1944), pp. 65-93; J. FONTAINE, “Images virgiliennes de l’ascension céleste dans la poésie latine chrétienne”, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 9 (1982), pp. 55-67; B. SELTER, “Astral immortality in the *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* of the City of Rome: a comparison between pagan and christian views”, *Sacris Erudiri*, 45 (2006), pp. 47-106.

³⁵ Hay alusiones a la vida del difunto en la tumba en el formulario epigráfico cristiano y en los rastros de ciertos rituales en los monumentos funerarios. Cfr. FÉVRIER, “La tombe chrétienne”. Desde Tertuliano hasta San Agustín, los intelectuales cristianos combatieron la pervivencia de antiguos ritos funerarios que suponían la continuidad de la vida en el sepulcro. Cfr. TERT. *test. anim.* 4, 4; AVG. *epist.* 22, 6. Es posible que el canon VI del concilio de Cartago del año 397, en el que se declara la prohibición de dar la Eucaristía a los cuerpos de los difuntos, puesto que los cadáveres no pueden ni recibir ni comer, esté en conexión directa con la creencia en un componente vital en los restos. El concilio de Cartago del 397 confirma y desarrolla el canon V del concilio de Hipona del 393. ed. J. D. Mansi, Florentiae, 1759, p. 881; p. 895.

³⁶ Cfr. GREG. TVR. *glor. conf.* 75: “Sed quia de his aliquod proloqui iuvat, prius de sancto Riticio, quia prior obiit, sermo habendus est. Fuit enim nobilissimis parentibus et litterarum acumine clarus, qui, transacta adulescentia, uxorem simili morum honestate praeclaram sortitus est, cum qua spiritalis

escepticismo de Tertuliano, Gregorio de Tours magnifica los sucesos extraordinarios del milagro de Autun, con la finalidad de moralizar a la sociedad y de imponer la observancia de la castidad clerical³⁷.

Ni las intenciones filosóficas, éticas o clericales de Tertuliano y de Gregorio, ni el proyecto pastoral que a fines del siglo iv suscitó la proliferación de leyendas escritas y orales de apariciones y milagros relativos al culto martirial, explican la función del milagro en el poema *Laudes Domini*. En cambio, un marcado tono doctrinal, evidente en el desarrollo de las afirmaciones cristológicas contenidas en las loas del Señor, pone de manifiesto que, además de las Escrituras, las disputas teológicas contemporáneas signaron la temática escatológica del poema de la edad del emperador Constantino³⁸.

dilectionis conhibentia, non luxoria copulatur. Concurrent elymosinae, vigiliae caelebrantur, et opus Dei per eos incessabiliter exercetur. Igitur longa post tempora mulier declinans caput ad lectulum, beati viri auribus extrema profert verba, dicens: 'Deprecor, piissime frater, ut post discessum meum, percurso aevi temporis, in illo quo ego collocor sepulchro ponaris, ut quos unius castitatis dilectio uno conservavit in thoro unius reteneat sepulchri consortio'. Haec effata, lacrimans spiritum emisit ad caelos. At Riticius episcopatum Agustidunensis urbis, populo elegante, sortitur. Qui talem se prae-buit in religione, ut morum bonitas pontificatus gratiae aequaretur, et ad diem obitus per diversos gratiarum spiritalium gradus plena perfectione consummatione veniret. Quo abluto et super feretro posito, movere non queunt officia famulantum. Tunc in stupore mentis defixi, audiunt a quodam sene, virum domina coniurasse, ut eos uni sepulchri amplitudo susciperet; sermone vero percurso, confestim sustollitur feretrum, adlatumque prope sepulchrum, resumat sacerdos spiritum; adloquitur sociam, dicens: 'Recordare, dulcissima coniux, quae nobis fueras deprecata. Nunc suscipe expectatum diu fratrem et coniungere artibus inpollutis, quos non luxoria polluit, sed castitas vera mundavit'. Haec eo dicente, mirum in modum commotum sepulchrum, uno in loco ossa virginis conglobantur; beatus vero sacerdos receptus in pacis somno, huius sepulchri tectus est operturio".

³⁷ Sobre la castidad clerical en Galia y los relatos de Gregorio de Tours, cfr. F. E. CONSOLINO, "Gregorio di Tours, Venanzio Fortunato e le mogli dei vescovi in Gallia", en *Munera amicitiae. Studi di storia e cultura sulla Tarda Antichità offerti a Salvatore Pricoco*, Soveria Mannelli, 2003, pp. 75-93.

³⁸ Son notables, por ejemplo, las afirmaciones sobre la polémica en torno a la naturaleza de Cristo y su relación con el Padre o el desarrollo de la creencia en la virginidad perpetua de María. Cfr. "et quisquis natum iusto veneratur honore / ambobus sua vota dicat vitamque perennem (vv. 92-93); Ne tamen insignem res nulla ostenderet ortum, / virgine conciperis – non sufficit esse

Conclusión

La dilación de la Parusía promueve en la literatura cristiana antigua el desinterés progresivo por la escatología final a favor del más allá inmediato e individual. Tanto los relatos hagiográficos como la epigrafía funeraria insisten mediante términos virgilianos y neoplatónicos de ascensión celeste en el destino del alma inmortal, desplazando el acento de la escatológica primitiva en la resurrección final. A través de un relato milagroso, el poema *Laudes Domini* manifiesta la inclinación a retratar la escatología intermedia e individual. El milagro revela, sin embargo, una firme persistencia de la concepción escatológica primitiva al ligar profundamente la dimensión espiritual del hombre con la realidad corporal en vistas a la resurrección final, que constituye el eje argumental del poema.

En efecto, demostrar el cumplimiento futuro de la Parusía ante los miembros de la comunidad cristiana de Autun es el objetivo primordial de la composición anónima. Así como los Padres de la Iglesia apelan a los milagros de Cristo para defender la fe en la resurrección de los muertos, para el poeta, la prueba de que Cristo ha de venir en el último día para juzgar a las naciones y congregar a los fieles vivos y muertos, que resucitarán con un cuerpo glorioso, consiste en un milagro de resurrección temporal, ocurrido recientemente en la capital de los heduos en la Galia Lugdunensis.

La confrontación del poema del siglo iv con los relatos de resurrección temporal narrados por Tertuliano y por Gregorio de Tours permite entrever la manifestación de la peculiar creencia escatológica en la permanencia de un principio vital en el cuerpo después de la muerte; una creencia que a partir del siglo iv incidió notablemente en las prácticas funerarias de la comunidad cristiana. Por último, a través de la comparación, se percibe, por contraste, el clima espiritual que condujo al autor de las *Laudes Domini* a expresar en hexámetros su preocupación teológica y dogmática, preparando el camino para

pudicam / nec quae nupta queat domino coniungere fratrem – / ut procul ex utero contagio turpis abesset” (vv. 105-108).

tantos poetas cristianos de la Galia que, en el siglo v, consolidaron la corriente épico-doctrinal, destinada a completar la instrucción de los fieles mediante el vocabulario, los ritmos y la sensibilidad de la epopeya antigua.

Summary

The anonymous work *Laudes Domini* (CPL 1386) provides a poetic consideration on the concept of intermediate and final eschatology at the age of Constantine. In line with fourth century literature, the poem expresses the tendency to describe the intermediate and individual eschatology through a miraculous story. However, by linking spiritual and physical reality in view of the final resurrection, the miracle reveals a strong persistence of the primitive eschatological conception. The comparison with the temporary resurrection stories told by Tertullian and Gregory of Tours helps to define the spiritual and theological climate that conditioned the anonymous poet of Autun.

Basil of Caesarea's Homily *On Not Three Gods* (CPG 2914) Problems and Solutions

by
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(*St. Paul*)

One of the most neglected homilies of Basil of Caesarea is his *Adversus eos qui per calumniam dicunt dici a nobis deos tres*, or as I will call it, *On Not Three Gods* (= *Trin*).¹ Preached on the feast day of an unnamed martyr (or martyrs), the homily provides a fascinating glimpse of one of Basil's confrontations with theological enemies, most likely the followers of Eustathius of Sebasteia. Basil relates that he has been accused of tritheism because he refuses to classify the Holy Spirit among the creatures. He does not hide his distress and sorrow over the contentious situation. Tensions were high too, as Basil reports that his audience has been infiltrated by "spies" interested only in catching him say something that could be used to calumniate him. While choosing his words carefully,

¹ The Latin title is that used by Julien Garnier in the Maurist edition of Basil's works; the homily is reprinted at *PG* 31, col. 1488-1496. The Greek title actually varies in the mss. The two most common titles are some form of: *περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τρεῖς θεοὺς καταγγέλλεσθαι* ("On the inappropriateness of proclaiming three gods"), and: *πρὸς τοὺς συκοφαντοῦντας ἡμᾶς, ὅτι τρεῖς θεοὺς λέγομεν* ("Against those who calumniate us, [claiming] that we say there are three gods"). See P. J. FEDWICK, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Unversalis*, Turnhout, 1993-2004, ii, pp. 1122-1123 (hereafter = *BBV*). In this study I adopt the abbreviations for Basil's homilies suggested by Fedwick; see *BBV* i, pp. xviii-xix, for a list. The shorter title, *On Not Three Gods*, is inspired by Gregory of Nyssa's *Ad Ablabium, quod non sint tres dei* and is used solely as a matter of convenience. *Trin* and *Ad Ablabium* have little, if anything, in common other than the theme of defending against tritheism.

Basil does not mince them: his understanding of the Trinity is not tantamount to tritheism and he anathematizes those who say the Holy Spirit is a creature. He even says, with full confidence in the orthodoxy of his views and with not a little rhetorical flourish, that he is ready to suffer torments for what he believes, just as did the martyrs in the presence of whose relics he preaches. Thus in this homily we encounter Basil late in his career – the homily is most plausibly dated from the mid to late 370s – articulating and defending his views, in the heat of battle as it were, and thus providing us with essential evidence for understanding the contours and development of his Trinitarian theology.²

The neglect of *On Not Three Gods* is due first and foremost to doubts about the homily's authenticity. But there are other impediments too, such as uncertainties about the homily's integrity and a number of interpretative problems, as well as the lack of a modern edition and a recent translation into a modern language.³ These difficulties are compounded by a discovery that I have made, that *On Not Three Gods* exhibits verbatim parallels with other, non-Basilian texts. While these problems are not inconsiderable, the neglect of *On Not*

² For brief comments on the historical context, see: L.-S. TILLEMONT, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, Venice, 1732, ix, p. 263; G. BARDY, "L'homélie de saint Basile *Adversus eos qui calumniantur nos*," *Recherches de science religieuse*, 16 (1926), pp. 21-28 at 22-23; and H. DÖRRIES, *De Spiritu Sancto. Der Beitrag des Basilios zum Abschluss des trinitarischen Dogmas*, Göttingen, 1956, p. 100, n. 2.

³ *Trin* is more or less ignored in recent major studies of Basil's Trinitarian theology. V. H. DRECOLL, *Die Entwicklung der Trinitätslehre des Basilios von Cäsarea: Sein Weg vom Homöusianer zum Neonizäner*, Göttingen, 1996, pp. 160-162, declined to consider it explicitly because of its suspect authenticity (also see n. 29 below). B. SESBOÜÉ, *Saint Basile et la Trinité: Un acte théologique au IV^e siècle*, Paris, 1998, considered it authentic, but mentioned it only twice. It is not mentioned at all by S. M. HILDEBRAND, *The Trinitarian Theology of Basil of Caesarea: A Synthesis of Greek Thought and Biblical Truth*, Washington, DC, 2007. Nor does *Trin* appear in J. Bernardi's study of Cappadocian homilies: *La prédication des Pères cappadociens. Le prédicateur et son auditoire*, Paris, 1968. A new edition of *Trin* remains a scholarly desideratum. An English translation of *Trin* is to appear in my *St. Basil the Great: On Christian Practice and Doctrine*, forthcoming in the Popular Patristics Series published by St. Vladimir's Seminary Press. There are old French and German translations from 1691 and 1838, respectively; see *BBV* ii, p. 1125.

Three Gods is, I believe, unwarranted. Since 1904 a number of scholars have argued that *On Not Three Gods* is genuine. Though the verbatim parallels I have discovered complicate this assessment, here I corroborate it with further evidence. Furthermore, I suggest possible solutions to the question of the homily's integrity and its most thorny interpretative problems, and propose that the homily only seems to lack integrity due to Basil's use of sources, which were not always integrated seamlessly. If the resolution to these problems put forward here is accepted, then Basil's homily *On Not Three Gods* needs to be taken into greater account if we want our understanding of his Trinitarian theology and ecclesiastical identity to be as accurate as possible.

The problem of authenticity

At the beginning of critical scholarship on Basil in the sixteenth century, scholars rarely turned their attention to *On Not Three Gods*. Nor it is clear that when they finally did they considered it authentic. In his study of the complex history of the early Greek editions and Latin translations of Basil's homiletic corpus, Paul Jonathan Fedwick has identified nine major editions (and twenty-three reprints) published between 1515 and 1618.⁴ *On Not Three Gods* appears in only a few of these. It was not included in Erasmus' *editio princeps* of Basil's works in 1532.⁵ It is unclear whether Erasmus omitted it because he considered it spurious, or because he did not even know of its existence. Nonetheless, the omission undoubtedly contributed to its obscurity. It first appeared in print in 1548 in a Latin translation by Joannes Hahnpol or Hagnbut, better known by his humanist name Ianus Cornarius.⁶ It is not clear on which Greek text Cornarius based his translation. He probably used whatever text was available to him locally in manuscripts since a Greek edition of this homily had not yet been published. It is also not clear whether

⁴ *BBV* ii, pp. 999-1000.

⁵ *BBV* i, pp. 208-217; ii, p. 849.

⁶ *BBV* i, pp. 225-229; see item cclxxi.

Cornarius considered it authentic, since it is not printed with the rest of Basil's homilies, but at the end of the volume. Nor did Cornarius include this homily in his 1551 Greek edition of Basil's works.⁷ These facts suggest that Cornarius did not consider it authentic.

Jean Gillot was the first scholar to discuss the authenticity of *On Not Three Gods*. He published a Latin translation of Basil's works in 1566, in which he included Cornarius' version of *On Not Three Gods*.⁸ In a short note to the reader prefixed to this homily, Gillot argued, probably against Cornarius, that *On Not Three Gods* was authentic.⁹ He had discovered an excerpt of *On Not Three Gods* in one of the medieval *Sermones de moribus* of Symeon Metaphrastes, who had produced twenty-four "Basilian" homilies on various virtues and vices by stitching together various passages from Basil's homilies and other works.¹⁰ Because Symeon quoted *On Not Three Gods* Gillot correctly surmised that this earlier medieval compiler must have considered it authentic, and maintained on this basis that it was authentic. Gillot's logic is, of course, flawed. Just because Symeon thought *On Not Three Gods* was authentic does not prove that it is. In fact, Symeon quoted from several Basilian homilies now considered unauthentic.¹¹ In spite of this faulty logic, Gillot's assessment became the scholarly consensus for over 150 years.

In 1618 Fronton Du Duc, or Ducaeus, together with Frédéric Morel, published the most important edition of Basil's works since that of Erasmus.¹² Ducaeus included *On Not Three Gods*

⁷ *BBV* i, pp. 236-239; ii, p. 859.

⁸ *BBV* ii, p. 865; i, pp. 246-252; see item cclxxx of the latter.

⁹ This note is reprinted and analyzed at *BBV* ii, p. 1124, n. 102; see also *BBV* i, p. 251.

¹⁰ These sermons can be found in *PG* 32, col. 1115-1382. The excerpt from *Trin* 2 (*PG* 31, col. 1489b1-3) can be found in *Sermo* 12.5 (*PG* 32, col. 1285c10-12).

¹¹ See also BARDY, "L'homélie de saint Basile," p. 22.

¹² The abiding significance of Ducaeus's edition lies in the extensive notes on Basil's writings that he published in an appendix. But he provided only a single note on *Trin*, dealing with the correct reading of a word in *Trin* 2; see *In editionem graeco-latīnam operum S. Basilii Magni Notae Frontonis Ducaeī*, Paris, 1618, p. 60.

as an authentic homily and has the distinction of printing the first Greek text of *On Not Three Gods*.¹³ He also reprinted the Latin translation of Cornarius. *On Not Three Gods* was also viewed as authentic by François Combefis, who published a Latin translation of Basil's works in 1674.¹⁴ Combefis was preparing for a new edition of Basil's works to supersede those of Erasmus and Ducaeus when he died in 1679. Two volumes of his textual notes on Basil's works were posthumously published, with five pages dedicated to *On Not Three Gods*.¹⁵ Other scholars active in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, such as Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont and Louis Ellies Du Pin, also treated *On Not Three Gods* as authentic.¹⁶

But then came a reversal. In the Maurist edition of Basil's works, published in 1721-1730, Julien Garnier placed *On Not Three Gods* among those works *falso adscripta* to Basil.¹⁷ He argued against its authenticity on stylistic grounds.¹⁸ The logic of such an argument assumes that Basil is flawless when it comes to composing Greek.¹⁹ Therefore, any departures from impeccable Greek are deemed sufficient evidence for denying authorship to Basil. Garnier cited several inferior passages to prove his point. But today such stylistic arguments are deemed too subjective to serve as useful criteria for determin-

¹³ *BBV* i, pp. 259-270; see item lv.

¹⁴ *BBV* ii, pp. 895-896; see item xxxi.

¹⁵ *BBV* i, pp. 270-272; S. RUDBERG, "Manuscripts and Editions," in *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic. A Sixteenth-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium*, ed. by P. J. FEDWICK, Toronto, 1981, pp. 49-65 at pp. 57-58. Combefis' textual notes on *Trin* appear in his *Basilii Magni ex integro recensitus*, Paris, 1679, pp. 234-238.

¹⁶ TILLEMONT, *Mémoires*, ix, p. 263; L. E. DU PIN, *Nouvelle bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques*, Utrecht, 1731, p. 186.

¹⁷ *BBV* i, pp. 272-274.

¹⁸ *PG* 31, col. 43-49.

¹⁹ Here is an example of Garnier's fallacious assumptions: "In Basil everything is expressed with words that are proper and appropriate to the matter at hand. [...] His oratory is so natural that you hear nothing save what you expect; but all things are connected with each other so aptly and so fittingly that it is necessary to confess that they could not have been said better or more fittingly" (*PG* 31, col. 44).

ing authenticity.²⁰ Even though he denied authorship of this homily to Basil, nonetheless Garnier admitted that it contained much that was worthy of Basil. He attributed this to the true author having been a conscious imitator of Basil, in particular of the homily *Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos* (= *Sab*). In other words, Garnier recognized that *On Not Three Gods*, in terms of content but not style, echoed Basil's genuine works. The Maurist edition of Basil's works was reprinted with minor alterations and additions by Jacques Paul Migne as part of his monumental *Patrologia Graeca* (PG), first in 1857 and again in 1886. Migne's PG is virtually ubiquitous in theological libraries, and it is the version of the Maurist edition most readily accessible.²¹ Thus Garnier's opinion about the authenticity of *On Not Three Gods* dominated the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and indeed continued to influence scholars well into the twentieth century.²²

A more critical stance emerged in the early twentieth century. In 1904 Karl Holl was the first to suggest that this homily should be restored to Basil.²³ Following the lead of Holl, in 1926 Gustave Bardy dedicated an article to demonstrating that *On Not Three Gods* was authentic.²⁴ Both Holl

²⁰ Commenting on Garnier's stylistic objections to the authenticity of another homily, Jean Gribomont made a comment that captures the astonishment that today's scholars feel upon reading them: *Ineluctabilem vide subjectivismum criticae internae, apud optimos quoque viros!* (In *Tomum 29 Patrologiae Graecae ad editionem operum Sancti Basilii Magni Adnotationes*, Turnhout, 1959, p. 11). The sense here is that, though Garnier was a great scholar, his criteria are inescapably subjective.

²¹ Unfortunately the Migne reprint of the Maurist edition of Basil is marred by numerous misprints. The best reprint from a technical standpoint is De Sinner's from 1839; on which, see Fedwick, *BBV* ii, pp. 291-294. In De Sinner, *Trin* is printed on pp. 867-872 and my translations are based on this edition. But since De Sinner is hard to come by, references to *Trin* are based on Migne.

²² For example, though citing Gribomont's assessment of the genuineness of *Trin*, M. GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Volumen II. Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomum*, Turnhout, 1974, p. 167 still ranked it among the *Basilian dubia*. The 1998 *CPG Supplementum* (ed. M. GEERARD and J. NORET) drops this classification.

²³ *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den grossen Kappadoziern*, Tübingen and Leipzig, 1904, p. 143, n. 1.

²⁴ "L'homélie de saint Basile."

and Bardy – perhaps recognizing the significance of Garnier's observation that *On Not Three Gods* contained much that was worthy of Basil in terms of content – based their argument on the numerous parallels between *On Not Three Gods* and Basil's indisputably genuine writings. In the last half of the twentieth century, these arguments for authenticity were accepted by Hermann Dörries,²⁵ as well as by the noted Basilian scholars Jean Gribomont²⁶ and Paul Jonathan Fedwick.²⁷ It is also now clear that this homily is widely attested in the best manuscripts of Basil's homilies.²⁸ And so, the general consensus now is that *On Not Three Gods*, on the basis of external and internal evidence, is an authentic homily of Basil.²⁹

The problem of integrity

But the question of authenticity may need to be revisited because of another question – the problem of the integrity of *On Not Three Gods*. There are three distinct, but interrelated, problems here. First, there is an abrupt change of topic about three-quarters through the homily, which leads one to question whether the two parts originally belonged together. Second, the second part, that is, the section of the homily after the break, switches from topic to topic in a manner whose logic has eluded commentators. This leads one to question whether it has its own integrity or is itself a collection of originally unconnected texts. Third, in the second part there are a number of verbal parallels with other extant, non-Basilian texts. This prompts the question: did Basil borrow or has Basil been borrowed from? The appearance of more-

²⁵ *De Spiritu Sancto*, pp. 100-102.

²⁶ In *Tomum 31 Patrologiae Graecae ad editionem operum rhetoricorum, asceticorum, liturgicorum Sancti Basilii Magni Introductio*, Turnhout, 1961, p. 7.

²⁷ P. J. FEDWICK, "A Chronology of the Life and Works of Basil of Caesarea," in *Basil of Caesarea*, ed. by idem, pp. 3-19 at p. 10.

²⁸ See *BBV* ii, pp. 1122-1125.

²⁹ DRECOLL, *Die Entwicklung*, pp. 161-162, cautiously dissents from this majority position. While admitting, mostly on external criteria, that there is "no definitive argument against authenticity," he believes that *Trin* remains suspect. At the same time, of those homilies whose authenticity Drecoll believes to be suspect, he holds *Trin* among those most likely to be Basil's.

or-less verbatim parallels in the second part raises a further question: is this material in the second part even Basil's? In other words, can the abrupt change of topic and haphazard structure of the second part be explained by the fact that it is a collection of quotations or ideas from non-Basilian works, appended to the homily by some later editor? While there is little doubt that the first part of the homily is Basil's, the second part, for the reasons enumerated here, is of questionable authenticity.

Let us begin with a survey of the homily to make these three problems plain. Basil begins *On Not Three Gods* with a lament about the present disunity of the church, encouraging his audience to seek unity (§1). He notes that the present festival – a feast of certain unnamed martyrs, as we learn later in the homily – was instituted by their fathers to foster love and unity, but this tradition is now more or less abandoned since most of those present are “spies” seeking to catch Basil saying something that they can use to calumniate him (§2). Basil reports that his opponents are charging him with tritheism (§3). He first notes that he is merely following the faith of the fathers, who themselves are merely following Christ, alluding to the baptismal command of Matthew 28.19. So those who accuse him of tritheism are actually impugning the Lord himself! Furthermore, just as there is one faith and one baptism, so too is there one Lord, as Paul said in Ephesians 4.5. Basil then reveals the basis for the charge: it is because he refuses to categorize the Holy Spirit as a created, servile spirit. Indeed, this is what he believes, says Basil, and he refuses to budge from his position. He will adamantly stand up for his beliefs, as did the martyrs whose bodies lie in the church. But this does not make him a tritheist. Basil then reports that his opponents even take the name “Paraclete,” a name just mentioned in a reading that included John 15.26, as indicative of the Spirit's lowly status. Basil refutes this silly notion by noting on the basis of John 14.16 that Christ too bears the name “Paraclete.”

It is at this point that the homily abruptly shifts gears. Basil abandons his discussion of the Spirit, never returning to this subject for the remainder of the homily, and starts to talk

about the Son. He first explains how the Son's identity as the Only-Begotten and Image insures that he is not another God alongside of God the Father. Basil next discusses why the Father's begetting of the Son is incomprehensible and one should not even try to understand it, alluding to his favorite scriptural testimony for the eternal character of this begetting, John 1.1 (§4). Basil then launches into an exposition of the incarnation that takes John 1.14 as its starting-point. The main point here seems to be that the incarnation does not destroy the Son's divinity, though much else is also said about the incarnation and its redemptive purposes. Then Basil returns to the Father's begetting of the Son, exhorting his audience to revere it in silence. Then Basil answers an imagined objection from his audience about why the one seated at the right hand (i.e. Christ) is more honored. Then the homily concludes with a few sentences about the differences between divine and human fatherhood.

For a long time scholars have questioned the integrity of this homily because of its apparent incoherence. Tillemont was the first to do so, seeing the discussion of the incarnation as the point when the homily takes a new turn. This discrepancy between the two parts led Tillemont to suggest that the homily may be a cento.³⁰ Bardy placed the break at the same point, but also saw the homily thereafter as jumping from topic to topic: "The greatest difficulty raised by this final paragraph is its jerky and disjointed character." For this reason, he questioned whether the section after the break was "an integral part of the original text."³¹ Dörries too noted the incoherence of the homily, but placed the break at the point where Basil begins to discuss the Son.³² He did not doubt that both parts could be ascribed to Basil, but he did wonder whether they belonged together. Dörries reported that Gribomont had privately communicated to him that in several important manuscripts the homily showed no signs of

³⁰ TILLEMONT, *Mémoires*, ix, p. 263.

³¹ BARDY, "L'homélie de saint Basile," p. 28: "La plus grande difficulté que soulève ce dernier paragraphe de l'homélie est son caractère haché et décousu. On hésite un peu, pour cela, à y voir une partie intégrante du texte original."

³² DÖRRIES, *De Spiritu Sancto*, p. 101.

being a patchwork of independent texts.³³ When Gribomont published his views on the issue, he seems to have located the break at the point where Basil begins to speak about the Paraclete. He also noted that the second part is found “in all manuscripts,” implying that there is no manuscript evidence that the homily in its present state is combination of two originally disparate parts.³⁴

As is obvious from my summary of the homily above, like Dörries I place the break at the point where Basil begins to discuss the Son. Furthermore, along with Bardy, I think that the homily from this point onward has the appearance of its own incoherence, as the logic of the order in which the topics are treated is at first glance elusive. But my placing of the break where I do is not a question of following Dörries. Rather, it is because at this point that the text begins to exhibit verbal parallels with other extant, non-Basilian texts – a fact missed by previous commentators. Roughly half of the second part exhibits such parallels. Perhaps the other half also consists of quotations from other works now lost. Given the abundance of verbal parallels and the fact that these parallels are with texts that postdate Basil, there seem to me three possibilities: (1) these later texts are quoting Basil; (2) both these later texts and Basil are quoting from a common source; (3) excerpts from these later texts have been appended to Basil’s original homily.

In what follows I argue that the second possibility is the most likely, though the first cannot be excluded completely. I will proceed by eliminating the third possibility and then making a case for the second over the first. Ruling out the third possibility involves two steps: demonstrating (1) that the material in the second part is authentically Basilian, and (2) that the second part originally belonged with the first part and also has its own inner coherence. In other words, I argue that *On Not Three Gods* does not lack integrity.

³³ DÖRRIES, *De Spiritu Sancto*, p. 101, n. 1.

³⁴ GRIBOMONT, *In Tomum* 31, p. 7.

The authenticity of the second part

When Julien Garnier noted that *On Not Three Gods* was similar in content to *Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos*, he did not cite any passages after the break. When Karl Holl suggested that *On Not Three Gods* should be restored to Basil, of the several parallels between it and Basil's undisputed works that he cited, only one came from the homily after the break. When Gustave Bardy identified numerous parallels between *On Not Three Gods* and Basil's other writings, several of them come from the homily after the break.³⁵ But the bulk of the homily after the break has not been subjected to an analysis of its authenticity. The present section seeks to do so. Nearly everything said in the second part of the *On Not Three Gods* has parallels elsewhere in Basil's corpus. This would seem to indicate the authenticity of the second part, or at least that nothing said in the second part eliminates the possibility of Basilian authorship.

As mentioned above, after discussing the Holy Spirit, *On Not Three Gods* abruptly shifts gears, saying:

The perfect is neither decreased nor increased. There is one unbegotten, God. There is one only-begotten of him, the Son and God. Just as there is not another co-unbegotten God with the one [unbegotten], so too there is not another co-begotten Son. Just as the Father is not the Father in name alone, so too the Son is not the Son in name alone. The Father is God; the Son is God. The Father is perfect God; the Son is also perfect God. The Father is incorporeal; the Son is incorporeal, the *representation* [Heb 1.3] of the incorporeal and the incorporeal *image* [Col 1.15].³⁶

³⁵ BARDY, "L'homélie de saint Basile," pp. 25-26 and 28.

³⁶ *Trin* 3 (PG 31, col. 1493a9-b1): ὁ τέλειος οὔτε μειοῦται, οὔτε αὐξεί. εἷς ἀγέννητος ὁ θεός. εἷς ὁ τούτου μονογενὴς ὁ υἱὸς καὶ θεός. ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐνὶ συναγέννητος θεός ἕτερος, οὕτως οὐδὲ συγγεγεννημένος υἱὸς ἕτερος. ὥσπερ οὐ λόγῳ ὁ πατήρ. οὕτως οὐδὲ λόγῳ ὁ υἱός. θεός ὁ πατήρ, θεός ὁ υἱός· θεός τέλειος ὁ πατήρ, θεός τέλειος καὶ ὁ υἱός· ἀσώματος ὁ πατήρ, ἀσώματος ὁ υἱός, ἀσωμάτου χαρακτηρ καὶ εἰκὼν ἀσώματος.

While some of the language here is not typically Basilian – a point to which we shall return below³⁷ – nothing said here is foreign to Basil. All of what he says here is paralleled, for example, in the *Contra Eunomium*. There is one unbegotten and one begotten God.³⁸ “Father” and “Son” are not mere names, but indicative of who the Father and Son really are.³⁹ Both Father and Son are perfect God.⁴⁰ Both Father and Son are incorporeal.⁴¹ The Son is the *representation* [Heb 1.3] and *image* [Col 1.15] of God.⁴² All this is uncontroversially standard Basilian fare.

Next, Basil discourages his audience from trying to understanding *how* the Son was begotten: “Do you believe that he has been begotten? Do not inquire how... Do not inquire about what cannot be discovered, since you will not find it.”⁴³ The incomprehensibility and ineffability of the Father’s begetting the Son is a common theme in Basil.⁴⁴ Then Basil launches into a passage of high rhetoric on the futility of trying to understand it:

For if you inquire, from what can you learn it? From the earth? It did not exist. From the sea? There were no waters. From the sky? It was not raised up. From the sun and the moon and the stars? They were not fashioned. Perhaps from the ages? The Only-Begotten is before the ages. Do not examine what has not always existed to learn about what always exists. But if you do not want [to desist from this line of

³⁷ E.g., “co-unbegotten” and “co-begotten.” On this, see p. 129 below.

³⁸ E.g., *Eun* 2.28. *Eun* is cited according to: B. SESBOÜÉ, G.-M. DE DURAND, and L. DOUTRELEAU, *Basile de Césarée, Contre Eunome suivi de Eunome Apologie*, Sources Chrétiennes 299 and 305, Paris, 1982-1983. English translation: M. DELCOGLIANO and A. RADDE-GALLWITZ, *St. Basil of Caesarea: Against Eunomius*, The Fathers of the Church 122, Washington, DC, 2011.

³⁹ E.g., *Eun* 1.5, 1.16-17, 2.22-24, etc.

⁴⁰ E.g., *Eun* 2.21.

⁴¹ E.g., *Eun* 1.9, 1.23

⁴² E.g., *Eun* 1.18, 2.16, 2.32, etc.

⁴³ *Trin* 3 (PG 31, col. 1493b1-7): πιστεύεις ὅτι γεγέννηται; μὴ ζητεῖ πῶς. εἰ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται ζητεῖν ὁ ἀγέννητος πῶς ἀγέννητος, ἐνδέχεται ζητεῖν καὶ ὁ γεγεννημένος πῶς γεγέννηται. εἰ δὲ οὐ καταλείπει ζήτησιν ὁ ἀγέννητος πῶς ἀγέννητος· οὕτως οὐδὲ ὁ γεγεννημένος καταλείπει ζητεῖν πῶς γεγέννηται· μὴ ζητεῖ τὰ ἀνεύρετα, οὐ γὰρ εὕρισκεις.

⁴⁴ E.g., *Eun* 2.24; *Chr* 1.

inquiry], but rather contentiously pursue it, I deride your stupidity, or rather, I lament your audacity.⁴⁵

As a parallel to this passage, Bardy pointed to a section in *Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos* where Basil justifies a certain amount of ignorance about the Holy Spirit against those who think that the human mind can grasp everything. In that homily, employing similar high rhetoric, Basil makes the point that human incomprehension about the substance of the sun does not mean that the sun does not exist. Bardy admits that the two passages are not dealing with exactly the same problem, but notes the style and manner of reasoning is the same.⁴⁶ I would agree. On numerous other occasions Basil adduces the impossibility of knowing the substance of created things, or the details of processes involving created things, to argue by analogy for the impossibility of knowing the divine substance and the details of divine “processes” like the Father’s begetting of the Son.⁴⁷ But here in *On Not Three Gods* Basil makes a somewhat different, though not unrelated, point, that no created entity can be the source for knowledge about incomprehensible divine realities. Basil says this elsewhere in his corpus, though without the rhetorical flourish as here.⁴⁸ Also, Basil consistently rails against those who claim that what is beyond the grasp of their intellect is not

⁴⁵ *Trin* 3 (PG 31, col. 1493b7-14): ἐὰν γὰρ ζητῆς, παρὰ τίνος ἔχεις μαθεῖν; παρὰ γῆς; οὐχ ὑφεστήκει. παρὰ θαλάττης; οὐκ ἦν ἡ ὑγρά. παρὰ οὐρανοῦ; οὐκ ἦν ἐπαρθεῖς. παρ’ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἄστρον; οὐκ δεδημιούργηγντο. ἀλλὰ παρὰ αἰώνων; πρὸ αἰώνων ὁ μονογενής. μὴ ἐξέταξε τὰ μὴ αἰεὶ ὄντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ αἰεὶ ὄντος. εἰ δὲ μὴ θέλεις, ἀλλὰ φιλονεικεῖς, καταγελῶ σου τῆς ἀνοίας, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ κλαίω σου τὴν τόλμαν.

⁴⁶ *Sab* 7. See BARDY, “L’homélie de saint Basile,” p. 26.

⁴⁷ E.g., *Eun* 1.12-13 (the substance of earth); 3.6 (how vision works); *Sab* 7 (the substance of the sun; how vision works). The first passage is discussed in M. DELCOGLIANO, *Basil of Caesarea’s Anti-Eunomian Theory of Names: Christian Theology and Late-Antique Philosophy in the Fourth-Century Trinitarian Controversy*, Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 103, Leiden, 2010, pp. 137-138.

⁴⁸ E.g., *Eun* 1.12 (neither common notions nor the Spirit’s teaching tell us the substance of God; see the discussion in DELCOGLIANO, *Theory of Names*, p. 136); *Chr* 1 (there was nothing present to observe the Father’s begetting of the Son and thus to explain it).

true or does not exist.⁴⁹ Finally, Basil frequently uses material realities like the sun to speak of divine mysteries.⁵⁰ Therefore, emphasizing that the divine begetting is incomprehensible by arguing that nothing created can provide that knowledge is entirely consistent with Basil's patterns of thought

Next, Basil turns to a discussion of the incarnation. He begins by quoting John 1.1, saying that this verse demonstrates the eternity and divinity of the Word.⁵¹ A number of times in his corpus Basil appeals to this same verse for the same purpose.⁵² Then Basil writes: "Believe in what has been written in scripture. Do not inquire into what has not been written in scripture."⁵³ Basil's insistence on not seeking to go beyond what scripture reveals is well-known.⁵⁴ Next comes the discussion of the incarnation proper.⁵⁵ His main point seems to be that the Son does not lose or damage his divinity by becoming incarnate, a point also made elsewhere in his corpus.⁵⁶ Through a series of paradoxical antitheses – such as, "He descended to the flesh, so that the flesh might also be raised together with him," and, "He accepted a death that he need not have accepted, so that he might give life to those subjected to death" – the redemptive purpose of the incarnation is stressed.⁵⁷ This accords with Basil's understanding of the incarnation elsewhere in his corpus.⁵⁸ Therefore, with the

⁴⁹ E.g., *Eun* 2.24; *Ps* 115 2.

⁵⁰ E.g. *Eun* 3.2; *Chr* 2 (both employ an analogy about fire and iron, the first to explain how angels participate in the Holy Spirit, the second to explain the incarnation). See also BARDY, "L'homélie de saint Basile," p. 28, who lists *Ep* 2.2 and *Fide* 1 (use of the sun).

⁵¹ *Trin* 4 (*PG* 31, col. 1493c1-4).

⁵² *Eun* 2.14-15; *Verb*; *Mam* 4; *Spir* 6.14. HOLL, *Amphilochius von Ikonium*, p. 143, n. 1, had noted this parallel.

⁵³ *Trin* 4 (*PG* 31, col. 1493c4-5): τοῖς γεγραμμένοις πίστευε, τὰ μὴ γεγραμμένα μὴδὲ ζήτει.

⁵⁴ E.g. *Eun* 1.13; 2.2-3; 2.7-8. BARDY, "L'homélie de saint Basile," pp. 25-26, pointed to *Ep* 175.

⁵⁵ *Trin* 4 (*PG* 31, col. 1493c5-1496b1).

⁵⁶ *Chr* 2; *Fide* 2.

⁵⁷ *Trin* 4 (*PG* 31, col. 1493c8-9 and col. 1496a9-10): συγκατέβη σαρκί, ἵνα καὶ ἡ σὰρξ ἐκείνῃ συνεπαρθῇ and ἐπεδέξατο ὃν οὐκ ἐπεδέχετο θάνατον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ θανάτου ζωοποιήσῃ.

⁵⁸ See esp. *Chr* 2-3. BARDY, "L'homélie de saint Basile," p. 28, listed *Ps* 44 2 and *Ep* 97 as parallels.

exception of one particularly problematic passage in this section to be discussed in a moment, nothing in this treatment of the incarnation precludes Basil's authorship; rather, parallels for what is said can be found in other writings of Basil.

The problematic passage occurs after he says that the Word became a human being for the sake of the fallen Adam, when he writes: "For the sake of Adam the incorporeal one [came] into a body. For the sake of the body the Word assumed the body as a cloud (διὰ τὸ σῶμα ἔλαβε νέφος τὸ σῶμα ὁ λόγος), lest he incinerate visible things."⁵⁹ Julien Garnier was flabbergasted at the thought that Basil could have uttered such a ridiculous statement.⁶⁰ Gustave Bardy considered Garnier's "indignation" at this passage justified and called it "une formule bizarre."⁶¹ He also suggested that the second τὸ σῶμα should be deleted, even though there was no manuscript testimony for such a reading – a suggestion that should be rejected since, as we shall see, the reading is also found in Basil's source.⁶² Bardy interpreted this passage as allusion to the transfiguration, referring to "the luminous cloud that surrounded the apostles and prevented them from contemplating the glory of the Savior."⁶³ But given not least of all the context

⁵⁹ *Trin* 4 (PG 31, col. 1493c6-8): διὰ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ὁ ἀσώματος ἐν σώματι. διὰ τὸ σῶμα ἔλαβε νέφος τὸ σῶμα ὁ λόγος, ἵνα μὴ καταφλέξῃ τὰ ὁρώμενα.

⁶⁰ "Surely few, if they had to deliver a public oration to the people, would want to speak as follows: 'Because of his body the Word assumed a body as a cloud, lest he incinerate visible things.' For in these words there is some mystery for which the art of oratory is not suited. But up to this point no one, unless I am mistaken, has said this, nor would any seriously say this hereafter, I mean that a body was assumed by the Lord lest it incinerate visible things. And indeed such an explanation for the Incarnation seems to me so alien from the common sense of men that I think it never could have occurred to the mind of any other person. But, to keep silent now on the remaining points, I would venture to affirm that Basil, a man endowed with the sharpest judgment, could not have even thought of so absurd a reason, not even while dreaming. Perhaps the author feared that the eternal Word, unless he put on flesh, would burn down the entire world in the manner of Phaethon" (PG 31, col. 47).

⁶¹ BARDY, "L'homélie de saint Basile," p. 27.

⁶² See pp. 126-127 below.

⁶³ BARDY, "L'homélie de saint Basile," pp. 27-28: "l'on verra dans ce passage une allusion à la transfiguration: c'est alors en effet qu'une nuée lumineuse en-

of this passage, this seems to be incorrect: Basil is clearly talking about the incarnation. Karl Holl connected this passage with a line from Basil's homily on the theophany, which goes as follows: "For the divine power was manifested through the human body, as light through vitreous membranes, and shines upon those who have the eyes of their heart purified."⁶⁴ He saw in both of these passages an expression of Basil's idea that the incarnation is a manifestation of the divinity.⁶⁵ Holl is surely correct that this is a feature of Basil's Christology, but his suggestion is only minimally helpful for understanding the problematic passage.

This passage is undeniably odd. Garnier was right when he said that no one else had enunciated a similar view of the incarnation (at least as far as I have been able to determine). As I noted above, this problematic passage is actually copied from a source (or so I will argue below). So, while the formulation is crude, Basil may have just borrowed this infelicitous passage found in his source. Nonetheless, perhaps sense can be made of it by placing it in its wider Christological context. Basil first states the paradox of the incorporeal Word condescending to a corporeal form. Then, using a kind of parallelism, he explains that the body assumed by the Word is a kind of shield "for the sake of the body." What must be meant by "for the sake of the body" is that the Word assumed a body as a shielding cloud for the sake of *Adam's* body, that is human beings, lest they, the "visible beings," be consumed. The idea that "God is a consuming fire" (Heb 12.29) is not foreign to the scriptures.⁶⁶ Nor is the idea unknown in early Christianity that the incomprehensible, invisible God, by being "tempered" in the incarnation, accommodates himself to humanity, becoming knowable and visible to them.⁶⁷ These sorts of

veloppa les apôtres et les empêcha de contempler la gloire du Sauveur."

⁶⁴ *Chr* 6 (PG 31, col. 1473d): ἐφαίνετο γὰρ ὥσπερ φῶς δι' ὑελίνων ὑμένων διὰ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος ἡ θεία δύναμις, διαυγάζουσα τοῖς ἔχουσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας κεκαθαρμένους.

⁶⁵ HOLL, *Amphilochius von Iconium*, p. 153.

⁶⁶ See, for example, Ex 24.17; Deut 4.24 and 9.3. Ex 33.20 expresses a similar idea.

⁶⁷ I.e., Origen, *Princ.* 1.2.8; Eusebius of Caesarea, *Theoph.* 3.39.

ideas seem to lie behind the idea that the Word assumed a body to shield humanity from being overwhelmed by direct contact with the divine.⁶⁸ Basil's statement here is admittedly a unsophisticated Christological statement when judged by the canons of later Christological orthodoxy. But, obviously, we should not judge him by later standards. I admit that my solution here is not entirely satisfying, but it is, I believe, an improvement over those of Holl and Bardy.

After the discussion of the incarnation, Basil returns to the Father's begetting of the Son, exhorting his audience to revere it in silence (σιωπῇ τιμάσθω).⁶⁹ Much of what he says here echoes the first paragraph of his homily on the theophany, which begins with the exact same exhortation (σιωπῇ τιμάσθω).⁷⁰ Another parallel is that Basil explains not only that the intellect cannot comprehend divine realities, but also that language is an imperfect vehicle for whatever thoughts about God human beings can manage. In this connection, Basil says: "For knowledge is a question of knowing that you do not fully comprehend."⁷¹ The Basilian theme that true knowledge is found in knowing the limits of knowledge is well-known.⁷² At the end of this section on revering in silence are a few sentences whose meaning is not immediately obvious, and they will be discussed in the next section.⁷³ But for the most part, the content of these lines of Basil are echoed elsewhere in his corpus.

Next, Basil provides an answer to a question posed by an imaginary interlocutor: "Why is the one seated at the right hand more honored?"⁷⁴ Elsewhere in his corpus Basil relates that his opponents took the fact that the Son is seated at the right hand of the Father as indicative of his inferior honor.

⁶⁸ Perhaps this idea has some relation to Athanasius's idea of the Word assuming the body as an instrument in *Or. c. Ar.* 3.31.

⁶⁹ *Trin* 4 (PG 31, col. 1496b1-14).

⁷⁰ *Chr* 1.

⁷¹ *Trin* 4 (PG 31, col. 1496b6-7): ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ γινώσκεις, ἐὰν γνῶς ὅτι μὴ κατέληφας.

⁷² E.g., *Ep* 235, where Basil discusses types of knowledge.

⁷³ See p. 113-114 below.

⁷⁴ *Trin* 4 (PG 31, col. 1496b14-c7): διὰ τί οὖν ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενος ἐντιμότερός ἐστιν;

Basil rejected his interpretation, seeing this placement of the Son as indicative of the Father and Son's equality of honor.⁷⁵ So it is unusual that here Basil's opponents seem to be arguing that the Son's position at the right hand of the Father indicates that he is more honored than the Father. But the question asked here corresponds to a view rejected by Basil in the statement of faith he composed and had Eustathius of Sebasteia sign to affirm his pneumatological orthodoxy.⁷⁶ So the idea that the Son is more honored than the Father seems to have been connected with Eustathius and its appearance in this homily corroborates the suggestion that Basil's opponents in this context were followers of Eustathius. Nonetheless, Basil affirms that the Son's honor is the same as the Father's since all the honor that he has was received from the Father, even if the Father is understood as the one who gives to the Son the place at his right since the Son is begotten of the Father.

Finally, the homily concludes with a few sentences on how divine fatherhood is different from human fatherhood.⁷⁷ While God the Father does not have a father and begets the Son of his choosing eternally and immediately, human fathers have fathers and beget sons not of their own choosing in time. Furthermore, human fatherhood involves a nurturing and care of the child that divine fatherhood does not. Elsewhere Basil spells out the differences between human and divine fatherhood in similar terms.⁷⁸

From this survey of the topics in the homily after the break, it is clear that most of what is said exhibits parallels with Basil's undisputed works. Thus the material in the second part appears to be genuinely Basilian, or at least nothing precludes its being so. We turn now to the question of whether the sec-

⁷⁵ E.g., *Eun.* 1.25; *Spir.* 6.15.

⁷⁶ *Ep.* 125.3. The relevant portion reads: "one must flee... those who alter the sequence that the Lord handed down to us and rank the Son before the Father and set the Holy Spirit before the Son" (φεύγειν δεῖ καὶ τοὺς τὴν ἀκολουθίαν ἣν παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος ἐναμείβοντας... καὶ υἱὸν μὲν προτάσσοντας τοῦ πατρὸς, υἱοῦ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον προτιθέντας; Yves Courtonne, *Saint Basile: Lettres*. 3 vols. (Paris: Société d'édition 'Les Belles Lettres', 1957-1966), vol. ii, p. 34).

⁷⁷ *Trin.* 4 (PG 31, col. 1496c7-14).

⁷⁸ E.g., *Eun.* 2.5; 2.22-24.

ond part of *On Not Three Gods* after the break is an integral part of the whole homily. I argue that it is.

The integrity of On Not Three Gods

In *On Not Three Gods* Basil relates that he was charged with tritheism because he refused to classify the Holy Spirit as one of the created, ministering spirits. In other words, his opponents realized that Basil accorded divine status to the Spirit and so maliciously interpreted his Trinitarian theology as nothing more than crude tritheism. Basil dealt with the similar charge of ditheism in *Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos*. There it is brought up in an anti-Sabellian and anti-Heteroousian context. In a passage from that homily Basil explains what he means when he says that the Father and Son are distinct in person:

For even if they are two in number, they are not disjoined in nature. Nor does anyone who says “two” introduce estrangement [between them]. There is one God because there is one Father. But the Son is also God, and there are not two gods because the Son has identity with the Father. For I do not behold one divinity in the Father and another in the Son. Nor is one nature this and the other that. So then, in order to make clear for you the distinctness of the persons, count the Father by himself and the Son by himself, but in order to avoid secession into polytheism, confess one substance in both. In this way both Sabellius falls and Anomoius will be shattered.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ *Sab* 3 (PG 31, col. 605a11-b7): εἰ γὰρ καὶ δύο τῷ ἀριθμῷ, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει οὐ διέζευκται· οὐδὲ ὁ τὰ δύο λέγων, ἀλλοτριώσιν ἐπεισάγει. εἰς θεός, ὅτι καὶ πατήρ εἷς· θεός δὲ καὶ ὁ υἱός, καὶ οὐ δύο θεοί, ἐπειδὴ ταυτότητα ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλην ἐν πατρὶ καθορῶ θεότητα, καὶ ἄλλην ἐν υἱῷ· οὐδ' ἑτέραν φύσιν ἐκείνην, καὶ ἑτέραν ταύτην. ἵνα μὲν οὖν τρανωθῇ σοι τῶν προσώπων ἡ ιδιότης, ἀρίθμει ἰδίᾳ πατέρα, καὶ ἰδίᾳ υἱόν. ἵνα δὲ μὴ εἰς πολυθεῖαν ἀποσχισθῇς, μίαν ὁμολόγει ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν τὴν οὐσίαν. οὕτω καὶ Σαβέλλιος πίπτει, καὶ ὁ Ἀνόμοιος συντριβήσεται. Here I follow the repunctuation of the Greek suggested by J. T. LIENHARD, “Ps.-Athanasius, *Contra Sabellianos*, and Basil of Caesarea, *Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos*: Analysis and Comparison,” *Vigiliae Christianae*, 40 (1986), pp. 365-389, at p. 388 n. 14. The name

Here Basil attempts to alleviate the Sabellian fear that he has fallen into ditheism by contrasting his understanding of divine diversity with the Heteroousian position. Then, with sentiments strikingly similar to what we read in *On Not Three Gods*,⁸⁰ Basil writes:

“Anomoius” plays on “Eunomius” and his theology of unlikeness (*anomoion*) of substance. In what immediately follows (*Sab* 4 (*PG* 31, col. 605a11-c1)), Basil elaborates: “But when I say ‘one substance,’ do not think that two are separated off from one, but that the Son has come to subsist from the Father, his principle. The Father and Son do not come from one substance that transcends them both. For we do not call them brothers, but confess Father and Son. There is an identity of substance because the Son is from the Father, not made by a command but rather begotten from his nature, not separated from him but a perfect radiance of the Father, who himself remains perfect” (ὅταν δὲ εἴπω μίαν οὐσίαν, μὴ δύο ἐξ ἑνὸς μερισθέντα νόει· ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ὑποστάντα, οὐ πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν ἐκ μιᾶς οὐσίας ὑπερκειμένης. οὐ γὰρ ἀδελφὰ λέγομεν, ἀλλὰ πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν. τὸ δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ταῦτόν, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ υἱὸς, οὐ προστάγματι ποιηθείς, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως γεννηθείς· οὐκ ἀπομερισθείς τοῦ πατρὸς, ἀλλὰ μένοντος τελείου τέλειος ἀπολάμψας). Note the similarity of the language in the last sentence to *Trin* 3 (*PG* 31, col. 1493a9-b1), the first lines after the break, cited above on p. 97.

⁸⁰ *Trin* 2-3 (*PG* 31, col. 1489c3-1492a5): “Most of those here are spies more interested in scrutinizing my statements than in being disciples of the doctrines I teach. Indeed they attend my discourse not to be edified by being present but to ambush me with insults and abuse. If perhaps I say anything that harmonizes with what those who reject my point of view want to catch me saying, he who heard it departs as if he got from me what really belongs to him. [...] For this is what those who do not fear the Lord say, opening their mouths against us on the grounds that we proclaim three gods: ‘What does this man who preaches three gods seek in the church of the Lord? Elsewhere polytheism can be found but here there is piety toward God. If he says three, why not dare to say even four? Why not extend the number to twelve?’ So then, see the madness of those who have sharpened their tongue against the truth!” (οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν παρόντων κατὰσκοποι, μᾶλλον εἰσι κατὰσκοποι τῶν λεγομένων, ἢ μαθηταὶ τῶν διδασκάλων. καὶ λόγος ἐπιζητεῖται οὐ πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν τῶν παρόντων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐπήρειαν τῶν ἐφεδρευόντων. ἅν μὲν τι λεχθῇ συμβαῖνον ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῶν ἐξοστρακίζόντων τὴν γνώμην, ἀπῆλθε καταδεξάμενος ὡς τὸ ἴδιον εὐρὼν παρ’ ἡμῖν. [...] ταῦτα γὰρ μὴ φοβουμένων τὸν κύριον τὰ ῥήματα, ἀνοιγόντων καθ’ ἡμῶν στόμα, ὡς ἡμῶν τρεῖς θεοὺς καταγγελλόντων. ὁ τρεῖς θεοὺς κηρύττων, τί ζητεῖ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ κυρίου; ἀλλαχοῦ πολυθεία· καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ θεοσέβεια. ὁ τρεῖς λέγων, κατατολμάτω καὶ τεσσάρων· ἐκτεινάτω τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰς δώδεκα. τίς οὖν ἡ μανία τῶν ἡκονημένην γλῶσσαν ἐχόντων κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας;).

And those of you who have not come around to my position, as much as you have either imperfectly followed what we have said or stood around only hoping to insult us, not seeking to receive any benefit from us but looking to seize on something that we have said, still you say: "He preaches two gods! He proclaims polytheism!" There are not two gods because there are not two fathers. Whoever introduces two first principles preaches two gods. Such is Marcion and anyone similar to him in impiety.⁸¹

The charge of polytheism is lobbied against Basil by those in his audience who appear to be only interested in hearing something which they can later use to calumniate him. These people are also probably to be identified with the followers of Eustathius of Sebasteia.⁸² But his defense against polytheism in what follows is conducted along anti-Heteroousian lines. Basil depicts the Heteroousians as the real polytheists, since

whoever says that the one begotten is different in substance from the one who has begotten him implies that there are two gods, introducing polytheism by maintaining the unlikeness of substance. For if there is one divinity that is unbegotten and one that is begotten, you are preaching polytheism, implying that the unbegotten is contrary to the begotten and clearly positing too that their substances are contrary – that is, if indeed unbegottenness is the substance of the Father and begottenness is the substance of the Son. Thus you imply not only that there are two gods but also that they are opposed to each other.⁸³

⁸¹ *Sab* 4 (*PG* 31, col. 605c1-9): καὶ μὴ μοι περιδραμόντες, ὅσοι ἢ μὴ τελείως τοῖς λεγομένοις ἠκολουθήσατε, ἢ πρὸς ἐπήρειαν ἡμᾶς περιεστήκατε, οὐ λαβεῖν τι παρ' ἡμῶν ὠφέλιμον ἐπιζητοῦντες, ἀλλὰ λαβέσθαι τινὸς τῶν λεγομένων ἐπιτηροῦντες, εἵπητε· δύο θεοὺς κηρύσσει, πολυθεῖαν καταγγέλλει. οὐ δύο θεοὶ, οὐδὲ γὰρ δύο πατέρας. ὁ μὲν ἀρχὰς εἰσάγων δύο, δύο κηρύττει θεοὺς. τοιοῦτος δὲ ἐστὶ Μαρκίων, καὶ εἴ τις ἐκεῖνῳ τὴν ἀσέβειαν παραπλήσιος.

⁸² See *Ep* 130.

⁸³ *Sab* 4 (*PG* 31, col. 605c9-d4): καὶ πάλιν ὁ ἐτεροούσιον λέγων τὸν γεγεννημένον πρὸς τὸν γεννήσαντα, δύο καὶ οὗτος λέγει θεοὺς, διὰ τὴν τῆς οὐσίας ἀνομοιότητα τὸ πολύθεον παρεισάγων. εἰ γὰρ μία μὲν θεότης ἀγέννητος, μία δὲ γεννητὴ, σὺ εἰ ὁ τὴν πολυθεῖαν κηρύσσων, ἐναντίον μὲν λέγων εἶναι τὸ ἀγέννητον τῷ γεννητῷ, ἐναντίας δὲ δηλονότι καὶ τὰς οὐσίας τιθέμενος· εἵπερ οὐσία μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ

So it appears that Basil's tactic for replying to the charge of polytheism (here ditheism) was to depict his position as a viable alternative to Heteroousianism. And so, even though he was charged with polytheism by the Pneumatomachian followers of Eustathius, he refutes the charge by attacking the Heteroousians.

As the various titles given to his homily demonstrate,⁸⁴ *On Not Three Gods* was understood to be a defense against the charge of tritheism. Once again, it is probably the Eustathians who make this accusation. And, once again, Basil defends himself against the charge in an anti-Heteroousian manner. An underappreciation of Basil's tactic for refuting the charge of polytheism has skewed previous scholars' views of this homily. Seeing that Basil was accused of tritheism *because of* his anti-Pneumatomachian position on the Spirit, these scholars *expected* Basil to counter the charge by making an anti-Pneumatomachian argument against the Eustathians. And so, when Basil abandons discussion of the Holy Spirit three-quarters through the homily and turns to the Son, these scholars could not help but see a break in the homily. But once it is realized that Basil tended to refute the charge of polytheism along anti-Heteroousian lines, Basil's turn to the subject of the Son becomes comprehensible. Therefore, what Basil is doing in *On Not Three Gods* is defending himself against tritheism by contrasting his views with those of the Heteroousians. His method of counterattack echoes that deployed in *Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos*.

Let us investigate his anti-Heteroousian refutation of the charge of tritheism in more detail by going through *On Not Three Gods* section by section. It is in §3, before the break, that Basil begins to respond to the charge. He argues that confession of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and baptism in their name as commanded in Matthew 28.19, does not amount to a belief in three gods. He does not say precisely why, but uses Ephesians 4.5 to explain himself:

ἀγεννησία· οὐσία δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἢ γέννησις. ὥστε οὐ δύο μόνον θεοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαχομένους ἀλλήλοις λέγεις.

⁸⁴ See n. 1 above.

One Lord [Eph 4:5]. Learn from Paul. He did not say “two” or “three.” Even if I name the Son “Lord,” I do not dole out (διεἶλον) the lordship to two lords or to many gods. The Father is Lord; the Son is Lord. *One faith* [Eph 4:5], because one Lord. One follows one: one faith follows one Lord and *one baptism* [Eph 4:5] follows one faith. Thus there is confirmation of one from one through one.⁸⁵

Even though Father and Son are both named “Lord,” there are not two lords. Basil’s teaching here echoes one of the major contributions of his *Contra Eunomium*, namely, his distinction between terms predicated in common of Father and Son and terms predicated uniquely of Father and Son. Basil insists that those terms predicated in common of the Father and Son have the same signification, and that they name what he calls “the commonality of the substance” (τὸ κοινὸν τῆς οὐσίας).⁸⁶ The commonality of substance does not mean that there is “a kind of doling out and division (διανομὴν τινα καὶ καταδιάρεσιν) of pre-existent matter into the things that come from it,” but rather that “one and the same formula of being is observed in both [Father and Son].”⁸⁷ Basil employs the phrase “formula of being” (and its equivalent “formula of substance”) to signify the sense in which God is one; it is that which accounts for divine unity.⁸⁸ And so, a term predicated in common of Father and

⁸⁵ *Trin* 3 (PG 31, col. 1492b7-13): εἷς κύριος, μὴνθανε τοῦ Παύλου λέγοντος, μὴ δύο, ἢ τρεῖς. καὶν ὀνομάσω κύριον τὸν υἱὸν, οὐκ εἰς δύο κύριους, οὐκ εἰς πολλοὺς θεοὺς διεἶλον τὴν κυριότητα. κύριος ὁ πατήρ, κύριος ὁ υἱός· μία πίστις, ἐπειδὴ εἷς κύριος. ἐν ἐνὶ ἀκολουθεῖ· ἐνὶ κυρίῳ, μία πίστις, μιᾷ πίστει, ἐν βάπτισμα. οὕτως ἐν ἑξ ἑνὸς δι’ ἐνὸς βεβαιοῦται.

⁸⁶ *Eun* 1.19, 27 and 38-39 (SChr 299: 240 Sesboüé). For discussion, see DELCOGLIANO and RADDE-GALLWITZ, *St. Basil of Caesarea: Against Eunomius*, pp. 50-51.

⁸⁷ *Eun* 1.19, 28-29 and 33-34 (SChr 299: 240 Sesboüé): εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸ κοινὸν τῆς οὐσίας οὕτω νοήσας εἶπεν ὡς ἑξ ὕλης προϋπαρχούσης διανομὴν τινα καὶ καταδιάρεσιν εἰς τὰ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἐννοεῖν... εἰ δὲ οὕτω τις ἐκλαμβάνει τὸ τῆς οὐσίας κοινόν, ὡς τὸν τοῦ εἶναι λόγον ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀμφοῖν θεωρεῖσθαι. Note the similar vocabulary of division in *Trin* and *Eun*.

⁸⁸ A. RADDE-GALLWITZ, *Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, and the Transformation of Divine Simplicity*, Oxford, 2009, pp. 154-155.

Son signifies a property of the common nature or substance shared by Father and Son. For example, "light" is said in common of the Father and the Son, and it means the same thing when applied to each, whereas "Unbegotten" is said only of the Father and "Only-Begotten" only of the Son.⁸⁹ It is the same with the title "Lord." Though predicated of both Father and Son, it signifies the single divine sovereignty and omnipotence, which the Father entrusted to the Son.⁹⁰ Father and Son share a single lordship and a single divinity; they are neither two lords nor two gods. And so, Basil deploys his logic of common terms to demonstrate his belief in divine unity against the charge of tritheism.

Immediately before the break, Basil rebuts his opponent's claim about the title "Paraclete."⁹¹ Here again he relies upon the same logic of common terms: the term does not indicate the lowly status of the Spirit since the Son is also designated by this term. Thus it is a term that signifies the common divine substance, in which the Son and Spirit share. Elsewhere Basil identified "Paraclete" as one of the names that indicated the glory and magnificence of the Holy Spirit.⁹² Though the Father is never called "Paraclete" in scripture, the common names predicated of the Son and Spirit indicate their common nature, and by virtue of the Son's common nature with the Father, the common nature of all three. Thus belief in the divine status of the Spirit does not result in tritheism.

The deployment of same logic of common terms to demonstrate divine unity is also found immediately after the break.⁹³ Both Father and Son are designated "God," "perfect God," and "incorporeal." Each of these terms signifies a property of the common divine nature. Here Basil also lists terms applied uniquely to each, "unbegotten" and "Father," and "only-begotten," "Son," "Representation," and "Image." Such terms name the distinguishing marks of each, that is, the individuating

⁸⁹ See Drecoll's account of "light" as a common term, *Die Entwicklung*, pp. 103-111.

⁹⁰ *Eun* 2.3. Sovereignty characterizes the divine nature; see *Eun* 3.2.

⁹¹ See p. 94 above.

⁹² *Eun* 3.3; *Spir* 18.46, 19.48

⁹³ See the quotation above, p. 97.

properties of the Father and Son.⁹⁴ "Father" and "Son" are not mere names, but truly signify who the Father and Son are.⁹⁵ Once again, the logic of common terms is employed to argue for divine unity, this time alluding also to the distinction between terms predicated in common and terms predicated uniquely of each.

The remainder of the homily deals with various possible objections to Basil's account of divine unity, that Father and Son are equally God, and yet one God. The major potential objection identified by Basil is the divine begetting. As Eunomius and others before him had argued, the fact of the divine begetting suggests that the Son's divinity is inferior to the Father's. In other words, Eunomius preserves divine unity by ascribing full divinity to the unbegotten Father alone and denying the begotten Son a share in it. In what follows in *On Not Three Gods* Basil is concerned to give an account of the divine begetting which preserves his account of the divine unity of the Father and Son. He begins by stressing the incomprehensibility of the divine begetting, saying that there is no source among things created from which one can acquire knowledge of it, concluding with the injunction: "Do not examine what has not always existed to learn about what always exists." This suggests that Father and Son alone (here the Spirit is ignored for the moment) eternally exist. By stressing the incomprehensibility of the divine begetting Basil seeks to eliminate the basis for Heteroousian claim that, in a way analogous to human begetting, the divine begetting necessarily implies the Son's inferiority. Then Basil briefly appeals to John 1.1 as proof that the Word was always God, again emphasizing the eternity of the Son. As mentioned above, this is Basil's favorite text for making this point.⁹⁶

This appeal to John 1.1 segues into an interlude on the incarnation. While this may seem to be an odd move, it

⁹⁴ On "distinguishing marks" (and its equivalent "distinctive feature"), see DRECOLL, *Die Entwicklung*, pp. 107-110; RADDE-GALLWITZ, *Divine Simplicity*, pp. 132-137; and DELCOGLIANO, *Theory of Names*, pp. 189-260.

⁹⁵ *Trin* 3 (PG 31, col. 1493a13-14): "Just as the Father is not the Father in name alone, so too the Son is not the Son in name alone."

⁹⁶ See p. 95 above.

appears that in Basil's mind discussion of the eternal begetting of the Son and the birth of the incarnate Word from Mary went hand in hand, forming a kind of natural progression. For example, Basil's homily on the theophany begins with a section on the ineffability of the divine begetting, before spending the rest of the homily on the incarnation.⁹⁷ So it is not surprising that Basil would bring up the incarnation when speaking of the eternal, divine begetting. In *On Not Three Gods* Basil seems to have had the Johannine prologue in mind, as he comments on what it means for the Word to *become* flesh (John 1.14). In the discussion of the incarnation, Basil repeatedly mentions the paradox of God becoming human. One of his main points seems to be that in the incarnation the divinity of the Word is preserved intact, not diminished or destroyed in any way:

As a human being, he is subject to time. As God, he is before time. In both cases, the 'as a human being' and 'as God' should be understood not in terms of likeness but in terms of the true reality (ἀληθεία). He *was God* [John 1.1]; he *became* [John 1.14] a human being for the economy. The *became* did not come first and then the *was*; on the contrary, the *was* came first and then the *became*. So then, do not take away the divinity of the Only-Begotten because of the events of the economy.⁹⁸

In the incarnation, the "true reality" of God is preserved. He was and remains God, but became human. Basil characterizes the idea that the Word's divinity is destroyed in the incarnation as heretical and Manichaeian. The remainder of the section on the incarnation spells out the divine accomplishments achieved through the incarnation: conquering death and giving life. Thus Basil eliminates one of the He-

⁹⁷ See *Chr* 1-2.

⁹⁸ *Trin* 4 (PG 31, col. 1493c10-1496a2): ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ὑπὸ χρόνον· ὡς θεός, πρὸ χρόνων. τὸ ὡς οὐχ ὁμοιώσει, ἀλλ' ἀληθεία, κατ' ἀμφοτέρα θεός καὶ ἄνθρωπος. θεός ἦν, ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο κατ' οἰκονομίαν. οὐ πρότερον τὸ ἐγένετο· καὶ τότε τὸ ἦν· ἀλλὰ πρότερον τὸ ἦν· καὶ τότε τὸ ἐγένετο. μὴ οὖν ἀναιρεῖτω τὸ δι' οἰκονομίαν τοῦ μονογενοῦς τῇν θεότητα.

terousians' chief arguments for the substantial inferiority of the Son, the incarnation.

After the interlude on the incarnation, Basil returns to the subject of the ineffability of the divine begetting. Thus there is a kind of chiastic structure: a discussion of the incarnation is sandwiched between two discussions of the divine begetting. The second section on the ineffability of the divine begetting concludes with these words:

For that ineffable begetting is awesome because of its nature, but this nature is hard to explain because of its otherness. John was said to be *the voice of one crying in the wilderness* [Matt 3.3; Mark 1.3; Luke 3.4; John 1.23; Is 40.3], but he was a human being by nature. So then, do not take away the subsistence (ὑπόστασιν) of the Only-Begotten because of the name 'Word.'⁹⁹

At first glance, this may seem to be an anti-Sabellian argument, which seems out of place in a defense against tritheism. But if we recall the chiastic structure we realize that Basil is referring back to the earlier discussion of the incomprehensibility of the divine begetting and the significance of John 1.1 and 1.14. Basil speaks of *the voice of one crying* only one other time in his corpus, and that passage is helpful for elucidating this one.¹⁰⁰ There Basil contrasted how John the Baptist speaks merely of the corporeal origins of Jesus from Mary, whereas John the Evangelist alone among the evangelists apprehended the Word at absolute beginning. As a creature, John the Baptist cannot explain nor even comprehend the divine begetting, but John the Evangelist tells us *in the beginning was the Word*, even if the "how" of begetting itself remains incomprehensible. So when Basil concludes by saying, "do not take away (ἀναίρει) the subsistence (ὑπόστασιν) of the Only-Begotten because of the name 'Word,'" this injunction must be understood as parallel to an earlier injunction in his discussion of

⁹⁹ *Trin* 4 (PG 31, col. 1496b10-14): ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ φοβερά διὰ τὴν φύσιν, αὕτη δὲ δυσερμήνευτος διὰ τὸ ξένον. ὁ Ἰωάννης φωνὴ μὲν ἐλέγετο βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἄνθρωπος δὲ ἦν τὴν φύσιν. μὴ οὖν ἀναίρει διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ λόγου τὴν τοῦ μονογενοῦς ὑπόστασιν.

¹⁰⁰ *Eun* 2.15.

the incarnation: “do not take away (ἀναρρίτω) the divinity of the Only-Begotten because of the events of the economy.” Just because John speaks of the Word becoming incarnate, it does not mean that the Only-Begotten Son is deprived of his divine unity with the Father.

The two remaining sections of the homily also deal with possible objections to the divine unity of the Father and Son. The first concerns the place at the right hand of the Father.¹⁰¹ Basil affirms that the Father and Son share the same honor because the Son has received honor from his Father and the Father freely bestowed honor upon the Son. Once again, echoing the first lines after the break, Basil affirms that “God” is a name predicated in common of the Father and Son, showing their divine unity. The final section counters a possible objection to Basil’s account of divine unity based on the meaning of the name “father.” Basil acknowledges that human fatherhood is inseparable from temporality, effort, ignorance, and an inability to effect one’s will, but emphasizes that divine fatherhood is not marked by these traits. These traits of human fatherhood should be used neither to understand divine fatherhood nor to suggest that the Father and Son are not unified in their divinity.

Therefore, once *On Not Three Gods* is understood to be a refutation of the charge of tritheism and not a defense of the Holy Spirit’s divinity, and once Basil’s anti-Heteroousian tactic for responding to the Pneumatomachian charge of polytheism is realized, the integrity of *On Not Three Gods* becomes clearer. There is no break between two parts; the second part is an integral piece of the argument begun in the first part. As for the second part itself, it too has its own integrity and flow, starting with a discussion of the unity of Father and Son, and then dealing with possible objections to Basil’s account of that unity. Only the last two points may seem a bit random and tacked on, namely, the discussion of the “right hand” and distinguishing human and divine fatherhood. Perhaps these last two points are afterthoughts, mentioned spontaneously to forestall further objections or prompted by his audience.

¹⁰¹ See pp. 103-104 above.

But nonetheless they are in harmony with Basil's the overall argument of defending his account of divine unity from the charge of tritheism along anti-Heteroousian lines.

The problem of the parallels

On Not Three Gods exhibits parallels with two separate texts. In §4 as Basil's discussion of the incarnation draws to a close, there is a single verbatim parallel with an anonymous homily entitled *Oratio in resurrectionem domini*. But from midway through §3 to midway through §4, namely, from the point when Basil begins to speak of the Son (PG 31, col.1493a9) – that is, right where the break starts – to the middle of his discussion of the incarnation, just as he is concluding his treatment of John 1.1 and 1.14 (col. 1493c13), Basil's text has four more-or-less verbatim parallels with the *Historia ecclesiastica* once attributed to Gelasius of Cyzicus. Both of these texts are later than Basil and, as I have argued above, it is not very likely that excerpts from these later texts have simply been appended to Basil's original homily since the content of second part is thoroughly Basilian and appears to be an integral piece of the overall argument of the homily. Thus two possibilities remain: (1) these later texts are quoting Basil; or (2) both these later texts and Basil are quoting from a common source.¹⁰² As for the parallel with *Oratio*, unfortunately there is insufficient evidence to decide the issue. I suggest that Basil may be drawing upon material not his own, while admitting that the available data only permits inconclusive results. In contrast, in the case of the parallels between *On Not Three Gods* and the *Historia ecclesiastica*, I argue that they are best explained by the use of a common source. I submit that it is Basil's use of this source which can give the impression that the homily lacks integrity, since this source is not integrated as carefully as it could have been. Just because the second part of *On Not Three Gods* is authentically Basilian and originally formed an integral part of the homily does not preclude Basil's derivation of the material from elsewhere. It

¹⁰² See p. 96 above.

should not come as a surprise that Basil would copy from someone else. Joseph Lienhard has demonstrated that *Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos*, the homily of Basil mostly closed linked with *On Not Three Gods*, is heavily dependent on the pseudo-Athanasian *Contra Sabellianos*.¹⁰³ In *Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos* Basil reworked the pseudo-Athanasian material he used and made it his own. No doubt he did the same in *On Not Three Gods* using another source.

The homily entitled *Oratio in resurrectionem domini* is found in Codex Vaticanus gr. 2194 and was published by Salvatore Lilla.¹⁰⁴ He noted that the homily was partly derived from a catechetical sermon on Easter falsely attributed to John Chrysostom. In a subsequent article he identified the purported source of the previously published homily, namely, another Easter homily found in Vat. gr. 1936. The version in Vat. gr. 2194 is shorter and abbreviated.¹⁰⁵ The parallel with Basil is found in the versions of the homily in Vat. gr. 2194 and 1936, but not in the sermon of pseudo-Chrysostom. The passages are almost verbally exact. The only difference between Vat. gr. 2194 and *On Not Three Gods* is the use of the particle *δέ* in the latter. The passages underlined in Vat. gr. 1936 indicate points of difference with Vat. gr. 2194 and *On Not Three Gods*:

Vat. gr. 1936

κατέπειν ὁ θάνατος ἄγνοῶν, καὶ
καταπιὼν ἔγνω ὃν κατέπειν· κα-
τέπειν ζωὴν, κατεπόθη ὑπὸ τῆς
ζωῆς· κατέπειν τὸν ἕνα μετὰ πάν-
των, ἀπώλεσε τὸν ἕνα διὰ

Vat. gr. 2194 and *Trin.* 4
(PG 31, col. 1496a10-14)

κατέπειν ὁ θάνατος ἄγνοῶν, κα-
ταπιὼν [δέ] ἔγνω ὃν κατέπειν.
κατέπειε ζωὴν, κατεπόθη [δέ]
ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς. κατέπειε τὸν ἕνα
μετὰ πάντων, ἀπώλεσε [δέ] διὰ

¹⁰³ J. T. LIENHARD, "Ps.-Athanasius, *Contra Sabellianos*, and Basil of Caesarea, *Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos*: Analysis and Comparison," *Vigiliae Christianae*, 40 (1986), pp. 365-389. Also see M. DELCOGLIANO, "Tradition and Polemic in Basil of Caesarea's Homily on the Theophany," *Vigiliae Christianae* [forthcoming], which demonstrates Basil's great indebtedness to Origen's exegesis of the Matthean infancy narrative in this homily. But unlike Basil's borrowing in *Sab*, in this homily Basil rarely cites Origen verbatim.

¹⁰⁴ Salvatore LILLA, "Un'omelia greca sulla pasqua," *Byzantion: Revue internationale des études Byzantines*, 38 (1968), pp. 282-286.

¹⁰⁵ Salvatore LILLA, "La fonte inedita di un'omelia greca sulla pasqua," *Byzantion: Revue internationale des études Byzantines*, 40 (1970), pp. 67-74.

τοὺς πάντας. ἤρπασεν ὡς λέων,
συνεθλάσθη δὲ τοὺς ὀδόντας.

τὸν ἕνα τοὺς πάντας. ἤρπασεν
ὡς λέων, συνεθλάσθη [δὲ] τοὺς
ὀδόντας.

Death devoured [Is 25.8] him in ignorance, and after it devoured him it came to know whom it had devoured. It devoured Life; it was swallowed up by Life. It devoured the One along with all the rest; it lost the One because of all the rest. *It seized him like a lion* [Ps 7.3]; but its teeth were smashed.

Death devoured [Is 25.8] him in ignorance, [but] after it devoured him it came to know whom it had devoured. It devoured Life; [but] it was swallowed up by Life. It devoured the One along with all the rest; [but] it lost all the rest because of the One. *It seized him like a lion* [Ps 7.3]; [but] its teeth were smashed.

On Not Three Gods has affinities with the version in Vat. gr. 1936 because of the lack of the particle δέ, but has affinities with the version in Vat. gr. 2136 because both read διὰ τὸν ἕνα τοὺς πάντας instead of Vat. gr. 1936's τὸν ἕνα διὰ τοὺς πάντας. Lilla also noted a few phrases found in both versions of the homily that echo phrases in Easter homilies of Amphilochius of Iconium and Gregory of Nazianzus. Thus the Basilian passage also has some sort of relation to a line from Amphilochius's homily *In diem sabbati sancti*: "Death seized the Master Christ, but it will not detain Life with itself. It devoured him, it devoured him in ignorance, but it vomited out many with him."¹⁰⁶ In turn, these lines in Amphilochius' homily have some relation to another Easter homily falsely attributed to Chrysostom, the pertinent lines of which read: "Death itself was ashamed that it was not able to detain *the free man among the dead* [Ps 88.5]. For it devoured the many and the Savior in order to digest them lest he could be destroyed. It devoured him as a human being, but vomited him out as not a human being. For it vomited out all together with the one."¹⁰⁷ Other similar passages could probably be located in other Easter homilies.

¹⁰⁶ *In diem sabbati sancti* 1, ed. by C. DATEMA, Turnhout, 1978 (CCG 3), p. 133, 13-15: ἤρπασεν ὁ θάνατος τὸν δεσπότην Χριστόν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατέξει παρ' ἐαυτῷ τὴν ζωὴν. κατέπιε, κατέπιεν ἀγνοήσας, ἀλλ' ἐξέμεσε πολλοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ.

¹⁰⁷ P. ALLEN and C. DATEMA, "Text and tradition of two Easter homilies of Ps. Chrysostom," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 30 (1981), pp. 87-102 at p. 99: αὐτὸς θάνατος κατησχύνετο κατέχειν τὸν ἐν νεκροῖς

All these homilies are clearly drawing upon traditional material, appearing in slightly different forms. The fact that Basil and Amphilochius witness to this material shows that it is quite ancient. It is beyond the scope of this present study to trace the development of the use of this homiletic material. The question which concerns us here is whether Basil is drawing on this material or is the source of it. This may ultimately be an unanswerable question, but I tentatively propose that he is borrowing from someone else. There are some indications that the passage which exhibits the parallel has the marks of being an insertion by Basil. It can be viewed as displaying slight shift in Basil's flow of thought, and what follows the passage seems to be a kind of comment on the passage he inserted. Let us look at the passage in its context:

He was begotten by a woman, so that he might bring all those begotten to rebirth (cf. John 3.3). He was willingly crucified, so that he might take down [from the cross] those unwillingly crucified. He died willingly, so that he might raise up [from the grave] those who died involuntarily. He accepted a death that he need not have accepted, so that he might give life to those subjected to death. *Death devoured* [Is 25.8] him in ignorance, but after it devoured him it came to know what it had devoured. It devoured Life; it was swallowed up by Life (cf. 1 Cor 15.54). It devoured the One along with all the rest; it lost all the rest because of the One. *It seized him like a lion* [Ps 7.3]; its teeth were smashed. And so for this reason it is scorned as weak. For we no longer fear it as we would a lion, but we tread upon it as we would a lion's hide.¹⁰⁸

The passage begins with a series of antitheses whose grammatical subject is Christ: *he* was begotten, crucified, died, accepted death, so that *he* might bring salvation in various ways. These lines are similar to another set of antitheses developed by Basil a few lines previously, which also have Christ

ἐλεύθερον μὴ δυνάμενος· κατέπιε γὰρ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν σωτῆρα πέψαι μὴ δυνάμενος διεφθάρη. κατέπιεν ὡς ἄνθρωπον, ἐξέμεσε δὲ οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπον, πάντας γὰρ τῷ ἐνὶ συνεξέμεσεν. This homily is probably from the sixth century.

¹⁰⁸ *Trin* 4 (PG 31, col. 1496a5-b1).

as the subject of the verbs.¹⁰⁹ In the passage that may be an insertion, however, the subject becomes a personified Death. Perhaps Basil inserted these lines on Death because his last antithesis referred to death (though not a personified Death). The final two sentences of the citation above, which are not part of the parallel, could be Basil's summarizing comment on the passage he has just inserted. Admittedly the arguments offered here are not conclusive for proving that Basil has quoted these lines. But it is, I submit, a plausible interpretation of the data we have available.

We turn now to the parallel between *On Not Three Gods* and the *Historia ecclesiastica* once attributed to Gelasius of Cyzicus. Now considered anonymous, this church history was written after 475 to combat Monophysite appeals to Nicaea.¹¹⁰ The AKG consists of three books: the first deals with Constantine's rise to power, the second with the Council of Nicaea itself, and the third with the aftermath of the council. The AKG is largely a compilation of previous church histories by Eusebius, Rufinus, Socrates, and Theodoret; it also quotes from Gelasius of Caesarea's lost *Historia ecclesiastica* and has been used to reconstruct the text.¹¹¹ Sections not derived from these works are taken, or so the anonymous author claims, from the *Acta* of the Council of Nicaea. The anonymous author claims to have taken detailed notes on these *Acta* when

¹⁰⁹ *Trin* 4 (PG 31, col. 1493c4-10).

¹¹⁰ Hereafter referred to as the AKG (= Anonyme Kirchengeschichte), following the practice of the text's most recent editor, G. C. HANSEN, ed., *Anonyme Kirchengeschichte (Gelasius Cyzicenus CPG 6034)*, GCS n.f. 9, Berlin, 2002. There are earlier editions: G. LOESCHKE and M. HEINEMANN, *Gelasius Kirchengeschichte*, GCS 28, Leipzig, 1918, and the *editio princeps* of R. BALFOUR (Paris, 1599), which is reprinted in PG 85, col. 1192-1360. For introductions, see P. NAUTIN, "Gélase de Cyzique," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 20, Paris, 1984, pp. 301-302; and G. MARASCO, "The Church Historians (II): Philostorgius and Gelasius of Cyzicus," in *Greek and Roman Historiography in Late Antiquity: Fourth to Sixth Century A.D.*, ed. by idem, Leiden, 2003, pp. 257-288 at pp. 284-288.

¹¹¹ LOESCHKE and HEINEMANN, *Gelasius Kirchengeschichte*, pp. xxx-xxxvii; F. SCHEIDWEILER, "Die Kirchengeschichte des Gelasius," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 46 (1953), pp. 277-301; F. WINKELMANN, "Die Quellen der *Historia Ecclesiastica* des Gelasius von Cyzicus (nach 475)," *Byzantinoslavica*, 27 (1966), pp. 104-130; HANSEN, *Anonyme Kirchengeschichte*, pp. xli-lv.

he read them in his youth in a manuscript once possessed by Bishop Dalmatius of Cyzicus, but then in the possession of his father, a presbyter of the same city. When the anonymous author came to write (or rather, compile) the AKG many years later, neither the so-called *Liber Dalmatii* nor his notes on it were still available to him. But he was able to obtain some excerpts from other learned men and thus incorporated them into AKG.¹¹² The *Liber Dalmatii* is thought to have contained, among other documents, Constantine's opening discourse at the council (AKG 2.7) and a record of a dialogue between the Nicene fathers and an Arian philosopher named Phaeton (AKG 2.14-24). Gerhard Loeschcke considered the *Liber Dalmatii* authentic, but C. T. H. R. Ehrhardt demonstrated that the opening discourse of Constantine is a fabrication and thus cast doubt on the authenticity of the other materials in this source.¹¹³ Ehrhardt also demonstrated that elsewhere in AKG when Gelasius's documents "are also quoted by other sources, Gelasius' version is very often more florid and effusive."¹¹⁴

The parallels between *On Not Three Gods* and AKG are found in the second book, from the dialogue between the council fathers and Phaeton. The entire dialogue is almost certainly a fictional elaboration of a story of a philosopher's conversion to Christianity at Nicaea that the anonymous

¹¹² AKG prol. 1-8. For convenience sake, I will use the title *Liber Dalmatii* to refer to the *Acta* of the Council of Nicaea purportedly in circulation, even though the book of Dalmatius read by the anonymous author in his youth, if it really existed, was but one copy of these *Acta*.

¹¹³ C. T. H. R. EHRHARDT, "Constantinian Documents in Gelasius of Cyzicus, Ecclesiastical History," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 23 (1980), pp. 48-57. Ehrhardt sums up: "The documents Gelasius brings which purport to derive from the records of the Council of Nicaea are worthless as source material for it, though they may make some contribution to our knowledge of disputes about the Emperor's place in the Church and about correct dogma in the fourth and early fifth centuries. [...] His Ecclesiastical History is probably more important as contemporary evidence for the Monophysite controversy in the first generation after the Council of Chalcedon, and also for the impression Constantine and Athanasius left on posterity, than as an historical record of the Council of Nicaea and its aftermath" (pp. 56-57).

¹¹⁴ EHRHARDT, "Constantinian Documents," p. 54; for the evidence, see pp. 54-56. This is also noted by HANSEN, *Anonyme Kirchengeschichte*, p. XLIV.

author found in the church history of Gelasius of Caesarea.¹¹⁵ A side-by-side comparison of the parallel passages makes it clear that either AKG is an expanded version of *On Not Three Gods* or *On Not Three Gods* is a paired down version of AKG. In the tables below, passages underlined in AKG indicate where *On Not Three Gods* is the same; passages underlined in *On Not Three Gods* indicate where it differs from AKG.

Parallel 1

AKG 2.19.9-11

(GCS n.f. 9: 64, 21 – 65,
2 Hansen)*Trin 3*

(PG 31, col. 1493a9-b1)

ὁ τέλειος οὔτε μειοῦται,
οὔτε αὕξει. εἷς ἀγέννητος
ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ, εἷς καὶ ὁ γε-
γεννημένος ἐξ αὐτοῦ μονογενὴς
υἱὸς θεὸς λόγος. ὥσπερ οὖν
οὐκ ἔστι συναγέννητος τῷ θεῷ
καὶ πατρὶ θεὸς ἕτερος, οὕτως
οὐδὲ συγγεγεννημένος ἢ
προγεγεννημένος ἢ μεταγεγεν-
νημένος υἱὸς ἕτερος τοῦ θεοῦ
τῷ μονογενεῖ αὐτοῦ υἱῷ θεῷ
λόγῳ. εἷς ὄντως θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ,
εἷς ὄντως καὶ ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐξ
αὐτοῦ ἀφράστως υἱὸς θεὸς λόγος.
ὥσπερ οὖν οὐ λόγῳ μόνῳ
πατὴρ ὁ θεός. οὕτως οὐδὲ
λόγῳ μόνῳ υἱός, ἀλλὰ ἀληθῶς
υἱός· γνήσιος ὁ πατὴρ, γνήσιος ὁ
υἱός· θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ, θεὸς καὶ
ὁ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένος υἱός.
τέλειος ὁ πατὴρ, τέλειος
αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ υἱός· ἄσώματος
ὁ πατὴρ, ἄσώματος καὶ ὁ
υἱός· ἄσωμάτου γὰρ χαρα-
κτὴρ καὶ εἰκὼν ἄσώματος
δηλονότι. πιστεύεις τοῦτο, ὦ

ὁ τέλειος οὔτε μειοῦται, οὔτε
αὕξει. εἷς ἀγέννητος ὁ θεός. εἷς
ὁ τούτου μονογενὴς ὁ υἱὸς καὶ
θεός. ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐνὶ συναγέν-
νητος θεὸς ἕτερος, οὕτως οὐδὲ
συγγεγεννημένος υἱὸς ἕτερος.
ὥσπερ οὐ λόγῳ ὁ πατὴρ. οὕτως
οὐδὲ λόγῳ ὁ υἱός. θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ,
θεὸς ὁ υἱός· θεὸς τέλειος ὁ
πατὴρ, θεὸς τέλειος καὶ ὁ υἱός·
ἄσώματος ὁ πατὴρ, ἄσώματος
ὁ υἱός, ἄσωμάτου χαρακτὴρ καὶ
εἰκὼν ἄσώματος. πιστεύεις ὅτι
γεγέννηται.

¹¹⁵ AKG 2.13. The same story is found in Rufinus, *h.e.* 10.3; Sozomen, *h.e.* 1.18.1-4; cf. Socrates, *h.e.* 1.8. On this story and its elaboration, see M. JUGIE, "La dispute des philosophes païens avec les pères de Nicée," *Échos d'Orient*, 24 (1925), pp. 403-410, esp. pp. 406-410; R. LIM, *Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, 1995, pp. 182-216, esp. pp. 209-212; and HANSEN, *Anonyme Kirchengeschichte*, pp. LIV-LV.

φιλόσοφε, ὅτι γεγέννηται ἐκ
τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ μονο-
γενὴς υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ἐξ
ὑπαρχῆς τῶν λόγων διὰ πλει-
στων ὅσων γραφικῶν μαρτυριῶν
ἀπεδείξαμεν, ἢ οὐ;

The perfect is neither de-
creased nor increased. There
is one unbegotten, the God
and Father. There is also one be-
gotten from him, Only-Begotten,
Son, God, Word. So then, just
as there is not another co-
unbegotten God with the God
and Father, so too there is not
another co-begotten or pre-be-
gotten or after-begotten Son of God
with his only-begotten Son, God,
Word. There is one truly God and
Father, there is also one truly be-
gotten from him ineffably, Son,
God, Word. So then, just as God
is not Father in name alone,
so too [the Son] is not Son
in name alone, but truly Son.
Genuine Father, genuine Son. The
Father is God, and the Son
begotten from him is God. The
Father is perfect; his Son is
also perfect. The Father is in-
corporeal; the Son is also in-
corporeal, for he is clearly both
the *representation* [Heb 1.3]
of the incorporeal and the in-
corporeal *image* [Col 1.15].
Do you believe this, O philoso-
pher, that from the substance of
the Father his only-begotten Son
has been begotten, as we have
demonstrated from the beginning
of our words through many written
testimonies, or not?

The perfect is neither decreased nor
increased. There is one unbegotten,
God. There is one only-begotten
of him, the Son and God. Just as
there is not another co-unbegotten
God with the one [unbegotten], so
too there is not another co-begotten
Son. Just as [the Father] is not Fa-
ther in name alone, so too [the Son]
is not Son in name alone. The Fa-
ther is God; the Son is God. The
Father is perfect God; the Son is
also perfect God. The Father is in-
corporeal; the Son is incorporeal,
the *representation* [Heb 1.3] of the
incorporeal and the incorporeal *im-
age* [Col 1.15]. Do you believe that
he has been begotten?

Parallel 2

AKG 2.19.12-18

Trin 3 (PG 31, col. 1493b1-13)

(GCS n.f. 9: 65, 5 – 65, 26

Hansen)

μη ζητει πῶς, φιλόσοφε· εἰ δὲ
μη, καθά ἥδη διὰ πλειόνων εἴρηται
σοι καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς διαλέξεως
διεμαρτυράμεθα, ὅτι κρημνίσαι
σεαυτὸν σπουδάζεις διερευνᾶν
πειρώμενος τὰ ἀνεξερεύνητα. εἰ
μὲν γὰρ ἐνδέχεται ζητεῖν
πῶς ὁ ἀγέννητος, ἐνδέχε-
ται ζητεῖν καὶ πῶς ὁ γεγεν-
νημένος. εἰ δὲ οὐ καταλείπει
ζήτησιν ὁ ἀγέννητος, πῶς
ἀγέννητος, οὕτως οὐδὲ ὁ
γεγεννημένος καταλείπει
ζήτησιν, πῶς γεγέννηται· μη
ζητει τὰ ἀνερεύνητα, οὐ γὰρ
εὐρίσκεις. τὰ εὐρισκόμενα ζητει,
καὶ εὐρίσκεις. ἐὰν γὰρ ζητῇς,
παρὰ τίνος ἔχεις μαθεῖν;
παρὰ τῆς γῆς; οὐχ ὑφίστα-
το. παρὰ θαλάσσης; οὐδέπω
ἐκέκτισο ἡ ὑγρὰ. παρὰ οὐρα-
νοῦ; οὐκ ἦν ποιηθεῖς. παρὰ
ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ
ἄστρον; οὐδέπω δεδημιούρ-
γηντο. παρὰ ἀγγέλων καὶ
ἀρχαγγέλων; οὐδέπω ἦσαν, ἐπεί-
περ καὶ αὐτῶν ποιητῆς ὁ υἱός.
ἀλλὰ παρὰ αἰώνων; πρὸ
αἰώνων ὁ μονογενής. μη
ἐξέταζε τὰ μη ἀεὶ ὄντα
περὶ τοῦ ἀεὶ ὄντος. ἄρρητος,
ἀγέννητος ὁ πατὴρ· ἄρρητος,
ἀρρήτως γεγεννημένος ἐξ αὐτοῦ
ὁ υἱός. σιωπήσον περὶ τοῦ
πῶς καὶ παραχώρει τοῦτο τῷ
γεγεννηκότι καὶ τῷ γεγεννημένῳ.
ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ μόνος γινώσκει
τὸν υἱὸν τίς ἐστι καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τὸν
πατέρα, καὶ ὧ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ
υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι, καθά φησι
τὸ αὐτοῦ εὐαγγέλιον. εἰ δὲ
μη θέλεις παύσασθαι ζητεῖν
τὸ πῶς, ἀλλὰ φιλονεικεῖς

μη ζητει πῶς; εἰ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται
ζητεῖν ὁ ἀγέννητος πῶς ἀγέν-
νητος, ἐνδέχεται ζητεῖν καὶ ὁ
γεγεννημένος πῶς γεγέννη-
ται. εἰ δὲ οὐ καταλείπει ζήτησιν ὁ
ἀγέννητος πῶς ἀγέννητος· οὕτως
οὐδὲ ὁ γεγεννημένος καταλείπει
ζητεῖν πῶς γεγέννηται· μη ζητει
τὰ ἀνεύρετα, οὐ γὰρ εὐρίσκεις.
ἐὰν γὰρ ζητῇς, παρὰ τίνος ἔχεις
μαθεῖν; παρὰ γῆς; οὐχ ὑφιστή-
κει. παρὰ θαλάττης; οὐκ ἦν ἡ
ὑγρὰ. παρὰ οὐρανοῦ; οὐκ ἦν
ἐπαρθεῖς. παρ' ἡλίου καὶ σε-
λήνης καὶ ἄστρον; οὐκ δεδημι-
ούργηντο. ἀλλὰ παρὰ αἰώνων;
πρὸ αἰώνων ὁ μονογενής. μη
ἐξέταζε τὰ μη ἀεὶ ὄντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ
ἀεὶ ὄντος. εἰ δὲ μη θέλεις, ἀλλὰ
φιλονεικεῖς, καταγελῶ σου τῆς
ἀνοίας, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ κλαίω
σου τὴν τόλμαν.

διερυνᾶν τὰ ἀνεξερεύνητα, κα-
ταγελῶμέν σου τὴν τόλμαν,
μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πενθοῦμέν σε,
ὅτι οὐ πίσται θέλεις νοεῖν τὸν
θεὸν αἰ πατέρα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ
καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ αἰ
υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, συνυπάρχοντα αἰ
τῷ πατρὶ καὶ οὐ μεταγενέστε-
ρον, καθὼς σὺ ἀσεβῶς φής.

Do not inquire how, O philosopher, unless, as was already said to you many times and we testified at the beginning of our discourse, you are eager to fall off a cliff by trying to investigate what cannot be discovered. For if it is possible to inquire how he is the unbegotten, it is also possible to inquire how he is the one who has been begotten. But if the unbegotten does not allow inquiry into how he is unbegotten, thus not even the one who has been begotten allows inquiry into how he has been begotten. Do not inquire about what cannot be discovered, since you will not find it. Inquire about what can be found, and you will find it. For if you inquire, from what can you learn it? From the earth? It did not exist. From the sea? The waters were not yet created. From the sky? It was not made. From the sun and the moon and the stars? They were not yet fashioned. From the angels and archangels? They did not yet exist, since the Son is their maker. Perhaps from the ages? The Only-Begotten is before the ages. Do not examine what has not always existed to learn about what always exists. Ineffable is the unbegotten Father; ineffable is the Son begotten from him ineffably. Keep silent about the how and

Do not inquire how. For if it is possible to inquire how the unbegotten is unbegotten, it is possible to inquire also how the one who has been begotten has been begotten. But if the unbegotten does not allow to inquiry into how he is unbegotten, thus not even the one who has been begotten allows to inquire how he has been begotten. Do not inquire about what cannot be discovered, since you will not find it. For if you inquire, from what can you learn it? From the earth? It did not exist. From the sea? There were no waters. From the sky? It was not raised up. From the sun and the moon and the stars? They were not fashioned. Perhaps from the ages? The Only-Begotten is before the ages. Do not examine what has not always existed to learn about what always exists. But if you do not want, but rather be contentious, I deride your stupidity, or rather, I lament your audacity.

concede this to the begetter and the one begotten. For the Father alone knows who the Son is, and the Son the Father *and anyone to whom the Son chooses to reveal him* [Matt 11.27], as his gospel says. But if you do not want to desist about the how, but rather be contentious about investigating what cannot be discovered, we deride your audacity, or rather, we mourn for you because you do not want understand by faith the God who is always Father of his Son, and his only-begotten Son, who is always his Son co-existing always with the Father, and not born afterwards, as you impiously say.

Parallel 3

AKG 2.19.18-19

(GCS n.f. 9: 65, 26 – 66, 5
Hansen)

ἀλλὰ νόει πίστει καὶ ὁμολόγει τέλειον ἐκ τελείου τὸν υἱόν, ὡς πολλάκις ἤκουσας, φῶς αἰδίον ἐκ φωτός αἰδίου, θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐξ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός, ἀκτιστον ἐξ ἀκτίστου, ἀσύνθετον ἐξ ἀσυνθέτου, αἰεὶ ὄντα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καθά φησιν Ἰωάννης ὁ εὐαγγελιστής, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. τὸ ἦν, φιλόσοφε, τὸ προῦ-πάρχον οὐκ ἔχει. τὸ ἦν, φιλόσοφε, περιγράφει τὸ οὐκ ἦν, καθὰ προαπεδείξαμεν, καὶ τὸ θεὸς περιγράφει τὸ οὐ θεός· τοῖς γεγραμμένοις πίστευε, τὰ μὴ γεγραμμένα μὴδὲ ζήτει.

But rather understand by faith, and confess that the Son is perfect from perfect, as you have often heard, eternal light from eternal light, uncreated from uncreated, incompos-

Trin 4

(PG 31, col. 1493b17-c4)

ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. τὸ ἦν περιγράφει τὸ οὐκ ἦν καὶ τὸ θεὸς περιγράφει τὸ οὐ θεός· τοῖς γεγραμμένοις πίστευε, τὰ μὴ γεγραμμένα μὴδὲ ζήτει.

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God [John 1.1]. The was precludes “was not,” and *God* precludes “not God.” Believe in what has been

ite from incomposite, always with the Father. For *In the beginning was the Word*, as John the evangelist says, *and the Word was with God, and the Word was God* [John 1.1]. The *was*, O philosopher, does not have something that pre-exists it. The *was*, O philosopher, precludes “was not,” as we showed earlier, and *God* precludes “not God.” Believe in what has been written in scripture. Do not try to understand, and do not inquire into, what has not been written in scripture.

written in scripture. Do not inquire into what has not been written in scripture.

Parallel 4

AKG 2.19.23-25

(GCS n.f. 9: 66, 20 – 66, 30
Hansen)

αὐτὸς πάλιν ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν
ἡμερῶν βουλῇ πατρικῇ καὶ οἰκείᾳ
ἄνθρωπος γέγονε, σαρκωθείς
ἐκ παρθένου, διὰ τὸν ἐκπε-
σόντα ἄνθρωπον Ἀδὰμ, ὁ
ἄσώματος ἐν σώματι κενώ-
σας ἑαυτόν, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ ἀπόστολος
Παῦλος, διὰ τὸ σῶμα ἔλαβε
νέφος ὁ θεὸς λόγος τὸ σῶμα,
ἵνα μὴ καταφλέξῃ τὰς κρι-
στάς φύσεις τὰς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ
(θεὸν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε πώ-
ποτε), ἐκρατήθη σαρκί, ἵνα
καὶ ἡ σὰρξ διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἀτρέπτου ἐνώσεως ἐλευθερωθῇ
τοῦ θανάτου, ἀόρατος ἐν ὁρα-
τῷ, ἵνα ὑπομείνῃ τὰ ὀρώ-
μενα, ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ
χρόνον, ἀλλ’ ἀληθεία κατ’
ἀμφοτέρα θεὸς καὶ ἄν-
θρωπος, ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεὸς ὁ
αὐτός. εἷς γὰρ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν Χρι-
στός, νοουμένης καὶ γνωριζο-
μένης τῆς διαφορᾶς τῶν οὐ-
σιῶν, τῆς τε θεότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ
τῆς σαρκός· θεὸς ᾧ καὶ ἔστι,

Trin 4

(PG 31, col. 1493c4-13)

οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ
θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο διὰ
τὸν ἐκπεσόντα ἄνθρωπον Ἀδὰμ.
διὰ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ὁ ἄσώματος ἐν
σώματι. διὰ τὸ σῶμα ἔλαβε
νέφος τὸ σῶμα ὁ λόγος, ἵνα
μὴ καταφλέξῃ τὰ ὀρώμενα.
συγκατέβη σαρκί, ἵνα καὶ ἡ
σὰρξ ἐκείνῳ συνεπαρθῇ. ὁ
ἀόρατος ἐν ὁρατῷ, ἵνα ὑποδύῃ
τὰ ὀρώμενα, ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ
χρόνον, ὡς θεὸς πρὸ χρόνων.
τὸ ὡς οὐχ ὁμοιώσει, ἀλλ’
ἀληθεία κατ’ ἀμφοτέρα θεὸς καὶ
ἄνθρωπος, θεὸς ᾧ, ἄνθρωπος
ἐγένετο κατ’ οἰκονομίαν.

γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος δι' οἰκονομίαν.

Again, in the last days by the Father's and his own will he *became* [John 1.14] a human being, enfleshed from the Virgin, for the sake of the fallen human being, Adam. The incorporeal one came into a body, having emptied himself, as the Apostle Paul said [cf. Phil 2.7]. For the sake of the body, God the Word assumed a body as a cloud, lest he incinerate created natures in the world (*for no one has ever seen God* [John 1.18]). He mastered the flesh, so that the flesh might also be freed from death through the union of the immutable one with him. The invisible one came into a visible one, so that he might remain with visible beings. As a human being, he is subject to time, but he is both God and human in terms of the true reality, the same one being human and God. For there is one Christ from both, the difference of the substances being understood and acknowledged, as well as the divinity and the flesh. He *was* and is *God* [John 1.1]; he *became* [John 1.14] a human being through the economy.

This Word, the Son of God, *became* [John 1.14] a human being for the sake of the fallen human being, Adam. For the sake of Adam the incorporeal one came into a body. For the sake of the body, the Word assumed a body as a cloud, lest he incinerate visible beings. He descended to the flesh, so that the flesh might also be raised together with him. The invisible one came into a visible one, so that he might enter into visible beings. As a human being, he is subject to time. As God, he is before time. In both cases, the "as a human being" and "as God" should be understood not in terms of likeness but in terms of the true reality. He *was God* [John 1.1]; he *became* [John 1.14] a human being for the economy.

Note the use of Chalcedonian language in the penultimate sentence of the fourth parallel – a good example of late fifth-century date of AKG.

Is it possible that what we have in *On Not Three Gods* has been borrowed from AKG? In other words, has a later editor appended these excerpts to the original *On Not Three Gods*? While I denied this interpretation above, it also does not seem very likely because *On Not Three Gods* makes perfect sense on its own without the expansions found in AKG. This too suggests the priority of *On Not Three Gods* to the expanded

version. Thus a plausible interpretation of these parallels is that they exist because AKG has borrowed from *On Not Three Gods*. And so, if this is the case, one could certainly characterize AKG as a “more florid and effusive” version of the original. The anonymous author adds repetitive and superfluous phrases which make points similar to previous ones; he tends to refer to the divine persons over-enthusiastically by several titles in a row (e.g. “Only-Begotten, Son, God, Word”); he at times adds scriptural quotations and explicit allusions, refers to earlier sections of the dialogue, and has the interlocutor speak in the vocative to Phaeton. In addition, at the end of the first parallel words from the Nicene Creed are included: “from the substance of the Father.” In the same parallel, AKG uses “from” (ἐκ) language when speaking of Son being begotten “from” the Father, whereas this terminology is not found in *On Not Three Gods*. AKG seems to be trying to make its support of Nicene theology explicit. If AKG has borrowed from *On Not Three Gods*, the differences between them can be understood as expansions (e.g. ὁ τούτου μονογενῆς becomes ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐξ αὐτοῦ μονογενῆς) or minor alterations of slightly awkward phrases (e.g. εἰ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται ζητεῖν ὁ ἀγέννητος πῶς ἀγέννητος becomes εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνδέχεται ζητεῖν πῶς ὁ ἀγέννητος). Taken together, it is plausible to conclude that AKG has quoted from and expanded upon *On Not Three Gods*.

But even though this is a plausible interpretation, another interpretation of the data is possible, that AKG and *On Not Three Gods* are quoting (and adapting) from the same source, a source now lost. The section of AKG which exhibits the parallels, in the dialogue between the council fathers and the Arian philosopher Phaeton, is purportedly derived from the *Acta* of the Council of Nicaea which the anonymous author first read in the *Liber Dalmatii*. I agree with Jugie, Ehrhardt, and Hansen that the *Liber Dalmatii* did not contain the real *Acta*, but rather a fictionalized account written from a later, triumphalist perspective. But there is no good reason to doubt the anonymous author of AKG when he says that he read the *Liber Dalmatii* in his youth, that is, a fictionalized transcript which he believed to be authentic. So the

Liber Dalmatii was in existence by the first half of fifth century, i.e. the anonymous author's youth. Could the *Liber Dalmatii* be even older than that? Could it have been written in the middle of the fourth century, such that it could have been used by Basil? Or perhaps documents that were later incorporated into the *Liber Dalmatii* were written and circulated early enough in the fourth century for Basil to have used them? Perhaps Basil had obtained a primitive copy of the dialogue between the council fathers and Phaeton? A number of pseudo-Athanasian dialogues on Trinitarian matters are extant such as *Dialogi I-III de sancta trinitate* (CPG 2284) and *Dialogus I contra Macedonianos* (CPG 2285). Like the dialogue with Phaeton, these dialogues are fictionalized. While the dates of these texts are not assured, some scholars have dated at least some of them as early as the 380s.¹¹⁶ There is also a pseudo-Athanasian *Disputatio contra Arium in concilio Nicaeno* (CPG 2250), a fictionalized account of a debate between Athanasius and Arius; its date is unclear, but it may be a work of Cyril of Alexandria.¹¹⁷ The existence of such fictionalized dialogues in the late fourth and early fifth century suggests that the *Liber Dalmatii* could have also existed, or least the dialogue between the council fathers and Phaeton which was incorporated in the purported *Acta* could have existed. Given what we know the anonymous author's citation technique, it is possible that the version of the dialogue with Phaeton in the AKG is an expansion of his source.¹¹⁸ And

¹¹⁶ C. BIZER, "Studien zu pseudathanasianischen Dialogen der Orthodoxos und Aëtios," Ph.D. diss., Bonn, 1970; A. HERON, "Studies in the Trinitarian Writings of Didymus the Blind: his Authorship of the *Adversus Eunomium* IV-V and the *De Trinitate*," Ph.D. diss., Tübingen, 1972.

¹¹⁷ A. VON STOCKHAUSEN, "Die pseudo-athanasianische *Disputatio contra Arium*. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit »arianische 'Theologie in Dialogform'," in *Von Arius zum Athanasianum: Studien zur Edition der Athanasius Werke*, ed. by EAD. and H. C. BRENNECKE, Berlin, 2010, pp. 133-156.

¹¹⁸ JUGIE, "La dispute des philosophes païens," p. 406, also suggested that AKG had copied a source, though not from one as early as I have suggested: "Si Gélase ne l'a pas inventé lui de toutes pièces [de la discussion du philosophe Phédon avec les Pères], il doit être l'œuvre d'un faussaire ayant vécu après le concile de Chalcédoine et ayant connu les principaux écrits antiariens des Pères des iv^e et v^e siècles."

so, it is possible that *On Not Three Gods* and AKG have both copied from this same, no longer extant source.

Key evidence for this possibility is that, while the *ideas* and *theology* of the passages which exhibit parallels with AKG are thoroughly Basilian, the *vocabulary* at times is un-Basilian. The terms συναγέννητος and συγγεγεννημένος (Parallel 1) are found nowhere in his extant corpus. Only twice did Basil use γεγεννημένος (Parallel 2) to refer to the eternally-begotten Son; his preferred term is γεννητός.¹¹⁹ Basil's use of ἐνδέχεται with the infinitive (Parallel 2) is rare.¹²⁰ The phrase τὰ ἀνέυρετα (Parallel 2) is not found anywhere else in his corpus. The use of νέφος to describe Christ's body in the problematic Christological passage is quite odd for Basil (Parallel 4). These examples of somewhat untypical vocabulary may suggest that Basil is drawing upon a source.

Based on all this, I propose the following reconstruction. When drafting *On Not Three Gods* Basil inserted a block of text adapted from some source available to him. This same source later made its way into the AKG. This could have happened in a number of ways. A primitive version of the dialogue between the council fathers and Phaedon could have used this same source, and then this dialogue was incorporated into the *Liber Dalmatii*, and from there it came to the attention of the anonymous author AKG, who expanded it. Or Basil's source could have been a primitive version of the dialogue itself. Or Basil could have known an earlier version of the *Liber Dalmatii* itself. While the exact process by which *On Not Three Gods* and AKG came to draw upon the same source remains unknown, the available evidence suggests that there did in fact exist some such common source on which both drew. It is the use of this source on the part of Basil that can give the impression that the homily suddenly shifts gears about three-quarters of the way through. For it is not as seamlessly integrated as it could have been and stylistically it is quite different from the first part of the homily.

¹¹⁹ *Eun* 2.28; *Sab* 4. All other instances of this term are found in scriptural citations (John 3.6, 3.8), e.g., *Spir* 5.9. The term is used once to refer to the Lord born of Mary (*Ep* 260.5).

¹²⁰ *Ep* 189.6; *Hex* 1.8. It appears more frequently in letters as a participle.

Conclusion

In this study I have attempted to resolve the major issues that have contributed to the general neglect of *On Not Three Gods*. While the discovery of the parallels in the second part further complicated these issues, I have argued not only that the questionable second part of the homily is authentically Basilian, but also that it is an integral element of Basil's overall argument in the homily. Basil's tactic for refuting the Pneumatomachian charge of tritheism was to defend his theology along anti-Heteroousian lines. Once this is understood, the logic of Basil's homily becomes clearer. Thus *On Not Three Gods* should no longer be ignored by scholars seeking to understand Basil's Trinitarian thought and ecclesiastical debates.

Julien Garnier was right that *On Not Three Gods* fails to meet the high stylistic and rhetorical standards which Basil set for himself in his other homilies. It is not his best effort. His source is not incorporated as well as it could have been. Perhaps what we possess is an unpolished draft, or even a stenographer's copy, of what Basil preached on that day long ago. Indeed, at the end of the homily, when Basil deals in quick succession with questions about the place at the right hand of the Father and the differences between divine and human fatherhood, it seems almost as if Basil is responding to objections of audience. Thus some of the roughness and jerkiness apparent in this homily may be due to the fact that Basil never had a chance to revise it. It has been argued that the most archaic, "official" form of Basil's homiletic corpus, which may go back to Basil himself, can be detected in the manuscripts.¹²¹ Interestingly, *On Not Three Gods* was not included in this primitive collection. Perhaps because of its stylistic lapses and its verbatim quotation of other sources, Basil, or whoever put together the first "official" collection of his homilies, deemed it unworthy for inclusion. But we are fortunate that it did survive at all and should take full advan-

¹²¹ É. ROUILLARD, "Basile de Césarée a-t-il corrigé lui-même un premier état de texte de ses homélies?," *Studia Patristica*, 22 (1989), pp. 65-68; *BBV* ii, pp. 3-6.

tage of this happy circumstance in our quest to understand Basil as fully as we can.

Summary

Basil of Caesarea's homily *On Not Three Gods* (CPG 2914) has been neglected by scholars because of lingering questions over its authenticity, integrity, and interpretation. Complicating these difficulties are the verbatim parallels which this homily exhibits with other non-Basilian texts. This study proposes solutions to these problems and its most thorny interpretative issues. The authenticity of the questionable part of the homily is demonstrated by adducing parallels from Basil's indisputably authentic works. The integrity and overall logic of the homily becomes clear once it is understood that Basil's tactic for refuting the Pneumatomachian charge of tritheism was to defend his theology along anti-Heteroousian lines. The homily only seems to lack integrity because Basil has not integrated his sources as seamlessly as he could have. Thus *On Not Three Gods* should no longer be ignored by scholars seeking to understand Basil's Trinitarian thought and ecclesiastical debates.

Il dono e i poveri

La trattazione *de beneficiis* nel *de officiis ministrorum* di Ambrogio

di

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Verso la fine della sua vita¹, Ambrogio scrisse il *De officiis ministrorum*, dedicato alla definizione dei doveri degli ecclesiastici, sul modello del *De officiis* ciceroniano, nel solco di un'inveterata abitudine della letteratura latina, mediante un rifacimento di forme e contenuti preesistenti.

L'opera affronta un tema "classico" della riflessione filosofica precristiana, e cioè il rapporto e la conciliazione dell'utile e dell'onesto, ma ovviamente guarda alla questione da un nuovo punto di vista, e si conclude con l'esaltazione della morale cristiana, che riesce a conciliare l'utile con l'onesto.

A differenza di altri autori ecclesiastici coevi, Ambrogio non ha fornito consigli di ascesi, ma precise indicazioni di comportamento, e per l'organizzazione del suo trattato egli si è scelto un modello profano: questa scelta risulta comprensibile proprio per il carattere eminentemente concreto dei precetti che si vogliono fornire². Per le forti ripercussioni

¹ La datazione dell'opera risale, con ogni verisimiglianza, al secondo periodo degli scritti ambrosiani, tra il 386 e il 394 (a quest'anno risale una lettera datata di Girolamo, che pare tenere in considerazione l'opera ambrosiana). Cfr. C. FREU, *Les figures du pauvre*, Parigi, 2007, p. 180. Per un quadro sintetico dei "luoghi" testuali su cui si fondano le varie ipotesi di datazione, si rimanda a Ambrose, *De officiis*, ed. with an introd., transl., and a comment. by I. J. DAVIDSON, Oxford, 2001, vol. I, pp. 3-5.

² Ambrogio scrive la sua opera per fornire, al clero milanese, un sistema di precetti per l'espletamento dei sacri uffici quotidiani: il *De officiis*, quindi, va concepito come un'utile guida religiosa, e non come un sistematico trattato filosofico. Cfr. I. J. DAVIDSON, "Ambrose's *De officiis* and the intellectual climate of the late fourth century", *Vigiliae Christianae*, 49 (1995), p. 315.

socio-culturali, specie in relazione al tema del dono e delle pratiche a esso correlate, l'opera si può accostare al *De Nabuthae*, dedicato al noto episodio biblico, contenuto nel primo *Libro dei Re*, di Naboth, fatto lapidare con false testimonianze dalla regina Gezabele desiderosa di impadronirsi di una sua vigna, che offre ad Ambrogio l'occasione per scagliarsi con veemenza contro l'avidità di beni terreni, che spesso spinge gli uomini ai peggiori delitti; e al *De Tobia*, dedicato invece al tema deteriore dell'usura, illuminato nel contrasto fra la *charitas* cristiana e l'esosità dell'usuraio, accecato dall'avidità e reso sordo ad ogni sentimento di compassione, che si avvia a produrre una ricchezza foriera di eterna perdizione³.

Ambrogio cambia leggermente il testo ciceroniano, almeno all'apparenza: in realtà lo trasforma, "mettendo in rilievo la novità della morale cristiana rispetto a quella pagana, novità che consiste nel commisurare con la 'vita eterna' la bontà e la moralità degli uomini"⁴.

³ Questo trittico ambrosiano rivela un'evidente consonanza in merito all'argomento del corretto uso delle ricchezze personali, laddove si relega l'avarò allo *status* di schiavo dei propri possedimenti, che attira a sé un negativo giudizio dall'alto (*Nab.*, 12, 52; 13, 56), mentre si innalza il "ricco filantropo" al ruolo di creditore nei confronti di Dio, che riceve una nobile ricompensa sia in terra sia in cielo (*Nab.*, 14, 58-60; *Tob.*, 2, 8; 16, 55). Secondo prospettive che tornano in più punti del nostro trattato, come emergerà più sotto. Vd. anche J. FONTAINE, *La letteratura latina cristiana. Profilo storico*, trad. it. di S. D'Elia, Bologna, 1973, p. 92: "Naboth, Tobia gli forniscono l'occasione per diatribe estremamente animose contro la rapacità e il lusso dei grandi proprietari, l'usura, la prodigalità, il gioco. Appaiono dei ritratti satirici che, nello stigmatizzare i vizi dell'alta società milanese, niente hanno da invidiare alle celebri pagine di Ammiano Marcellino contro la depravazione della nobiltà romana".

⁴ Cfr. C. ROSSI, "Il 'De officiis' di Cicerone e il 'De officiis' di Ambrogio: rapporti di contenuto e forma", in *"Humanitas" classica e "sapientia" cristiana. Scritti offerti a Roberto Licoangeli*, a cura di S. FELICI, Roma, 1992, p. 146. Vd. inoltre I. J. DAVIDSON, "The Vita Beata: Ambrose, *De Officiis* 2.1-21 and the Synthesis of Classical and Christian Thought in the Late Fourth Century", *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 63 (1996), pp. 200-201: "Ambrose addresses his spiritual 'sons', the younger clergy of Milan, setting out ideals of moral conduct which would foster the influence of the church in North Italian society, where challenges were being experienced from both pagan revivalism and Arian doctrinal deviancy. Ambrose's work almost certainly consists of a number of addresses to these clerics on Ciceronian ethical topics,

Tutta la dottrina dei doveri, anche se in Ambrogio presenta – come vedremo nel caso specifico della *beneficentia* – espressioni analoghe a quelle ciceroniane, ne trascende sempre il significato, in quanto essa si fonda costantemente sulla rivelazione diretta di Dio e sulla convinzione che la vera sapienza consista nella conoscenza di Dio⁵.

Il titolo è ciceroniano e non cristiano, poiché – lo rileva Agostino⁶ – il termine *officium* non rispecchiava l'uso linguistico degli autori ecclesiastici, presso i quali era piuttosto il termine *debitum* a designare il dovere⁷.

Cicerone, inoltre, è un aristocratico e la descrizione del *vir bonus*, capace di armonizzare l'eleganza e la grazia con la dignità e di soddisfare le più alte esigenze della società, quale emerge dal suo trattato, non rispecchia certo il cittadino medio. Cicerone tratteggia l'uomo nobile, che dirige per servire.

Ambrogio, invece, è un pastore di anime, ed il suo scopo non è morale-politico, bensì morale-religioso. Egli non si rivolge all'aristocratico uomo di mondo e candidato alla magistratura. [...] Si rivolge, specificamente, ai giovani candidati al ministero sacerdotale e futuri pastori del popolo di Dio e, in modo più generico, a tutti i cristiani”⁸. “Agli uomini di Chiesa, cui l'opera

which have subsequently revised and collected for publication as a treatise on ecclesiastic conduct”.

⁵ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 15 117: *nemo enim prudens qui Deum nescit.*

⁶ Aug. *ep.*, 82, 21: *non tam usitatum est in ecclesiasticis libris vocabulum officii, quod Ambrosius noster non timuit, qui suos quosdam libros utilium praeceptionum plenos, de officiis voluit appellare.*

⁷ O. HILTBRUNNER, “Die Schrift ‘*De officiis ministrorum*’ des heiligen Ambrosius und ihr ciceronisches Vorbild”, *Gymnasium*, 71 (1964), pp. 187-188: “*Officium* bedeutet bei den Christen vor Ambrosius die Verrichtung, insbesondere die liturgische Verrichtung, der Gottesdienst, eine Bedeutung, die das Wort bekanntlich noch in der heutigen Kirchensprache hat. In der *Vetus Latina*, der vorhieronymianischen lateinischen Bibel, wird mit *officium* übersetzt nur griechisch λειτουργία oder λατρεία. [...] Sein Titel im christlichen Latein ist eine wirkliche Neuerung. Ambrosius ist es, der dem Wort im ciceronischen Sinne das Heimatrecht in der Kirche verschafft hat”.

⁸ C. ROSSI, art. cit., p. 159. Del resto, già R. THAMIN, *Saint Ambroise et la morale chrétienne au IV^e siècle*, Paris, 1895, p. 366, aveva affermato: “*L'imitation de Cicéron a fait du traité Des Devoirs un livre de morale pour les laïques aussi bien que pour les clercs. A ceux-ci maintenant saint Ambroise demande plus*”.

è dedicata, la mediazione compiuta dal vescovo di Milano consentì di recuperare alla sfera dei doveri cristiani pratiche di *liberalitas*, come il riscatto dei prigionieri⁹ e l'*hospitalitas* dei *peregrini*, o una virtù civica, come la *iustitia*¹⁰.

Ed è proprio su questi aspetti che intendo soffermarmi nel presente articolo, che, prendendo in considerazione alcuni passi specifici del trattato, mira a rilevarne punti di continuità e di "innovazione" rispetto al modello ciceroniano, tenuto conto del mutato contesto storico-sociale, nonché della diversa prospettiva ermeneutica ambrosiana. Da ultimo, occorre sottolineare come Ambrogio, nonostante un'esigenza di più ampia ricezione dell'opera, avesse sempre come destinatario non marginale la nobiltà senatoria romana del suo tempo, di cui lui stesso aveva fatto parte¹¹.

Anzi, proprio in virtù dell'eccellente formazione letteraria, giuridica e filosofica in tutte e due le lingue di cultura, appannaggio della classe senatoria¹², il vescovo milanese poté acqui-

⁹ F. E. CONSOLINO, "Sante o patrone? Le aristocratiche tardoantiche e il potere della carità", *Studi storici*, 30/4 (1989), p. 974: "Proprio con Ambrogio la *redemptio captivorum*, azione degna per qualsiasi cristiano, si fece prerogativa specifica dei vescovi, impegnati – con le sostanze proprie e con il patrimonio della diocesi – nel riscatto dei prigionieri e nella tutela delle prigioniere". La legislazione tardoimperiale prevedeva, d'altronde, l'alienabilità delle *res sacrae* (*Inst. Iust.* II, I, 7-9) e l'ipoteca su di esse (*CI I*, 2, 21) solo in funzione della *redemptio captivorum*.

¹⁰ F. E. CONSOLINO, "Gli *exempla maiorum* nel *De officiis* di Ambrogio e la duplice eredità dei cristiani", in *La tradizione: forme e modi. XVIII Incontro di studiosi dell' antichità cristiana, Roma, 7-9 maggio 1989*, Roma, 1990, p. 367.

¹¹ K. ZELZER, "L'etica di Sant'Ambrogio e la tradizione stoica delle virtù", in *L'etica cristiana nei secoli III e IV: eredità e confronti. XXIV incontro di studiosi dell' antichità cristiana. Roma, 4-6 maggio 1995*, Roma, 1996, p. 56: "La maggior parte delle opere letterarie di Ambrogio, che presentarono il messaggio cristiano in veste classica, si rivolsero senza dubbio in modo consapevole ai membri del suo ceto sociale, che allora temeva, con l'incombente crollo dell'antico ordinamento politico, anche il crollo della propria cultura tradizionale".

¹² Nel quarto/quinto secolo il *De officiis* di Cicerone era ancora (o di nuovo) letto nelle cerchie delle persone colte che si interessavano di nuovo alla letteratura e alla filosofia umanistiche. Per più esaustive informazioni sulla fruizione della tradizione classica nella *Spätantike*, si rimanda a M. ZELZER, "Ambrosius von Mailand und das Erbe der klassischen Tradition", *Wiener Studien*, 100 (1987), pp. 201-226.

sire un'ottima dimestichezza con le antiche tradizioni e con le allora attuali aspirazioni di questo ceto sociale, in gran parte ancora molto attaccato alla tradizione pagana.

1. *Beneficentia/Benivolentia/Liberalitas*

La *beneficentia* si distingue in *benivolentia* e *liberalitas*¹³: Ambrogio sottolinea il nesso inscindibile tra il *bene facere* e il *bene velle*, come a rimarcare la necessaria corrispondenza tra prassi e pensiero, al fine di una beneficenza “perfetta”. A sostegno della sua tesi cita due passi biblici¹⁴: in uno si ricorda la predilezione divina per il donatore *hilaris*, nell'altro si fa riferimento al profondo legame tra la condizione di *volens* e la *merces* che ne consegue, di contro a chi, *invitus*, pare compiere una *dispensatio* per conto di altri.

Sulla scorta del “paradosso della reciprocità” senecano, Ambrogio ribadisce come la *benivolentia* sia intimamente connessa con la *liberalitas*, anzi quest'ultima è la naturale conseguenza di un animo benevolo e ben disposto. Tuttavia, mentre la benevolenza può sussistere anche in assenza di largizioni materiali (infatti, essa *amicitiam conectit et copulat*¹⁵, *in consiliis fidelis, in prosperis laeta, in tristibus maesta*¹⁶), invece, la liberalità non può darsi senza la benevolenza, che è un tratto distintivo dell'*humana societas*. “*Goodwill is not just a stage*

¹³ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 30 143.

¹⁴ II Cor 9, 7 (*hilem enim datorem diligit Deus*) e I Cor 9, 17 (*Si enim volens hoc ago, mercedem habeo; si autem invitus, dispensatio mihi credita est*). Ambrogio fa costante riferimento alle Scritture, di cui, nelle sue omelie e in altre opere, commenta numerosi passi, facendo leva sull'esegesi “allegorica” mutuata da Filone e dalla scuola alessandrina. Infatti, ritiene che il compito di indottrinamento delle anime, che spetta al vescovo, possa essere espletato attraverso la “condivisa” riflessione sui passi biblici: questi ultimi, tra l'altro, forniscono al vescovo di Milano un ampio repertorio paradigmatico cui attingere in funzione esplicativa. Cfr. H. SAVON, *Ambroise de Milan*, Paris, 1997 (in particolare, il capitolo IV, dal titolo *Études bibliques*, pp. 51-56).

¹⁵ Cic. *off.*, 1 56: *Magna etiam illa communitas est, quae conficitur ex beneficiis ultro citroque datis acceptis, quae et mutua et grata dum sunt, inter quos ea sunt, firma devinciuntur societate*. Cicerone fa sua la visione aristotelica e stoica, secondo cui l'amicizia trae origine dalla *benivolentia*. Cfr. Ambrose, *De officiis*, ed. cit., vol. II, p. 598.

¹⁶ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 32 167.

*in the process of giving; it is constitutive of human society as a whole, and so it deserves special emphasis in the exposition of the altruism which is to characterize the Christian life in society*¹⁷.

È talmente importante, che eliminarla equivarrebbe a cancellare il sole dalla terra¹⁸: Davidson, a proposito, parla di “inno” alla *benivolentia*.

Tutto il ragionamento, comunque, se da un lato pone l'accento sulla “spiritualità” del dono, dall'altro non esclude la possibilità/dovere-contingente di ricambiare materialmente, secondo una fine impostazione teoretica già elaborata da Seneca. Il filosofo, infatti, in *ben.* 2, 34 5 si appella ad una riflessione linguistica: il termine “*beneficium*” si riferisce tanto ad un'azione benefica, quanto al contenuto di quella azione, sia esso denaro, una casa o altro. In altri termini, il discorso senecano è tutto incentrato sulla dimensione spirituale del beneficio, di contro alla prospettiva “materialistica” imperante nella *communis opinio*. Quindi, con un'accezione che pare collimare con la definizione di “dono” che Godbout dà in apertura del suo saggio sociologico: “si definisce dono ogni prestazione di beni o servizi effettuata, senza garanzia di restituzione, al fine di creare, alimentare o ricreare il legame sociale tra le persone”¹⁹.

La “dicotomia” terminologica permette di aggiustare il tiro: il beneficiato che accoglie il dono di buon animo ha già mostrato riconoscenza (per il beneficio “spirituale”, nell'accezione senecana), ma non è certo esente dall'obbligo di contraccambiare (il beneficio materiale). Il “paradosso della reciprocità” non esclude quindi il beneficiato dal novero dei debitori, serve solo ad allentare la “paura” di ricevere benefici, che, di fronte alle difficoltà di ricambiarli equamente, evidentemente scoraggiava parecchi cittadini romani oppressi dal sistema delle relazioni clientelari che minava alle fondamenta tale pratica antropoculturale.

La benevolenza, a partire dal primo nucleo di aggregazione umana, cioè la famiglia, ha conosciuto un moto di propa-

¹⁷ Ambrose, *De officiis*, ed. cit., p. 583.

¹⁸ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 32 167: *Tolle ex usu hominum benivolentiam: tamquam solem e mundo tuleri ita erit.*

¹⁹ J. GODBOUT, *Lo spirito del dono*, tr. it. di A. Salsano, Torino, 1993, p. 30.

gazione, che ne ha determinato l'espansione all'ambito della città e del mondo intero: come a ribadire che la benevolenza è il fondamento dei rapporti umani, dal più piccolo gruppo comunitario fino alla più complessa rete di relazioni interumane. Ambrogio mutua il concetto da Cic. *off.*, 1 53-54, il quale a sua volta, probabilmente, attinge alla dottrina stoica della *οἰκείωσις*, secondo cui i legami della società umana promanano dalle relazioni familiari: secondo lo stoicismo, infatti, l'amore reciproco tra gli uomini è un dovere, o piuttosto un'inclinazione naturale, essendo tale sentimento nato da quella specie di legame di parentela naturale che tutti hanno fra di loro. A tale substrato si aggiunga il racconto biblico relativo all'unione di Adamo ed Eva in Paradiso, al loro peccato e alla conseguente espansione del genere umano sulla terra, in base al quale la *benivolentia* si configura come una parte del disegno di creazione divina: "*A specific framework of creation theology underpins an essentially Stoic argument on the significance of human relationships*"²⁰.

Nel sistema teorico ambrosiano vengono, quindi, a convivere piani relazionali intrecciantisi, cioè il sistema delle relazioni interumane (di memoria stoico-ciceroniana) e quello delle relazioni tra Dio e l'uomo (di probabile ascendenza vetero- e neotestamentaria).

Il dono è *instrumentum coniunctionis* per definizione: in origine, esistono solo individui separati che, in quanto tali, seguono il loro proprio interesse. Poi compare il dono, che crea un senso di obbligo. O l'obbligo di restituire è accolto, e allora si stabilisce un circuito di rapporti interpersonali, oppure è rifiutato grazie a un controdono monetario immediato, e ci si ritrova al punto di partenza.

Ambrogio contempla pure la possibilità di una beneficenza senza limiti: il benefattore può anche diventare povero, sul modello esemplare di Cristo, che, donando ai poveri, da ricco si fece povero per arricchire tutti con la sua povertà²¹.

²⁰ Ambrose, *De officiis*, ed. cit., p. 600.

²¹ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 30 151: *Primum neminem debet pudere, si ex divite pauper fiat, dum largitur pauperi; quia Christus pauper factus est, cum dives esset, ut omnes sua inopia ditaret* (che è una citazione da II Cor 8, 9).

L'identificazione con Cristo²², modello di povertà deliberatamente ricercata per il bene dell'umanità, consente ad Ambrogio di contravvenire ai precetti indicati dalle sue fonti circa la beneficenza condizionata dalle *vires* e dalle *facultates* del potenziale benefattore, nozione secondo cui il beneficio deve essere rapportato ai "termini" in gioco nella relazione asimmetrica²³.

Il disprezzo dei beni temporali e una beneficenza universale senza limiti e senza restrizioni, sul modello di Cristo e a imitazione del Dio della misericordia, hanno preso il posto della serenità del saggio nella definizione dell'*officium perfectum*. "*Une morale de la relation et de la communion se substitue à une morale de l'autonomie; ὁ ἀγάπη prend la place de l'autarcie. Loin d'être la suite d'entraînements et de dérives que l'on a dénoncée, cette critique des définitions cicéroniennes apparaît calculée et cohérente*"²⁴.

La nozione appena espressa trova applicazione in Ambr. *off.*, 1, 33, 170: la benevolenza si palesa, innanzi tutto, all'interno della Chiesa, che si fonda sul *consortium fidei*, sulla *societas initiandi*, sulla *necessitudo percipiendae gratiae*, sulla *communio mysteriorum*. La Chiesa è vista come uno dei principali e originari nuclei aggregativi, un'autentica *union sacrée* all'interno della quale si può dare prova di benevolenza, tanto più accresciuta dalla *necessitudo gratiae*, ossia dal vincolo di una "grazia condivisa". La *gratia*²⁵, infatti, presuppone un sentimento di riconoscenza, che, nel caso della comunità cristiana, configurandosi come riconoscenza a Dio²⁶, funge allo stesso

²² Ambrose, *De officiis*, ed. cit., p. 590: "The pattern, crucially, is the incarnational kenosis of Christ: Christ willingly laid aside his riches and identified himself with the needy in order to enrich all by his redemptive work".

²³ A riguardo, collimano i pareri di Cic. *off.*, 1 47 e di Sen. *ben.*, 2, 15 3.

²⁴ H. SAYON, "Pourquoi saint Ambroise a-t-il écrit un *De officiis*? Intentions et structure", *Revue des études latines*, 85 (2007), p. 202.

²⁵ Secondo Benveniste, il latino *gratia* si applica alle due parti in gioco: "colui che accoglie con favore" e "colui che è accolto con favore, che è gradito". Di qui il senso evolve verso quello, religioso, di grazia, ricevuta "graziosamente" e che dà luogo a riconoscenza. Cfr. E. BENVENISTE, *Il vocabolario delle istituzioni indoeuropee*, tr. it. di M. Liborio, Torino, 2001, pp. 150-153.

²⁶ M. TESTARD, "Observations sur le thème de la *conscientia* dans le *de officiis ministrorum* de Saint Ambroise", *Revue des études latines*, 51 (1973), p. 231: "La manière de manifester de la reconnaissance, de rendre la faveur,

tempo da “collante aggregativo” dei fedeli, beneficiati inestricabilmente legati al sommo benefattore. Di fatto, “*Ambrose substitutes the Christian church as a visible community grounded in faith both for Cicero’s ideal republic and for the Stoic cosmopolis ruled by natural law*”²⁷.

Inoltre, la “grazia condivisa” non crea soltanto un legame tra i fedeli beneficiati da Dio, ma anche tra Dio e l’umanità stessa: come ha ben spiegato Serfass²⁸, rifacendosi alla precedente analisi di Poirier, l’espressione *consortium naturae* in Ambrogio indica la comune natura degli uomini senza distinzione di sesso né di condizione socio-economica. Preferendo tale espressione, rispetto per esempio alla nozione stoica di *communio* o di *societas naturae*, Ambrogio allude ad un passo della seconda lettera di Pietro ove si fa riferimento al potere di Dio di rendere gli uomini *consortes naturae*: legati tra loro e tutti loro a Dio, gli uomini non possono che dare vita ad una comunità coesa e solidale²⁹.

La benevolenza non prende necessariamente forma tra chi, per ragioni contingenti, si trova a con-vivere, ma abbisogna di una comunanza di vita e di costumi: ecco perché più facilmente può realizzarsi tra i fedeli “amalgamati” dai valori comunitari condivisi. Peraltro, la benevolenza, inseparabile compagna della giustizia³⁰, non può che indurci ad amare

consistera à exécuter ce qu’on lit dans le texte sacré, c’est-à-dire à faire la volonté de Dieu dont Jésus a dit qu’elle était sa nourriture. On rendra donc ainsi nourriture pour nourriture! Tout cela est subtil, d’une subtilité qu’on pourra juger ingénieuse ou maladroite, mais les éléments mis en œuvre sont des données fondamentales du christianisme”.

²⁷ M. L. COLISH, *The Stoic tradition from Antiquity to the early Middle Ages. 2 Stoicism in Christian Latin Thought through the sixth century*, Leiden, 1990, p. 64. E V. R. VASEY, “Proverbs 17.6b (LXX) and St. Ambrose’s Man of Faith”, *Augustinianum*, 14 (1974), p. 269: “Faith, the common possession of rich and poor, is the great leveler in the Church; it becomes a veritable democratic principle”.

²⁸ A. SERFASS, “Slavery and Pope Gregory the Great”, *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 14/1 (2006), pp. 83-84 e nn. 20 e 23.

²⁹ Nelle omelie di Leone Magno l’idea che il povero condivida la natura di Cristo viene presentata come corollario del *consortium naturae* che accomuna l’umanità a Dio. Cfr. B. NEIL, “Models of Gift Giving in the Preaching of Leo the Great”, *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 18/2 (2010), p. 246.

³⁰ D’altronde, già in *leg.*, 15, 43, Cicerone aveva affermato che “*natura propensi sumus ad diligendos homines, quod fundamentum iuris est*”, sostenendo

quelli che crediamo uguali a noi. Si ricordi la *consuetudo bonorum morum*, indicata da Cic., *off.*, 1 56, come uno tra i più solidi legami tra gli uomini, in virtù della quale gli amici si compiaccono l'uno del bene dell'altro.

La benevolenza è argomento trattato anche da Cicerone, che, in *off.* 1, 12, associa alla *iustitia* la *beneficentia*, cioè la capacità di *bene facere* nell'ambito delle relazioni interpersonali, che può anche chiamarsi *benignitas*, tratto proprio dei *patroni*, dei donatori, dei benefattori, cristallizzatosi nell'ambito clientelare, o ancora *liberalitas*. Probabilmente, il tratto della *benignitas* pone l'accento sulla generosità sopra tutto materiale, concreta, mentre la *benivolentia* allude maggiormente alla "predisposizione interiore" a *bene facere*, all'aspetto affettivo di "amorevolezza" verso l'altro. Intuizione che mi pare essere confermata dallo stretto nesso che Cicerone stabilisce tra le ingenti ricchezze e il loro auspicabile uso *ad beneficentiam liberalitatemque*³¹.

2. Il dono "sincero"

Dal momento che ciascuno è libero di dare quanto desidera, non c'è ragione di ricorrere all'inganno per "demistificare" il valore dell'offerta. Ne è prova l'episodio biblico di Anania³²,

quindi che "il diritto non può fondersi sulla sola autorità o imposizione dello Stato, e nemmeno sulla sola giustizia, anche se questa può preparare e favorire la pacifica convivenza fra gli uomini. [...] Il diritto si basa quindi sull'amore universale, sulla comunione e uguaglianza degli uomini che formano una *societas caritatis*" (R. PIZZORNI, *Giustizia e carità*, Bologna, 1995, p. 87).

³¹ Cic. *off.*, 1 68.

³² Il ricorso all'*exemplum* non si limita al compito di istruire, ma si estende anche al piano più specificamente letterario, dove il rinvio al mondo vetero e neotestamentario serve a dimostrare la liceità o meno dell'opera stessa. Secondo I. J. DAVIDSON, "Ambrose's", art. cit., p. 319, "*in the exempla maiorum which Ambrose draws from the Scriptures, he finds vivid moral patterns for the emulation of his addressees*". Nell'ottica ambrosiana, i contemporanei si configurano come gli epigoni degli antenati illustri, secondo una concezione di sviluppo lineare di *Heilsgeschichte*. Per O. HILTBRUNNER, art. cit., p. 184: "Am augenscheinlichsten macht sich die Christianisierung der ciceronischen Offizierschrift, darin geltend, daß Ambrosius überall biblische statt der weltlichen Beispiele einsetzt. Wo er noch *exempla* aus Cicero übernimmt, da geschieht es stets nur, um das Beispiel Ciceros polemisch zu zerpfücken und darzutun, wie

che, avendo messo ai piedi degli apostoli solo una parte del ricavato della vendita del proprio potere, assurge a modello di “falsa” generosità da cui non scaturisce alcun merito.

È deprecabile l'atteggiamento di quanti si mostrano indulgenti per apparire buoni, anche perché la finzione e la simulazione non permangono nel tempo: possono fare effetto all'inizio, ma poi vanno a scemare; solo *quod autem verum ac sincerum, alta fundatur radice*³³.

Da quanto detto sinora, ne consegue che non si possono ritenere fidati coloro la cui obbedienza è comprata col denaro o sollecitata dall'adulazione. I primi infatti si vendono facilmente, i secondi, sebbene si lascino conquistare anche da qualche superficiale parola d'adulazione, sono sempre pronti a voltare le spalle, al minimo rimprovero. Anzi, di più: coloro che sono stati beneficiati, arrivano a considerare i benefattori come loro subordinati (*quasi obnoxios beneficio, subiectos sibi*

viel besser das entsprechende christliche Exempel sei. [...] Die *maiores nostri* des Ambrosius sind die Patriarchen und Gestalten des Alten Testaments”.

La funzione principale degli *exempla maiorum* è quella di specificare il nuovo senso cristiano delle definizioni di virtù e dei comportamenti mutuati dal modello ciceroniano. Sebbene Ambrogio rivendichi la priorità degli esempi biblici rispetto a quelli greci, e romani dell'Arpinate, gli *exempla maiorum* rappresentano piuttosto, per chi già sia passato al cristianesimo, la confortante certezza che quegli ebrei, di cui i cristiani avevano raccolto l'eredità spirituale, fossero sì migliori, ma poi non diametralmente opposti ai romani. Ne conseguiva che, per un romano colto, aderire al cristianesimo non implicava la necessaria abiura della propria tradizione culturale. Cfr. F. E. CONSOLINO, *Gli exempla*, art. cit., pp. 351-369.

Occorre comunque sottolineare che Ambrogio, sebbene spesso si compiaccia di addurre esempi desunti dall'Antico Testamento, presenta sempre il volto interiore della personalità chiamata in causa, rendendola, così, un paradigma sempre valido, in tutti i tempi. Il suo discorso, infatti, è tutto rivolto al futuro, alle giovani generazioni cristiane, di contro ai pensieri di Cicerone, che, nei mesi in cui la Repubblica era agonizzante, vagheggiava spesso l'età migliore di Roma, e segnatamente l'epoca degli Scipioni, di cui voleva assumere l'eredità spirituale e politica. Cfr. C. ROSSI, art. cit., p. 161, e anche R. BERTON, “Abraham dans le *De officiis* ministrorum d'Ambroise”, *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 54 (1980), p. 322: “Ambroise est tourné vers la vie éternelle. Il considère la sagesse de Dieu plus que la prudence humaine, le futur plus que le présent. Il ne se désintéresse pas du temporel, mais il se tourne essentiellement vers la vie spirituelle”.

³³ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 22 112.

*debere esse existimant, quos praepositos sibi habere debeant*³⁴). Come a dire, nelle parole di Ambrogio, che il beneficio si iscrive in una dimensione di affetto sincero, senza la quale il rapporto, inevitabilmente viziato, rischia di degenerare. Con ogni verisimiglianza, dal momento che l'adulazione e la corruzione passano per il denaro, i maggiori rischi provengono dalle largizioni pecuniarie, che inducono i beneficiati ad aspettative sempre maggiori, e danno vita a legami di fedeltà "corrotta"³⁵.

Ambrogio ritiene opportuno aspirare ad una carica, purché, specialmente in ambito ecclesiastico, lo si faccia né *resupina adrogantia* né *remissa negligentia* né *turpi adfectione* né *indecora ambitione*³⁶: se il *non adrogans* a inizio del trattato appare come un'applicazione di Ambrogio al suo proprio comportamento, qui si configura come principio generale valido per le cariche ecclesiastiche, dal vescovo ai preti e ai diaconi³⁷, e per gli uomini più "santi"³⁸. La condanna dell'attitudine all'*adrogantia* nella Chiesa si impone dall'alto al basso delle gerarchie, quella degli ordini e quella della santità³⁹.

I numerosi riferimenti all'*adrogantia* e all'esigenza di praticare l'umiltà, nonché la condanna delle ambiziose aspirazioni alla gloria episcopale, sembrano testimoniare, e *converso*, il clima di forte tensione che doveva caratterizzare la Chiesa del tempo, con conseguenze destabilizzanti per la sua rigida struttura piramidale.

Ambrogio si sofferma anche sull'esigenza di una donazione che giovi al suo destinatario; viceversa, se nuoce al donatario,

³⁴ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 23 117.

³⁵ Cfr. Cic. *off.*, 2 53: *Praeclare in epistula quadam Alexandrum filium Philippus accusat, quod largitione benivolentiam Macedonum consecetur: 'Quae te, malum!' inquit, 'ratio in istam spem induxit, ut eos tibi fideles putares fore, quos pecunia corrupisses? [...] melius etiam, quod largitionem 'corruptelam' dixit esse; fit enim deterior, qui accipit, atque ad idem semper expectandum paratior.*

³⁶ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 24 119.

³⁷ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 24 122: *Neque hos [sc. presbyteros et ministros] ...adrogantes esse oportet...*

³⁸ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 24 124: *Nilil sanctor plus sibi adroget; ipsum enim par est esse humiliorem.*

³⁹ Cfr. M. TESTARD, "Le *De officiis* de saint Ambroise. Observations philologiques et historiques sur le sens et le contexte du traité", *Recherches augustiniennes*, 28 (1995), p. 14.

non può che tramutarsi in un male⁴⁰. Possiamo anche notare l'equiparazione, nell'esemplificazione del benefattore dannoso, tra chi attenta all'ordine dello stato e chi si rivolta contro la Chiesa: dal momento che il successo del governo imperiale è funzionale alla conservazione dell'ortodossia religiosa, chi trama contro la patria sta anche attaccando la Chiesa.

Il dono, inoltre, non deve mirare all'umiliazione del beneficiato⁴¹: se il dono è affermazione di potere, la distruzione del partner, che, umiliato, esce dalla relazione, se da un lato conferma il potere del donatore, dall'altro lo lascia però senza interlocutore, e, al tempo stesso, lo priva dell'esercizio del potere. Il desiderio di infliggere l'umiliazione non può trovare nel dono un alleato, perché il dono, nel suo stesso concetto, esprime il senso e la volontà del legame, opponendosi per definizione alla sua interruzione⁴².

In relazione alle affermazioni di Ambrogio sopra analizzate, occorre sottolineare la consentaneità di alcune di esse con il pensiero ciceroniano. Per es., Ambrogio si mostra concorde con Cicerone⁴³ (a sua volta in accordo con Socrate), nel ribadire l'inconiugabilità di *gloria* e *dissimulatio*: la gloria si può ottenere mediante un comportamento costantemente virtuoso, condizione che sarebbe in netto contrasto con la simulazione, che impone una parvenza esteriore momentaneamente diversa dall'essenza interiore concreta, e, quindi, inevitabilmente destinata ad essere smascherata.

Inoltre pare di scorgere una palese continuità del pensiero ambrosiano con Cic. off., 1, 42, secondo cui occorre che la liberalità non risulti dannosa ai beneficiati (in tal caso, il bene-

⁴⁰ Ambr. off., 1, 30, 144: *Pulchrum est igitur bene velle, et eo largiri consilio, ut prosis, non ut noceas*.

⁴¹ Cfr. Sen. ben., 2, 8 1: *ne principi quidem satis decorum est donare ignominiae causa*.

⁴² Cfr. S. ZANARDO, *Il legame del dono*, Milano, 2007, pp. 60-61.

⁴³ Cic. off., 2 43: *Vera gloria radices agit atque etiam propagatur, ficta omnia celeriter tamquam flosculi decidunt nec simulatum potest quicquam esse diuturnum*. Cicerone esemplifica il concetto con riferimento a personaggi della storia romana: Tiberio Gracco, vincitore sui Celtiberi, ottenne gloria imperitura per i suoi risultati politici e militari, mentre i suoi figli Tiberio e Gaio, che furono rivoluzionari, meritavano di essere uccisi e la loro fama ben presto "sbiadi".

fattore sarebbe un *perniciosus assentator*), e che non si concedano benefici a qualcuno per danneggiare altri (in tal caso, il benefattore si comporterebbe come chi si appropria dei beni altrui). Concetto non dissimile si trova anche in Seneca, secondo cui concedere un beneficio, che poi debba rivelarsi un danno per il beneficiario, significa odiare, pur sotto la parvenza di una generosa bontà (*Exorari in perniciem rogantium, saeva bonitas est*⁴⁴). Se si avalla un siffatto comportamento, si finisce per essere equiparati a cattivi nemici, perché, pur essendo amici del beneficiario, lo si conduce al male.

3. Il dono tra sentimento e silenzio

La liberalità deve avere come fondamento il sentimento, non l'ostentazione, che rischierebbe di ridurre l'atto del dono ad un puro mezzo autopropagandistico (*Nec illa perfecta est liberalitas, si iactantiae causa magis quam misericordiae largiaris*⁴⁵). Infatti, non sono liberali coloro che donano più per amore della gloria, che non per sincero moto interiore⁴⁶. “*Ambrose gives a Christian slant to Cicero's idea: the Stoic voluntas becomes misericordia, and Ambrose goes on to stress the role of conscience in examining motive and the eternal consequences of deciet*”⁴⁷.

Nell'ottica ambrosiana e, in generale, del cristianesimo coevo, l'evergetismo, sopra tutto *sub specie magnificentiae*, non fa che acuire la distanza sociale tra benefattore e beneficiario:

⁴⁴ Sen. *ben.*, 2, 14 4.

⁴⁵ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 30 147. Il monito di Sant'Ambrogio testimonia, per converso, che “lo spirito di *selfpromotion* e di esibizionismo caratteristico dell'evergetismo pagano non era dunque morto presso l'alta aristocrazia cristiana” (F. E. CONSOLINO, “Sante”, art. cit., p. 978). Sulla *philotimia* o *philodoxia* connessa con le pratiche oblativo nel mondo greco, come in quello romano (ne sono prova numerose iscrizioni), cfr. A. R. HANDS, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome*, London - Southampton, 1968, p. 43 sgg.

⁴⁶ Cic. *off.*, 1 44: *Videre etiam licet plerosque non tam natura liberales quam quadam gloria ductos, ut benefici videantur facere multa, quae proficisci ab ostentatione magis quam a voluntate videantur.*

⁴⁷ Ambrose, *De officiis*, ed. cit., pp. 586-587.

di qui l'invito alla *misericordia*, intesa come *amor* verso il prossimo e/o *pietas* verso il povero⁴⁸.

Inoltre, Ambrogio auspica un atteggiamento riservato e "silenzioso" in accompagnamento al dono, tutt'al più elogiato dalla bocca del popolo⁴⁹: la ragione di tale comportamento affonda nella consapevolezza di una ricompensa ultraterrena.

D'altronde, una delle conclusioni principali cui è giunta la letteratura teorica sul dono è che, a differenza di quello del mercato, l'universo del dono richiede l'implicito e il non detto. La magia del dono può operare soltanto se le sue regole restano inesprese, viceversa il dono si trasforma in equivalenza⁵⁰. In accordo, mi pare, con quanto afferma Derrida, il quale, in una prospettiva decostruzionista, ritiene che il dono, se tale, debba essere *álogos*, assolutamente alieno da qualsivoglia componente linguistica o linguisticizzabile⁵¹.

⁴⁸ C. FREU, op. cit., p. 272: "Les prédications sur l'aumône accompagnent leurs appels au don d'une exhortation à la douceur et à l'amour du prochain. En tendant la main vers le pauvre, le fidèle doit apprendre aussi à ne pas le mépriser. Bref, les évêques invitent à nier les distances sociales". Seguono alcuni esempi testuali tratti da autori cristiani.

⁴⁹ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 30 147: *Perfecta autem est liberalitas, ubi silentio quis tegit opus suum, et necessitatibus singulorum occulte subvenit: quem laudat os pauperis, et non labia sua.*

⁵⁰ Cfr. J. GODBOUT, op. cit., p. 11.

⁵¹ Cfr. S. ZANARDO, op. cit., p. 20. Cfr. anche P. GILBERT - S. PETROSINO, *Il dono. Un'interpretazione filosofica*, Genova, 2001, p. 61: "Per Jacques Derrida, l'ordine del dono implica la rottura con l'ordine del sapere, e questo perché nel momento stesso in cui so del dono, quest'ultimo non sarebbe più un vero dono, un puro dono, dato che, in qualche modo, esso così ricadrebbe all'interno di un campo di attese, gratificazioni, sublimazioni, riconoscimenti, etc., un campo che, per quanto astratto e spiritualizzato possa essere, sottostà, non può fare a meno di sottostare a quella legge della reciprocità che caratterizza l'ordine economico". L'idea del dono come di una figura che, per potersi legare completamente da qualsiasi forma di calcolo, deve essere necessariamente invisibile, assume il suo massimo di "paradossale" forza di astrazione nelle parole del filosofo J. DERRIDA, che in *Donner le temps. La fausse monnaie*, Paris, 1991, trad. it. di G. Berto, *Donare il tempo. La moneta falsa*, Milano, 1996, p. 16, così afferma: "Al limite, il dono come dono dovrebbe non apparire come dono: né al donatario, né al donatore. Esso può essere dono come dono solo non essendo presente come dono. Né all'uno né all'altro. Se l'altro lo percepisce, se lo conserva come dono, il dono si annulla. Ma nemmeno colui che dona deve vederlo o saperlo, altrimenti comincia fin dall'inizio [...] a

L'atto della donazione deve accompagnarsi ad una piena partecipazione emotiva: *beatus qui, quod habet, ex affectu facit*⁵². Infatti, come ci insegna la linea interpretativa che fa capo a Mauss-Lévi Strauss-Hénaff, “nello scambio c'è molto di più che non le cose scambiate”⁵³, ovvero il dono implica un universo affettivo-relazionale che fa della reciprocità del riconoscimento il fondamento dell'agire sociale.

Ambrogio sottolinea, inoltre, come il valore del dono dipenda in massima parte dalla disposizione d'animo del benefattore (*Affectus igitur divitem conlationem aut pauperem facit et pretium rebus inponit*⁵⁴): la donazione dei propri averi, allo scopo di pervenire ad un ideale di perfezione cristiana, deve concernere la dimensione spirituale più che la sfera dell'*obligatio*. Si rivela più gradito a Dio il dono, per quanto piccolo, di un indigente che ha donato tutto, che non il superfluo donato da un benestante. Già Aristotele riconosceva una certa valutazione “proporzionale”, in relazione alla generosità: ognuno dà in misura proporzionale alle proprie sostanze, quindi può essere più generoso anche chi dà poco, se in relazione ad un modesto patrimonio personale⁵⁵.

La prospettiva escatologica cristiana, che svislisce i beni materiali e “amplifica” la meta transmondana dell'esistenza umana, riabilita il povero tra le figure dei potenziali donatori⁵⁶: ovvia-

restituirsi di ciò che ha appena donato, di ciò che crede di aver donato, di ciò che si appresta a donare”.

⁵² Ambr. *off.*, 1, 30 149.

⁵³ S. ZANARDO, op. cit., p. 13.

⁵⁴ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 30 149.

⁵⁵ Cfr. Aristot. *EN.*, IV 2.

⁵⁶ Leo M., *serm.*, 44, 2: *latissima ergo sunt opera pietatis, [...], ut in distributione elemosinarum non solum divites et abundantes, sed etiam mediocres et pauperes suas habeant portiones*. F. E. CONSOLINO, “Sante”, art. cit., p. 989, sottolinea come *paradossalmente* “in chiave trascendente – oltre che Cristo e i santi – i veri *patroni* non sono i ricchi, ma i poveri da loro beneficiati, i quali possono intercedere per la salvezza eterna dei loro benefattori”. Non a caso Paul. Nol. *ep.*, 13, 11, in cui elogia i provvedimenti caritativi presi in favore dei poveri dall'amico senatore Pammachio, li definisce *patroni animarum nostrarum*.

La Chiesa romana esortò anche le donne a distribuire elemosine di persona e sotto gli occhi di tutti: in passato, infatti, si considerava la distribuzione di doni come un atto pertinente alla sfera politica, per cui le donne, estromesse dalla politica, si trovavano di fatto escluse dal dialogo “rituale” con la *plebs*

mente, il povero è chiamato a donare a chi è più povero di lui, al suo compagno di miseria, perché anche a lui si offra la possibilità di sperimentare il dono-mezzo-di-salvezza⁵⁷. Il povero, anzi, viene a trovarsi in una condizione di privilegio, in uno stato di grazia (così a 1, 29, 59; 2, 64, 241; 2, 4, 13 – 5, 17; etc.), poiché nella realizzazione dei propri bisogni potrà vedere l'aiuto concesso da Dio, che lo ripagherà con le ricchezze eterne a fronte della sua *fides*: secondo una prospettiva che riecheggia, molto da vicino, il discorso evangelico delle Beatitudini. Sia ben chiaro, comunque, che lo *status* privilegiato del povero in età tardoantica si configura più come un successo nella retorica dei vescovi e dei vari predicatori che non come autentico miglioramento della condizione socio-giuridica: i poveri rimasero infatti anonimi e passivi beneficiari di elemosine e di donazioni di cibo e vestiti⁵⁸.

Occorre rilevare come il vescovo di Milano iscriva l'assunto, già senecano, del dono "silenzioso" nel paradigma culturale cristiano della vita come prefigurazione dell'oltretomba: Seneca aveva già sottolineato come al benefattore si addica il silenzio sulle proprie concessioni, augurandosi che a parlarne fosse piuttosto il beneficiario⁵⁹. Altrimenti si alimenterebbe l'impressione che i benefici siano stati concessi solo nella prospettiva della riconoscenza: infatti, l'atto stesso del donare magnifica il benefattore, in quanto le cose stesse "parlano"

Romana. Sull'argomento, vd. P. BROWN, "Dalla 'plebs Romana' alla 'plebs Dei': aspetti della cristianizzazione di Roma", in *Governanti e intellettuali, popolo di Roma e popolo di Dio (I-VI secolo)*, a cura di P. BROWN, L. CRACCO RUGGINI, M. MAZZA, Torino, 1982, p. 134 sgg.

⁵⁷ C. FREU, op. cit., pp. 159-60: "Si les chrétiens appellent aussi les pauvres à donner, c'est qu'ils veulent que le pauvre devienne, relativement à ses moyens, l'égal du riche en vertu. Bien entendu, un *pauper* ne peut pas être prodigue, mais son modeste don est d'autant plus exalté qu'il donne, comme le disait le Christ, de son nécessaire et non de son superflu". Sulle radici rabbiniche della dottrina della "beneficenza redentrice", cfr. B. NEIL, art. cit., p. 240 sgg.

⁵⁸ Questa è la tesi centrale che Neil sostiene nel suo articolo e che viene ribadita nelle conclusioni dello stesso, dopo un'acuta analisi delle testimonianze di vari predicatori del IV secolo di ambito sia orientale sia occidentale. Cfr. B. NEIL, art. cit., *passim*.

⁵⁹ Sen. *ben.*, 2, 11 2: *Non est dicendum, quid tribuerimus [...] Ne aliis quidem narrare debemus; qui dedit beneficium, taceat, narret, qui accepit.*

(*ipsa res te extollit... res loquentur, nobis tacentibus*⁶⁰). Il primo frutto del beneficio deriva dalla coscienza stessa di averlo compiuto (*Sic beneficii fructus primus ille est conscientiae*⁶¹), dalla gioia di avere raggiunto la meta desiderata; solo dopo vengono la fama e i servizi che possono essere resi in cambio.

4. *Il contesto del dono*

Il beneficio risulta perfetto se informato alla *fides* e commisurato alle circostanze spazio-temporali. Gli *officia* spesso implicano una “premeditazione”: non vanno compiuti indiscriminatamente, ma dopo attenta valutazione delle circostanze e della convenienza legata ai beneficiati. A seconda del contesto⁶², risulta più conveniente beneficiare uno piuttosto che un altro, e in tale prassi fa da guida il senso pratico, che si acquista con l’esercizio e l’abitudine (*consuetudo exercitatioque*⁶³). Nella “scelta” sottesa al beneficio, Ambrogio accorda la predilezione del benefattore per i *domestici fidei*⁶⁴, quasi a ribadire il vincolo prioritario del cristiano verso i confratelli in stato di bisogno, secondo una prospettiva assente nei suoi modelli⁶⁵.

Ambrogio fa un elenco dei *commoda benivolentiae*⁶⁶: essa, spesso, permette di risolvere in forma pacifica situazioni critiche, rende le ferite dell’amico più utili dei gesti affettati del nemico, salda i legami umani. Nella visione di Ambrogio, la *benivolentia*, fondamento della *beneficentia*, nasce non semplicemente dal fatto che tutti gli uomini condividono una

⁶⁰ Sen. *ben.*, 2, 11 6.

⁶¹ Sen. *ben.*, 2, 33 3.

⁶² A tal proposito, ricordiamo come la ZANARDO, op. cit., p. 48 sgg., insista sull’intrinseco rapporto tra dono e contesto: il dono acquista senso nel contesto, specie se capace di instaurare legami relazionali interpersonali.

⁶³ Cic. *off.*, 1 59.

⁶⁴ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 30 148.

⁶⁵ P. VEYNE, *L'impero greco-romano*, ed. it. a cura di S. Bellingeri, Milano, 2007, p. 515: “L’amore innanzitutto deve regnare tra i cristiani, entro il loro gruppo, allo stesso modo in cui era prescritto fra i membri del popolo ebraico”. Veyne ci ricorda come questo sentimento solidaristico sia passato dagli Ebrei (per es., Lev. 19, 17) ai membri della religione cristiana (per es., nella *Lettera a Diogneto*, I, 1).

⁶⁶ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 34, 173.

natura comune⁶⁷, ma soprattutto dal vincolo creato dalla grazia e dalla comunione dei sacramenti: *tantum valet benivolentia, ut plerumque pignora vincat naturae*⁶⁸, cosicché un individuo, talvolta, potrebbe aiutare più il vicino che il fratello. Ambrogio rimarca la dimensione della “famiglia spirituale”, al punto da contemplare la possibilità di legami “di grazia” più saldi dei legami “di sangue”: d'altronde, già in Pietro compare l'idea della superiore forza coesiva della relazione fra Dio e gli uomini in virtù della grazia concessa dall'Alto⁶⁹.

Comunque, se si stabilisce una gerarchia di priorità dei donatari, la prima forma di liberalità è quella che si esplica nei confronti dei *proximi*⁷⁰, specie se in condizione di indigenza, connotando, così, la filantropia intrafamiliare in termini quasi iussivi: occorre, infatti, alleviarli dall'umiliazione derivante dal ricorso all'aiuto degli estranei. Ma Ambrogio pone un limite alla beneficenza *erga proximos*: i beneficiati non devono arricchirsi, perché così impedirebbero al benefattore di consacrare il proprio patrimonio ad opere di carità, funzionali a *vitam perpetuam adquirere*⁷¹. “*The works element in the Christian soteriology here is strong indeed*”⁷².

⁶⁷ Cfr. P. ALLEN - B. NEIL - W. MAYER, *Preaching Poverty in Late Antiquity. Perceptions and Realities*, Leipzig, 2009, p. 187.

⁶⁸ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 34 174. La COLISH, op. cit., p. 51, riflette sulla funzione “aggregante” della grazia condivisa e sulla “superiorità” della comunità cristiana rispetto alle reti di sangue (“good will often triumphs over the pledges of nature”).

⁶⁹ 2 Pet. 1, 4: *per quae pretiosa et maxima nobis promissa donata sunt, ut per haec efficiamini divinae consortes naturae*.

⁷⁰ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 30 150. Vale quanto asserito da P. VEYNE, *Il pane e il circo*, trad. it. di A. Sanfelice di Monteforte, Bologna, 1984, p. 33: “Dal libro dell'Alleanza, nell'*Esodo*, all'utopia deuteronomica, la carità conosce uno sviluppo sempre più sistematico che lascia intravedere una società patriarcale in cui contano molto la continuità familiare ed il vicinato, ed in cui il clero non resta sordo al lamento del Giusto che soffre”.

⁷¹ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 30 150. In relazione ad Ambrogio, si può del tutto condividere la distinzione stabilita da Veyne tra la carità, intesa come atto gratuito di generosità compiuto in vista del cielo, e l'evergetismo, inteso come atto di generosità compiuto in vista della fama. Cfr. P. VEYNE, *Il pane*, op. cit., *passim*. Del resto, bisogna rimarcare come non vi sia diretta continuità tra la munificenza tradizionale e le elemosine cristiane: da un lato abbiamo somme sbalorditive versate in momenti solenni da singoli donatori come segno dell'appartenenza ad un gruppo privilegiato, dall'altro somme piccole o medie

Il discorso ambrosiano sulla “gerarchia” dei beneficiati non si discosta dall’Arpinate, che, in un’ipotetica scala “preferenziale” delle persone cui si devono *officia*, colloca al primo gradino la patria e i genitori, ai quali si è debitori sin dal momento della nascita; poi, i figli e la *domus* nella sua interezza, per il bene della quale si vive; infine i *propinqui*, cioè i parenti con cui spesso si condivide la comune sorte⁷³.

Inoltre, per Ambrogio, la benevolenza, fondamento dell’amicizia, non esclude le *correptiones* dei *pares*, in linea con le regole del codice amicale romano, e con quanto già affermato dall’Arpinate, *off.*, 1 58. L’amicizia, peraltro, trova uno dei suoi fondamenti privilegiati in una benevolenza riconoscente, secondo un pensiero che trova eco anche in autori pagani tardi: Temistio, per es., nel suo discorso *Περὶ φιλίας*, sottolinea come bisogni guardare a che l’amicizia sia pervasa dal sentimento della riconoscenza (*eucharistía*), paragonato ad un campo che fedelmente ricompensa colui che ha seminato, e come si possa ricambiare un favore ricevuto anche con la sola lode e con il ricordo⁷⁴.

versate da benefattori di qualunque ceto sociale come segno della solidarietà tra i membri della grande comunità umana. Sull’argomento vd. P. BROWN, art. cit., p. 131 sgg., e, inoltre, F. MORGANTE (a cura di), *Sant’Ambrogio. De Nabuthae*, Palermo, 2002, p. 10: “Nel quadro della visione del Santo le disuguaglianze economiche e sociali hanno carattere puramente funzionale: la miseria è una violazione dell’ordine cristiano, il quale sempre deve essere operante nella società, come reagente e propulsore ideale verso una perfezione che è infinita perché è divina”.

⁷² Ambrose, *De officiis*, ed. cit., p. 590.

⁷³ Cfr. Cic. *off.*, 1 58.

⁷⁴ Them. *Or.*, XXII, 8: Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα σκεπτέον εἰ μὴ παντελῶς ἄφορος εὐχαριστίας. Ὡσπερ γὰρ τῆς γῆς ἡ μὲν ἄκαρπος, ἡ δὲ πιστὴ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀποδοῦναι τῷ τὸ σπέρμα καταβαλόντι, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν αἱ μὲν ἄγονοι χαρίτων καὶ λέσμονες καὶ πρὸς φιλίαν ἀχρεῖοι, ταῖς δὲ ἐπανθεῖ τὸ πρόθυμον εἰς τὴν ἔκτισιν. Οὐ γὰρ πάντως τὸ ἔργον ἀπαιτητέον, ἀλλὰ τὴν γνώμην μόνον ἐξεταστέον, καὶ εἰ τοσαῦτα ἐκτίσουσιν ὅσα δύνανται· δύνανται δὲ πάντως ἐπαινεῖν τε καὶ μνημονεύειν. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅλως φιλίαν οὔτε συνδεῖ μᾶλλον εὐχαριστίας οὔτε διόλλυσιν ἄχαριστίας.

5. Parametri di preferenza nella concessione di beneficia

Ambrogio individua alcuni “parametri di preferenza” nella concessione dei benefici: l'*aetas*, la *debilitas*, la *verecundia*⁷⁵, che ci inducono a dare di più ai vecchi impossibilitati a procurarsi di che vivere o agli infermi, piuttosto che a quanti godono di ottima salute, etc. In maniera non dissimile, Cicerone, nella sezione di *off.*, 1 42-45, elenca una serie di *cautiones*, che è bene seguire per evitare che il beneficio si tramuti in un atto di ingiustizia.

Ambrogio sostiene l'esigenza di un *modus* che ponga un freno alla *liberalitas*: nello specifico, i *ministri*, cui è indirizzato il trattato, devono ispirarsi ad una *sobrietas* di fondo, perché i loro benefici siano distribuiti *pro iustitia*, non *pro iactantia*⁷⁶. In particolare, i sacerdoti non devono essere troppo generosi nella concessione di elemosine, specie a favore di gente che, a bella posta, accentua i caratteri della propria indigenza: bisogna, invece, mantenersi in una condizione di equilibrio, in modo che si mostri un minimo senso di *humanitas* nei confronti dei questuanti, e, allo stesso tempo, i “veri” poveri non restino senza aiuto (*Ea ergo mensura sit, ut neque humanitas deseratur nec destituatur necessitas*⁷⁷). Evidentemente il problema dell'indigenza “ostentata” doveva essere particolarmente rilevante a Milano, città-crocevia per numerosi viaggi, e, quindi, meta di parecchi questuanti.

Bisogna che i sacerdoti concedano benefici con discernimento: devono valutare le reali condizioni di indigenza dei

⁷⁵ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 30 158. È assai verosimile che termini come *honestas*, *decorum* o *verecundia* rimandassero immediatamente ad una serie di modelli comportamentali che l'insegnamento delle scuole aveva provveduto a fissare attraverso una ricca esemplificazione. Tuttavia è mediante gli *exempla* cristiani che Ambrogio procede a ridefinire la sfera semantica di termini fino ad allora impiegati per designare *virtutes* che dovevano esplicarsi nell'ambito della *res publica*. Cfr. F. E. CONSOLINO, “Gli *exempla*”, art. cit., p. 353. Inoltre, vd. Ambrose, *De officiis*, ed. cit., p. 593: “Passages like Ambr., *off.*, 1, 30 148 and 1, 30 158 give a clue as to why *verecundia* is so important to Ambrose: the virtue is a hallmark of good breeding and social respectability”.

⁷⁶ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 16 76.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

richiedenti, senza lasciarsi ingannare da chi strilla di più⁷⁸. La generosità si configura come un'assennata medietà: *qui modum servat, avarus nulli, sed largus omnibus est*⁷⁹. Il sacerdote deve essere abile nel non lasciarsi "impressionare" solo da coloro che si distinguono per la loro *impudentia*, ma nello scorgere il bisogno anche laddove rimane tacito (*Videndus est ille qui te non videt; requirendus est ille qui erubescit videri*⁸⁰).

Il discorso ambrosiano si iscrive in un mutato contesto storico-sociale nel quale, all'evergetismo dei *patroni* di antica tradizione pagana, si affianca la cura e l'assistenza dei poveri che, almeno da Costantino in poi, viene demandata alla Chiesa. In particolare, la Chiesa assolve alla funzione di "redistribuire" ai poveri le donazioni dei ricchi all'istituto ecclesiastico⁸¹: la Chiesa, assurgendo a ruolo di "equo" garante, provvede all'elargizione di benefici ai poveri, fratelli nella comune condizione umana di figli di Dio⁸². "Quando Ambrogio descrive la povertà, minuziosamente caratterizzandola, non la enfatizza affatto a scopo omiletico, ma dipinge realisticamente quella miseria che egli, da Vescovo, aveva davanti agli occhi, interpretando bene al tempo stesso la rappresentazione della Chiesa quale struttura in favore dei poveri"⁸³.

⁷⁸ Sulle considerazioni di Basilio di Cesarea in merito all'aspetto esteriore e al modo di vestirsi dei mendicanti, cfr. R. FINN, *Almsgiving in the Later Roman Empire: Christian Promotion and Practice 313-450*, Oxford-New York, 2006, p. 21.

⁷⁹ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 16 77.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Sulla crescente quantità di fondi a disposizione del vescovo e sulla sua conseguente funzione redistributiva, cfr. P. ALLEN - B. NEIL - W. MEYER, *op. cit.*, p. 18. Cfr., inoltre, R. FINN, *op. cit.*, p. 77 sgg., per una dettagliata illustrazione delle varie fasi dell'attività di redistribuzione delle risorse appannaggio dei poveri da parte del vescovo e dei suoi eventuali "assistenti".

⁸² In proposito, di grande interesse sono le pagine che la Freu dedica all'argomento, chiedendosi se la Chiesa in età tardoantica abbia preso il posto un tempo di pertinenza dei ricchi nell'assistenza degli indigenti. Cfr. C. FREU, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-184.

⁸³ G. D'IPPOLITO, "Malattie, malati e povertà nei testi patristici", in *Poveri ammalati e ammalati poveri*, a cura di R. MARINO - C. MOLÈ - A. PINZONE, Catania, 2006, p. 60.

Il popolo accorda il proprio favore a quanti si adoperano per la concessione di benefici: per questo ai sacerdoti che concedono benefici coscienziosamente non mancano mai risorse cui attingere, fornite dal ricco, *securus quod ad pauperem sua perveniat misericordia*⁸⁴. Perché il sacerdote goda della fiducia dei benefattori, è necessario che appaia come un *dispensator* né *immoderatus* né *nimis tenax*: come è bene non dilapidare tutto per poter continuare a beneficiare in futuro⁸⁵, così è opportuno mettere il denaro a disposizione dei poveri anziché custodirlo gelosamente.

La liberalità deve mantenere una certa misura anche nei confronti dei poveri, cosicché si possano beneficiare in numero molteplice. Allo stesso tempo è bene che i sacerdoti si impongano dei limiti nelle spese relative all'abbellimento dell'*aula Domini*, così come devono beneficiare gli ospiti *quantum oporteat*, senza concedere *redundantia*⁸⁶, col rischio di acquistare il favore altrui col denaro dei poveri. La giusta misura sembra informare la categoria generale della *beneficentia*, da cui non devono esimersi neppure i *ministri* nell'esercizio delle loro funzioni.

La giusta misura, l'*aurea mediocritas*, si deve seguire anche nel comportamento abituale, che non deve essere né troppo indulgente né esageratamente severo. Talvolta, è auspicabile anche un comportamento in parte remissivo, se funzionale ad evitare liti per futili motivi: in generale, comunque, non si deve essere troppo generosi nel donare, ma nemmeno troppo rigidi nell'esigere ciò che ci è dovuto⁸⁷.

L'episodio di Giuseppe⁸⁸ alla corte del re d'Egitto assurge a modello di liberalità "ponderata": infatti, per non apparire *de alieno effusus*, Giuseppe preferì vendere il frumento piuttosto che donarlo gratuitamente al popolo. Viceversa, se l'avesse donato a pochi, sarebbe mancato ai più: quindi, anche la liberalità deve tener conto del contesto, mirando all'utilità

⁸⁴ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 16 78.

⁸⁵ Cfr. Cic. *off.*, 2 54: *Quid autem est stultius quam, quod libenter facias, curare ut id diutius facere non possis?*

⁸⁶ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 21 111.

⁸⁷ Cfr. Cic. *off.*, 2 64.

⁸⁸ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 16, 79-85.

di quanti più possibile. Talvolta, gli antichi esempi offrono l'appiglio per un collegamento con i problemi sociali contemporanei. E legata all'attualità è, per es., una probabile interpretazione del comportamento del patriarca Giuseppe: "il grano che egli aveva fatto ammassare in previsione della carestia offre lo spunto per ammonire contro le largizioni sconsiderate, specie in relazione alla situazione di crisi creatasi in Italia dopo Adrianopoli"⁸⁹.

L'episodio di Giuseppe è essenzialmente biblico, ma esso intesse vari motivi ciceroniani, come rileva il Testard⁹⁰. In particolare, è assai probabile l'eco di Cic. *off.*, 2 72: l'Arpinate affronta il tema relativo ai benefici a vantaggio di tutti i cittadini e dello stato, in quanto alcuni giovano solo ai cittadini e non allo stato, altri ad entrambi. Ne sono, rispettivamente, esempio la *lex frumentaria* varata da Gaio Gracco, che svuotò l'erario pubblico, e quella di Marco Ottavio, che fu sopportabile per lo stato e necessaria alla plebe. La strategia di Giuseppe, infatti, soddisfò entrambe le condizioni: beneficiò sia lo stato sia il popolo, e quest'ultimo capì che la giusta misura era stata la propria salvezza.

Da tutto il quadro sopra delineato, si può ben arguire come l'idea di fondo sia quella di una liberalità moderata, consapevole e "razionale", immune dagli eccessi, e in negativo e in positivo: probabile modello è Cicerone⁹¹, e, ancor più a monte, Aristotele⁹², autonomamente rielaborati dal vescovo di Milano, che ne adatta il contenuto all'esigenza di "indottrinamento pragmatico" del clero del tempo⁹³. D'altra parte, "*it is natural for a Christian of Ambrose's social and educational background to retain his affection for the sensible, gentlemanly*

⁸⁹ F. E. CONSOLINO, "Gli *exempla*", art. cit., p. 365.

⁹⁰ Cfr. M. TESTARD, "Le *De officiis*" art. cit., p. 19.

⁹¹ Cic. *off.*, 2 55: *nec ita claudenda res est familiaris, ut eam benignitas aperire non possit, nec ita reseranda, ut pateat omnibus; modus adhibeatur isque referatur ad facultates.*

⁹² Aristot. *EN.*, IV 1.

⁹³ O. HILTBRUNNEN, art. cit., p. 182: "Als echtem Römer liegt Ambrosius das Praktische näher als die theoretische Begründung. [...] Bleibt die Fassade des alten Gebäudes intakt, während dahinter alles völlig erneuert ist. [...] Durch Ambrosius ist das antike Gebäude zum dauernden Besitz der lateinischen Kirche geworden".

pragmatism of the Roman Stoicism presented in Cicero's De Officiis"⁹⁴.

6. *La largitio*

È biasimevole la *largitio* che si configuri come estorsione ad uno al fine di distribuire secondo giustizia ad un altro (*Non probatur largitas, si quod alteri largitur alteri quis extorquet*⁹⁵). In questo caso, si tratta di una generosità "viziata" all'origine, e, in quanto tale, oggetto di disapprovazione: la liberalità non può essere dissociata dalla giustizia, come ci ricorda Cicerone⁹⁶.

Ambrogio biasima l'avarizia, definita come *quaedam bonorum ariditas officiorum*⁹⁷: gli uomini, infatti, abbagliati dalle ricchezze, arrivano al punto da considerare una perdita tutto ciò che si spende oltre il consueto, rivelandosi sordi ai bisogni della comunità di appartenenza.

Avarice touches a vital nerve in man because it isolates him from others, makes him forget his ultimate source of being and conceals the contingent nature of human existence (*in Luc.* 8.14; *Iob.* 2.5.17). If nature produces earthly goods in order that we might share with others and assist the needy, avarice frustrates this purpose and in doing so makes man the only member of the animal kingdom to reject its own (*off.* 3.7.45; *Nab.* 3.12)⁹⁸.

È bene, inoltre, non tenere conto delle ricchezze quale parametro per la concessione di benefici: lo stesso Cicerone si mostra consapevole del modo in cui la corruzione dei costumi abbia portato ad ammirare i facoltosi per la quantità delle loro ricchezze. Ovviamente anche ad essi si può fare del bene,

⁹⁴ I. J. DAVIDSON, "The *Vita Beata*", art. cit., p. 215. In merito, utile risulta la lettura di J. T. MUCKLE, "The Influence of Cicero in the Formation of Christian Culture", *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 42/3 (1948), pp. 107-125.

⁹⁵ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 30 145.

⁹⁶ Cic. *off.*, 1 43: *nihil est enim liberale, quod non idem iustum*.

⁹⁷ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 21 108.

⁹⁸ L. J. SWIFT, "Iustitia and ius privatum: Ambrose on private property", *American Journal of Philology*, 100 (1979), p. 183.

purché non ne siano motivo le ricchezze, ma le qualità, ove presenti⁹⁹.

Ambrogio distingue tra la liberalità che si esplica in azioni benevole, come accogliere l'ospite, vestire l'ignudo, e la prodigalità, che consiste nell'*effluere*¹⁰⁰, privando di "argini contenitivi" il proprio patrimonio. Sulla falsariga di Cicerone, depreca il costume di alcuni che, trincerandosi dietro un velo di apparente magnificenza, danno giochi e spettacoli per scopi esclusivamente demagogici e propagandistici. Non si può escludere che Ambrogio alluda anche al *modus operandi* di buona parte dei destinatari del trattato: forse il suo è un invito alla moderazione, in risposta ad un "demagogismo" elettorale, probabilmente diffuso anche in ambito ecclesiastico.

La presunta magnificenza di certuni è inutile, perché anche nelle spese per le opere buone occorre prestar fede alla giusta misura: già Aristotele aveva sottolineato come la magnificenza necessiti di limiti di "buon costume", affinché non si converta nel suo opposto, la volgarità, atteggiamento proprio del βάνανσος, di colui che "attizza il fuoco nel forno", a testimonianza di una dimensione fortemente "rudimentale", di crassa grossolanità. Il magnifico volgare, infatti, è mosso dalla volontà di fare sfoggio di denaro, credendo di suscitare meraviglia¹⁰¹. Il magnifico, invece, deve essere come un "professionista teorico" (ἐπιστήμων), capace di osservare ciò che conviene e, sopra tutto, di spendere grandi cifre con gusto (ἐμμελῶς)¹⁰².

In conclusione, possiamo ben dire che il vescovo di Milano inviti caldamente il clero ad evitare di incorrere nel vizio della *prodiga effusio*¹⁰³: è opportuno mantenersi in un'assennata posizione di medietà e di moderazione, secondo quanto già

⁹⁹ Cfr. Cic. *off.*, 2 71. Probabili radici si possono rintracciare in Aristot. *EN.*, IX, 2 31-33: καὶ τὰς μὲν εὐεργεσίας ἀνταποδοτέον ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ χαριστέον ἑταίροις, καὶ ὥσπερ δάνειον, ὃ ὀφείλει ἀποδοτέον μᾶλλον ἢ ἑταίρῳ δοτέον.

¹⁰⁰ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 21 109. Davidson, nell'edizione critica da lui curata, opta per la forma *effluere*, che sarebbe un neologismo coniato da Ambrogio, apparentemente qui unicamente attestato.

¹⁰¹ Aristot. *EN.*, IV 6.

¹⁰² Aristot. *EN.*, IV 4.

¹⁰³ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 21 109.

affermato da Cicerone¹⁰⁴, che a sua volta attinge da Aristotele¹⁰⁵.

7. L' "obbligo" di contraccambiare e lo squilibrio intrinseco al dono

All'atto del beneficio fa da naturale corollario il contraccambio: *non reddere* si configura come ciò che è sommamente *contra officium*, anzi ricambiare è il dovere per eccellenza¹⁰⁶.

Gli antropologi moderni hanno constatato come l'atto del contraccambio si configuri, presso numerose società primitive, come atto normativo, tutt'altro che spontaneo: per es., il *potlâc*¹⁰⁷, ampiamente studiato da Mauss, conferma l'importanza del dare, specie se con funzioni di "riconoscimento" sociale, altrettanto del ricevere, ma sopra tutto del ricambiare. L'obbligo di ricambiare degnamente è imperativo: si perde l'onorabilità per sempre, se non si ricambia ciò che si è ricevuto. La sanzione dell'obbligo di ricambiare è la schiavitù per debiti. Né più né meno del *nexus* romano: l'individuo che non ha potuto restituire ciò che ha ricevuto in prestito o in *potlâc*, perde il proprio rango e anche quello di uomo libero¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁴ Cfr. Cic. *off.*, 2 55.

¹⁰⁵ Aristot. *EN.*, IV 1, diffusamente, affronta la questione: definisce la ἐλευθεριότης, la "liberalità", come la medietà tra le azioni complementari di prendere e dare ricchezze, con preponderanza della seconda. Continua con una specificazione terminologica relativa ai due termini "prodigalità" ed "avarizia": la ἀνελευθερία consiste nel darsi troppo da fare per le proprie ricchezze, mentre la ἄσωτία consiste non tanto in sprechi dovuti alle proprie intemperanze, quanto nel "distruggere" il proprio patrimonio. Le ricchezze si possono usare per spendere e per donare, come si possono anche acquisire e conservare: però al generoso si addice più dare che non prendere da dove è opportuno. Tra l'altro, a chi dà spetta χάρις ed ἔπαινος, perché è più difficile privarsi dei propri beni che rinunciare a prendere le cose altrui. Ai generosi si associa l'amore dei più, dato che i loro doni sono utili.

¹⁰⁶ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 31 160.

¹⁰⁷ Il *potlâc* è una prestazione totale di tipo antagonistico, a cadenza stagionale e rituale, propria di alcune società del Nord-ovest americano. Forme analoghe sono state ravvisate da Mauss nelle società polinesiane e melanesiane.

¹⁰⁸ Cfr. M. MAUSS, *Saggio sul dono*, tr. it. di F. Zannino, Torino, 2002, pp. 65-74.

*Nec mensura pari, sed uberiore reddendum arbitror*¹⁰⁹: lo squilibrio intrinseco al beneficio, che permea il pensiero ciceroniano e senecano, non subisce sostanziale cambiamento nel quadro ideologico di Ambrogio, che giustifica il contraccambio *uberior*, sulla base del dono che è *prior* quanto a *tempus* e a *humanitas*. Il dono è il *primum movens*, la “scintilla” capace di innescare un virtuoso legame tra due o più parti, e, in quanto tale, “ontologicamente” superiore¹¹⁰: ne consegue che la contropartita debba essere materialmente superiore, nell’intento di compensare la “priorità” del dono concesso.

Non bisogna però interpretare l’obbligo di ricambiare nel senso di un “pareggiamento” per mettere fine ad ogni debito. Non a caso, si restituisce più di quanto si abbia ricevuto: l’obiettivo è infatti quello di collocarsi a propria volta in posizione di donatore al fine non già di annullare, ma di (ri)alimentare continuamente i debiti. Nel dono la restituzione si connota nei termini della disuguaglianza, della *non-equivalenza mercantile*. Nel mercato, invece, c’è la necessità psicologica di ottenere una cosa di valore eguale al bene sacrificato. L’equivalenza è un modo per “mettere un termine” a una catena di dono, di privare il dono della tensione che lo anima. Viceversa, l’assenza di equilibrio mette fine a un rapporto mercantile.

Secondo una prospettiva antropologica, l’implicazione del contro-dono dipende dal *mana* (*hau*) della cosa donata, ossia dallo “spirito” immanente all’oggetto donato, permanentemente legato alla persona del donatore. Il *mana* fa convergere obbligo e spontaneità perché forza il dono ad una circolazione incessante fra i vari attori sociali, circolazione che garantisce il funzionamento dello scambio e ne offre un fondamento simbolico. In particolare lo *hau*, lo spirito delle cose, fa sì che il dono abbia un valore aggiunto rispetto al suo concreto materializzarsi: è proprio questo spirito che obbliga a contraccambiare, a dare continuità al circolo innescato dallo *hau* del

¹⁰⁹ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 31 160.

¹¹⁰ A riguardo, Godbout propone di sostituire la classica metafora del cerchio, ingannevole, perché mette sullo stesso piano i tre livelli del ciclo oblativo, con quella della spirale. È chiaro, in effetti, che il momento capitale è il primo, quello del dono propriamente detto. Cfr. J. GOUBOUT, op. cit., pp. 166-171.

primo dono¹¹¹. Nel diritto maori, per es., il vincolo giuridico è un legame di anime, perché la cosa stessa ha un'anima, appartiene all'anima: infatti accettare qualcosa da qualcuno equivale ad accettare qualcosa della sua essenza spirituale, della sua anima; tenere per sé questa cosa sarebbe pericoloso e mortale, di qui l'idea fondamentale della circolazione obbligatoria delle ricchezze, dei tributi e dei doni.

Con una metafora di ordine agrario, di memoria ciceroniana (il terreno coltivato non può che restituire più di quanto abbia ricevuto¹¹²), Ambrogio accorda al *sapiens* la capacità di contraccambiare il beneficio ricevuto con un sovrappiù, come se si trattasse di un *faenus*, di un prestito a usura. Inoltre, ammesso che possano sopraggiungere ostacoli alla concessione di benefici (per cui, in linea teorica, si potrebbe anche giustificare l'atto della mancata donazione), è inammissibile non ricambiare il beneficio ricevuto¹¹³.

Ambrogio pone maggiore enfasi, rispetto al modello, sull'eventuale condizione di bisogno dell'originario benefattore: *si ipse in necessitatem incidit... tu subvenias quantum eius aerumnam repellas*¹¹⁴, come se il cristiano fosse maggiormente in dovere di soccorrere il benefattore caduto in disgrazia, sebbene Cicerone stesso dica che il più bisognoso debba essere aiutato per primo¹¹⁵. Tutto il discorso ambrosiano fa propria la lezione ciceroniana secondo cui ricambiare il beneficio ricevuto è il dovere per eccellenza¹¹⁶, anzi si configura

¹¹¹ M. MAUSS, op. cit., p. 17. Lo *hau* innesca una "sinergia agonistica" di identità personali e collettive che vengono a contatto nel processo di interazione e distinzione fra persone e cose coinvolte nella pratica del dono. Cfr. I. FRIEDRICH-SILBER, "Prologue: Sortilèges et paradoxes du don", *Revue du M.A.U.S.S.*, 27/1 (2006), p. 44.

¹¹² Cic. *off.*, 1 48: *An imitari agros fertiles, qui multo plus efferunt quam acceperunt?*

¹¹³ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 31 161: *Non dare cuiquam vix licet, non reddere vero non licet.*

¹¹⁴ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 31 160.

¹¹⁵ Cic. *off.*, 1 49: *in collocando beneficio et in referenda gratia, si cetera paria sunt, hoc maxime officii est, ut quisque maxime opis indigeat, ita ei potissimum opitulari.*

¹¹⁶ Cic. *off.*, 1 47: *nullum enim officium referenda gratia magis necessarium est.*

come una caratteristica imprescindibile e “definitoria” del *vir bonus*¹¹⁷.

8. *L'officium misericordiae per i ricchi*

Ambrogio esorta gli uomini all'*officium misericordiae*¹¹⁸, che consiste nel dovere per i ricchi di donare ai poveri, perché i primi non abbondino di cose effimere e transitorie, e i secondi non siano privi di quei beni di cui, comunque, saranno in futuro privati. La posizione del vescovo milanese non è tuttavia ascrivibile ad un presunto socialismo di fondo¹¹⁹, “non soltanto perché egli nella pratica si mostrò convinto sostenitore dell'impero romano la cui economia e il cui costume politico in tanta parte si basavano sulla proprietà, ma anche sulla base di quei passi ove la funzione della proprietà è esaltata, come ad esempio è difesa la posizione di Naboth che vuol trasmettere ai suoi eredi la vigna avita dai propri Padri”¹²⁰.

Insomma, Ambrogio non condanna *tout court* la proprietà in quanto tale, ma ne suggerisce un uso “ultramondanamente” orientato, cioè come mezzo di redenzione spirituale ordinato agli interessi della comunità. Come a dire che il comunismo di Ambrogio non ha nulla in comune con le dottrine di Marx-Lenin-Stalin, foggiate sulla concezione materialistica della storia e sull'ateismo, bensì il suo è un comunismo teologico e religioso, ispirato da premesse ascetiche e mistiche:

¹¹⁷ Cic. *off.*, 1 48: *demus necne in nostra potestate est, non reddere viro bono non licet, modo id facere possit sine iniuria.*

¹¹⁸ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 30 154. D'altra parte, bisogna sottolineare come il gesto dell'elemosina possa comportare l'effetto di una progressiva separazione tra donatore e povero, riducendo quest'ultimo a figura anonima e invisibile, specie in una società, come quella tardoantica, in cui la *miserecordia* è divenuta sempre più carità concreta, e sempre meno sentimento. Cfr. C. FREU, op. cit., p. 273.

¹¹⁹ G. BARBIERI, “Le dottrine economiche nel pensiero cristiano”, in *Grande Antologia Filosofica*, vol. V, Milano, 1973, p. 1154: “S. Ambrogio e gli altri autori cristiani ai programmi rivoluzionari preferiscono [...] una razionale azione di rettifica, illuminata dalla continua considerazione dei valori trascendenti proposti all'azione morale dell'uomo”.

¹²⁰ E. FRATTINI, “Proprietà e ricchezza nel pensiero di S. Ambrogio”, *Rivista Internazionale di Filosofia del Diritto*, 49 (1962), pp. 748-749.

il vescovo milanese non nega il diritto di proprietà, specie se in relazione a piccoli beni (com'è la piccola vigna avita da Naboth), ma ne deplora l'esercizio a detrimento dell'utilità comune¹²¹. Le differenze socio-economiche risultano funzionali alla conservazione dell'armonia sociale, garantita dalla solidarietà reciproca¹²².

Un'idea comunistica, sebbene a livello marginale, si può tutt'al più ravvisare nello scarto definitorio della *iustitia*, non più vista ciceronianamente in termini di bilanciamento di interessi privati e doveri di mutuo soccorso al fine di garantire la coesione sociale, bensì come totale "devoluzione" delle proprie risorse ai bisogni della comunità umana¹²³.

I beni mondani sono, comunque, transeunti, non è a questi che occorre puntare, bensì alle ricompense celesti: per cui è auspicabile una "sana" concessione di doni, al solo scopo di affrontare gli ostacoli terreni, essendo tutta la vita umana finalizzata all'aldilà¹²⁴. Il ricco, concedendo al beneficiato la *salus* terrena, otterrà in cambio la *salus* eterna: per es., Ambrogio, *off.*, 1, 11 39 (*corporalia seminas et recipis spiritalia*), rimarca lo "scompenso di durata temporale" tra i *beneficia* terreni e i *beneficia* "compensativi" di Dio, alludendo al "corpo terreno", soggetto a decadimento, e al "corpo spirituale" incorruttibile¹²⁵.

¹²¹ F. MORGANTE (a cura di), op. cit., p. 16: "S. Ambrogio affrontava il problema delle disuguaglianze economiche e sociali da uomo di Chiesa, che, vedendo nel latifondo la causa principale del dissesto economico e sociale e del dramma di tante persone ridotte in miseria, giudicava la grande proprietà frutto di un'*usurpatio*, che consiste in un uso esclusivo di ciò che è anche degli altri, un uso che è la negazione del diritto naturale ed è quindi contrario ai disegni e comandamenti divini".

¹²² Cfr. D. CANER, "Towards a Miraculous Economy: Christian Gifts and Material 'Blessings' in Late Antiquity", *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 14/3 (2006), pp. 367-368.

¹²³ Sull'argomento, illuminante l'articolo citato di L. J. SWIFT, p. 180 sgg.

¹²⁴ L'etica professata dal cristianesimo pare, del resto, avere avuto palesi ripercussioni sul piano della realtà contingente: l'età tardoantica, infatti, registra un forte incremento di liberalità pie, di legati alla Chiesa e di atti evergetistici nuovi (come la costruzione di chiese in luogo degli edifici civici di un tempo), pratiche il cui gran numero "dà l'impressione di un'ossessione per la salvezza eterna" (P. VEYNE, *Il pane*, op. cit., p. 39).

¹²⁵ Cfr. Ambrose, *De officiis*, ed. cit., p. 484: Davidson sottolinea la capacità di Ambrogio di applicare una terminologia "corporea" al contrasto tra il

Peraltro, “i Padri della Chiesa¹²⁶ consideravano l’elemosina e la beneficenza come veri e propri atti di giustizia più che di liberalità. Essi parlano non tanto di dare, quanto di restituire al povero. Il passaggio dei beni da chi ne ha a chi non ne ha è una restituzione, un debito da pagare”¹²⁷.

Dio ha creato i beni della terra per tutti gli uomini, per cui nessuno ha diritto al possesso esclusivo dei beni mondani: il rapporto fra individui e beni terreni ha un carattere usufruttuario e non di proprietà, che ben giustifica il dovere di mutuo soccorso all’interno della comunità cristiana e, in senso lato, umana tutta¹²⁸. Il soccorso dei poveri si configura, quindi, non come un atto di generosità da parte di chi dà del proprio, ma come un atto di giustizia riassumibile nel motto “*unuique suum*”. Del resto, già Mauss aveva messo in luce come nelle religioni monoteistiche vi sia una precisa “metamorfosi” della pratica del dono in un principio di giustizia che tende a tradursi in un principio di carità e di solidarietà¹²⁹.

presente dono materiale e la futura ricompensa spirituale. F. E. CONSOLINO, “Sante”, art. cit., p. 969: “Con l’affermarsi del cristianesimo, l’atto del donare trova motivazioni trascendenti: ci si spoglia sulla terra per costruirsi un tesoro in cielo”.

¹²⁶ Per es., Ambr. *Nab.*, 12, 53: “*Non de tuo largiaris pauperi, sed de suo reddis; quod enim commune est in omnium usum datum solus usurpas. [...] Debitum ergo reddis, non largiris indebitum*”. Lo stesso Ambrogio, *psalm.*, 118, 8, 22 (*Dispersit, dedit pauperibus, iustitia eius manet in aeternum*) mette in relazione la giustizia-benevolenza con un passo dei Salmi, CXI 9. Numerosi passi delle opere di Giovanni Crisostomo, Agostino e Leone Magno confermano l’idea dell’elemosina come atto dovuto più che spontaneo, comune alla tradizione ebraica e cristiana. Cfr. P. ALLEN - B. NEIL - W. MEYER, op. cit., pp. 23-24 e *passim*.

¹²⁷ F. GIORDANO, “La *Rerum novarum* e i Padri della Chiesa”, in *I tempi della “Rerum novarum”*, a cura di G. DE ROSA, Catanzaro, 2003, p. 362. E. FRATTINI, art. cit., p. 750, sottolinea come, nella visione ambrosiana, “il ricco sia strettamente obbligato ad attenersi alla volontà del mandante, cioè di Dio che lo ha preposto all’amministrazione dei suoi beni, e dovrà quindi rispondere rigorosamente al Creatore dell’uso che ne ha fatto”.

¹²⁸ Cfr. D. CANER, art. cit., pp. 329-330: “The result was an economic ideal aimed at equilibrium and flow rather than possession and gain. Based on older Judeo-Christian notions of stewardship, such a system implied that humans involved in charitable transactions were mere points of passage in a circle of gifts that emanated from God”.

¹²⁹ Cfr. I. FRIEDRICH-SILBER, art. cit., p. 49.

Non si esclude che il pensiero ambrosiano possa essere stato condizionato dall'istituto giuridico romano dell'*ager vectigalis*, ossia la terra di proprietà pubblica assegnata in disponibilità assoluta e perpetua a privati dietro il pagamento di un canone periodico, il *vectigal* appunto. Il privato, comunque, non acquistava la proprietà, ma una *possessio*, dietro il pagamento del *vectigal*, trasferibile sia *inter vivos* sia *mortis causa* (agli eredi). È proprio dalla giurisdizione classica, sempre incerta nel qualificare l'istituto che oscilla tra il diritto delle obbligazioni e i diritti reali, oltretutto in una dialettica irrisolta tra locazione e vendita e tra *possessio* e forme di proprietà fattuale¹³⁰, potrebbe trarre ispirazione il monito del vescovo di Milano a considerare i beni mondani come una *possessio* utilizzabile in vista di ben "fruttuose" finalità comunitaristiche. In via ipotetica, l'istituto giuridico ricordato può essere considerato come un plausibile termine di riferimento per il costituirsi dell'ideologia ambrosiana¹³¹. Del resto, argomenti consentanei con il monito ambrosiano si trovano anche in altri Padri, come per es. in Gregorio di Nissa che invita l'uomo ricco a considerarsi non come proprietario della terra, ma come amministratore o distributore dei suoi prodotti¹³².

Il ricco, anche se non dona, non abbonda di beni, perché sempre incalzato dal desiderio di averne altri; il povero, dal canto suo, non ha di meno, perché gli basta poco per nutrirsi. E, comunque, anche il più ricco sulla terra è sempre inferiore al più piccolo nel regno dei cieli¹³³, come recita il Vangelo.

Insomma, tutto il discorso, nelle varie interpretazioni proposte, tende allo svilimento della dimensione mondana della

¹³⁰ Cfr. O. DILIBERTO, "Proprietà fondiaria pubblica e disponibilità dei privati nel diritto romano", 19/02/2009 in http://www.csdri.org/italiano/class_detail.asp?infoid=197 (visitato il 23/01/2011).

¹³¹ Mi pare che una simile ipotesi sia giustificabile anche sulla base di *Nab.*, 1, 2, *cur eicitis consortem naturae et vindicatis vobis possessionem naturae? In commune omnibus, divitibus atque pauperibus, terra fundata est: cur vobis ius proprium soli, divites, adrogatis?*, passo in cui la dialettica *ius proprium soli / possessio naturae* illumina sotto il profilo giuridico il travagliato rapporto fra ricchi e poveri in relazione alla gestione della terra e dei suoi frutti.

¹³² Cfr. R. FINN, op. cit., p. 159 e n. 232.

¹³³ Matth. 11, 11 e Luc. 7, 28 in Ambr. *off.*, 1, 30 156: *Quo nemo maior est inter natos mulierum, inferior tamen erat eo qui minor est in regno caelorum.*

vita, in prospettiva di una più alta meta ultramondana¹³⁴: il cristianesimo, infatti, riscrive le pratiche umane in un'ottica di "differimento dimensionale", caratterizzata dallo svilimento sistematico della condizione terrena, da cui deriva una teleologia dell'eterno trans-mondano che elude il contesto spaziotemporale, invece assai rilevante in Cicerone e in Seneca, per esempio.

D'altronde, la posizione ambrosiana collima con i numerosi discorsi sui beni terreni riscontrabili nella letteratura cristiana dei primi secoli, riconducibili come sono al Vangelo e alle lettere apostoliche, ove frequente è la contrapposizione tra i beni del cielo, eterni, e quelli mondani, caduchi e transeunti, ed il rapporto, più o meno, di causa-effetto fra i tesori dello spirito e il *contemptus mundi*. Spesso si è indotti a concedere benefici ai ricchi, forse perché rassicurati dalla speranza di una più che sicura ricompensa, e si trascurano i poveri, il cui contraccambio è precario e, per nulla, certo¹³⁵. La prospettiva deve essere invece rovesciata: l'impossibilità/estrema difficoltà per il povero di contraccambiare deve essere, anzi, vista come prova e garanzia di dono disinteressato da parte del benefattore¹³⁶.

¹³⁴ M. L. COLISH, op. cit., p. 51: "Stylistically Ambrose substitutes an exegetical method and a barrage of Scriptural examples for Cicero's mode of argument. This stylistic change is a reflection of Ambrose's replacement of Cicero's this-worldly ethic with a Christian ethic, which revalues the Stoic themes that Ambrose uses by situating them in a framework of divine grace and human redemption, viewed from the perspective of the life to come". I. J. DAVIDSON, "Ambrose's", art. cit., p. 325: "Above all, he [*sc.* Ambrose] maintains a theocentricity and soteriological-eschatological reference-point which are foreign to Cicero". Ambrogio, quindi, va oltre il titolo, la struttura e i temi di Cicerone, trasformando il trattato classico in un'esposizione dell'argomento che ritiene moralmente e spiritualmente superiore.

¹³⁵ Se il dono agli indigenti, in seno all'evergetismo d'età classica e protoimperiale, può configurarsi come "a-reciproco" per l'impossibilità materiale dei poveri di contraccambiare, in età tardoantica e cristiana gli evèrgeti potevano, di contro, contare sul contraccambio in preghiere da parte dei beneficiati, cioè su una forma spirituale di reciprocità.

¹³⁶ A. R. HANDS, op. cit., p. 31: "The surest way to avoid any suggestion of giving with a view to return is to confer one's gift on someone who is incapable of giving in return. This is the doctrine of the Christian apologist, John Chrysostom: 'Do not give to the rich who can give back'".

Alcuni poi, ricchi e potenti, disdegnano il legame che il *beneficium* è in grado di instaurare, e, addirittura, considerano un abominio (*mortis instar*) il ricorso all'altrui patrocinio o il sentirsi chiamare *clientes*¹³⁷.

Ma il monito del Signore è quello di invitare a banchetto i poveri¹³⁸: dal momento che li affligge una grave penuria di risorse, di loro si fa carico il Signore, che ricompenserà quanti li omaggino dei loro benefici (*pauperes quia non habent quod restituant, cum acceperint, remuneratorem nobis faciunt Dominum, qui se pro paupere obligandum obtulit*¹³⁹). L'interesse dell'individuo, ossia l'interesse spirituale dell'uomo in rapporto al suo fine ultimo che è la salvezza eterna, deve indurlo a servirsi delle ricchezze per procurarsi, attraverso il loro retto uso, i meriti derivanti dalle buone opere. "*Saint Ambroise a exprimé le remplacement en christianisme de la vita beata par la vita aeterna, voyant en celle-ci une récompense octroyée par Dieu et donc l'effet d'un jugement divin prononcé sur nos actes (2, 1-3). Nous avons à agir de telle sorte que nous soit accordée la vie éternelle. Le temps présent n'est pas celui où notre vie est appelée à s'accomplir*"¹⁴⁰.

L'esigenza di beneficiare i poveri, tra l'altro, è una "costante antropologica" rilevabile in varie società, ognuna delle quali la pertinentizza sotto forme e apparati ideologici diversi. Per es., presso gli Haussa del Sudan, succede che, quando il grano è maturo, si diffondano delle febbri: l'unico modo per evitarle è fare donativi di questo grano ai poveri. "Si profila, quindi, una teoria dell'elemosina: la liberalità è obbligatoria, perché la Nemesis vendica i poveri e gli dei dell'eccesso di felicità e di ricchezza di alcuni uomini"¹⁴¹.

¹³⁷ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 25, 126. Cfr. Cic. *off.*, 2 69.

¹³⁸ Luc. 14, 12-14: *cum facis prandium, aut coenam, noli vocare amicos tuos, neque fratres tuos, neque cognatos, neque vicinos divites: ne forte te et ipsi reintivent, et fiat tibi retributio; sed cum facis convivium, voca pauperes, debiles, claudos, et caecos: et beatus eris, quia non habent retribuere tibi: retribuetur enim tibi in resurrectione iustorum.*

¹³⁹ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 25, 126.

¹⁴⁰ T. DEMAN, "Le 'de officiis' de Saint Ambroise dans l'histoire de la théologie morale", *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 37 (1953), p. 417.

¹⁴¹ M. MAUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

Nell'ottica cristiana, Ambrogio deve risemantizzare il beneficio appannaggio degli indigenti per dare un fondamento etico al precetto cristiano della carità¹⁴² e della benevolenza fraterna. Ed è su questo punto che mi pare di poter individuare l'elemento innovativo di maggiore portata introdotto da Ambrogio: se Cicerone esamina i concetti di *beneficentia* e di *benivolentia* in relazione all'uomo ideale, che, nella sua prospettiva, è un giusto e magnanimo cittadino che prende parte attiva alla vita sociale e politica della Repubblica, Ambrogio invece adotta un'altra prospettiva, che è quella della remissione dei peccati, della salvezza e del premio eterno. Se la *Weltanschauung* ciceroniana riflette profondamente l'etica del ceto senatoriale, anzi ne è anche limitata, quella ambrosiana si richiama all'amore disinteressato del prossimo, che non cerca mai il proprio vantaggio né fa distinzione tra persona e persona. "Il motivo ispirante la *beneficentia* e la *benivolentia*", per Ambrogio, "non consiste soltanto nel pensiero sulla corretta coesistenza dei cittadini nello stato, ma, soprattutto, nel desiderio del raggiungimento della felicità eterna, come premio per una vita buona e generosa"¹⁴³.

Il povero, quindi, si configura come uno "strumento di salvezza", come un campo di prova in cui il cristiano può guadagnarsi la meta eterna: di qui, la notevole attenzione riservata dagli autori cristiani ad una figura che, da marginale, assume a mezzo di riscatto spirituale nella nuova escatologia cristiana¹⁴⁴. Ne deriva una "ridescrizione" dello *status* del povero, nonché dei termini del rapporto benefattore/benefi-

¹⁴² P. VEYNE, *Il pane*, op. cit., p. 44: "L'elemosina era un gesto quotidiano, ma non un dovere di stato, né un'azione altamente morale, ed i filosofi non ne parlano quasi. Con il cristianesimo, in cui l'elemosina appartiene alla nuova religiosità etica, tutto cambia. Divenuta un comportamento profondamente significativo, la carità è degna d'essere il dovere di stato delle classi alte per le quali essa sostituisce la munificenza. Per la sua importanza materiale, la sua portata spirituale e le istituzioni a cui dà vita, la carità diventa la nuova virtù storica".

¹⁴³ A. SWOBODA, "Nozione di *beneficentia* e di *benivolentia* nel *De officiis ministrorum* di Sant'Ambrogio e nel *De officiis* di Cicerone", *Vox Patrum*, 15 (1988), p. 785.

¹⁴⁴ C. FREU, op. cit., p. 285: "toute analyse du discours sur l'aumône nous ramène au même point: ce discours fait du pauvre un 'autre', parce qu'il ne s'intéresse à lui que comme objet et moyen de salut pour le chrétien. Ce pau-

cato, che viene a configurarsi come una “relazione fraterna” tra *fideles socii Dei*¹⁴⁵. “Il cristianesimo rese i poveri una categoria naturale, verso la quale i diritti e i doveri erano ben definiti. Il Grande e il Povero sono due personaggi dell’epopea divina ed in essi si rivela il senso reale di un mondo in cui dominano i contrasti, in cui il male è di casa. Essi hanno bisogno l’uno dell’altro e non esistono che l’uno per l’altro”¹⁴⁶.

L’elemosina cristiana, autentico *Kerngebot* della nuova morale religiosa, è una forma di esercizio spirituale per il donatore, in quanto gli profitta tanto quanto al povero stesso: infatti la carità, interpretabile come “rivisitazione cristiana” della parentela stoica fra tutti gli uomini, lo rende assai più vicino a Dio (poiché Cristo si identifica con il povero) e gli permette di spiare i suoi peccati. “Ambrogio, parlando della misericordia, la maggiore delle virtù evangeliche, insegna ad applicarla particolarmente ai poveri, cioè a coloro che sono stati privati dei beni creati anche per essi; tanto che l’elemosina rappresenta, in ultima analisi, un atto doveroso”¹⁴⁷.

Possiamo rintracciarne un antecedente già nella legge brahmanica, che ha fornito un’interpretazione, materialistica e idealistica a un tempo, della carità e dell’ospitalità. La cosa donata, infatti, frutta una ricompensa in questa vita e nell’altra: il cibo dato ad altri è cibo che ritornerà in questo mondo al donatore; è cibo, lo stesso cibo, per lui, nell’altro mondo.

vre ‘porteur du salut’ n’est pas ici un être de chair; il n’est plus tellement un être social, mais il est surtout une construction spirituelle”.

¹⁴⁵ Cfr. R. FINN, op. cit., p. 182.

¹⁴⁶ P. VEYNE, *Il pane*, op. cit., p. 46. Sempre lo stesso studioso in *L’impero*, op. cit., p. 515: “Il cristianesimo prende la società così com’è, con i suoi ricchi e i suoi poveri. Ma resterà qualcosa della virulenza del messaggio evangelico: la categorizzazione dei poveri. [...] Il mondo pagano aveva i suoi poveri, faceva loro l’elemosina, dava loro una moneta, ma non li aveva resi una categoria”. Il donare cristiano, inoltre, era diretto alla sola, indistinta categoria dei poveri, per cui molti membri della classe superiore furono, via via, sempre più attratti dalla possibilità di sostenere spese socialmente significative ad un costo assai minore che non in passato.

¹⁴⁷ E. FRATTINI, art. cit., p. 754. Vd. anche P. VEYNE, *Il pane*, op. cit., p. 33: “L’elemosina, che finirà per diventare un rigoroso obbligo, è dovere del Giusto, che non ignora di poter essere lui stesso ridotto a mendicare a sua volta e che ha appreso a mettersi, nel pensiero, al posto del suo prossimo”.

Il ricco si sdegna dell'aiuto ricevuto, quasi se ne vergogna: comunque, non mostra riconoscenza, perché ritiene che quanto gli è stato donato gli sia dovuto, o che, in quanto ricco, per quel che ha ricevuto, egli sicuramente abbia dato di più. Il povero, invece, è indotto a mostrare somma riconoscenza nei confronti del benefattore e, anche se impossibilitato a ricambiarlo materialmente, non cesserà mai di mostrarsi riconoscente nei comportamenti abituali, quindi, ad un livello superiore rispetto al bene materiale.

*Pecunia enim nummo solvitur, gratia numquam exinanitur*¹⁴⁸: ciò deriva dal fatto che il povero è incline ad ammettere di essere debitore, cosa da cui il ricco rifugge. Ambrogio conclude con un invito a beneficiare i poveri, tra i quali è molto più difficile imbattersi in persone ingrati: *Quanto igitur melius apud bonos quam apud ingratos locare beneficium!*¹⁴⁹

Preme sottolineare che, in relazione al *beneficium* appannaggio dei poveri, anche Cicerone riflette sulla tendenza generalizzatasi ad anteporre la benevolenza di un uomo ricco e fortunato alla causa di un uomo povero, sia pure perbene. Bisogna, invece, considerare quanto una persona *inops*, anche se non in grado di contraccambiare il favore ricevuto (*referre gratiam*), possa invece essere grato (*gratiam habere*).

9. La ricompensa divina superfluens

Sull'esempio di Salomone, che invitava i commensali ad osservare i cibi imbanditi, per poi ricambiarli tali e quali, Ambrogio definisce *durissimus, qui referre nescit*¹⁵⁰. La terra, peraltro, è maestra in tal senso: offre frutti spontanei, anche se non coltivata, addirittura moltiplica ciò che ha ricevuto, se coltivata. Ma anche il necessario *surplus* della contropartita trova una giustificazione religiosa: *plurimum redhibitio ista gratiae apud Deum consuevit valere*¹⁵¹.

¹⁴⁸ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 25, 127.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Palese è l'eco ciceroniana, *off.*, 2, 71: *Quam ob rem melius apud bonos quam apud fortunatos beneficium collocari puto.*

¹⁵⁰ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 31 162.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Di più: contraccambiare in eccedenza è motivo di merito sfruttabile anche al momento del giudizio definitivo, in quanto il Signore stesso promette una ricompensa maggiore rispetto ai meriti acquisiti in vita. In cambio di ciò che si è donato si avrà una *mensura bona*, sopra tutto *superfluens*¹⁵². Il dono a Dio o, comunque, in funzione di Dio, si definisce principalmente in chiave di sacrificio-contratto, che, per Mauss, “realizza al massimo grado le istituzioni connesse al regime dei doni, poiché è proprio degli dei, che donano e ricambiano ciò che hanno ricevuto, dare una cosa grande in cambio di una piccola”¹⁵³.

Si ricordi, peraltro, Seneca, che invita a seguire gli dei come modello di donatori incuranti del contraccambio, anche di fronte alla totale indifferenza ed ingratitudine umana¹⁵⁴.

Pare, del resto, che tra gli aristocratici romani, dai primi anni del regno di Tiberio in poi, si fosse diffusa una graduale tendenza al dono ai poveri, noncurante della possibilità di contraccambio da parte di questi ultimi: se, infatti, le pratiche oblativie, di cui le iscrizioni danno ampiamente conto, possono interpretarsi in età repubblicana come donativi *ob honorem* (nel senso di carica, ufficio istituzionale), in età imperiale un fine simile si deve escludere, considerato il ruolo ininfluente giocato dai poveri nelle elezioni delle cariche¹⁵⁵.

Secondo il pensiero escatologico cristiano, non è prevista alcuna moltiplicazione dei beni concreti, delle risorse monetarie del donatore, che dovrà procrastinare all'altra vita la riscossione del giusto premio per avere rettammente operato. Il dono implica una ricompensa “maggiorativa”, ancor più se il dono è *per* Dio, ma sempre in una prospettiva ultramondana, come ci insegna Matth. 19, 29: *Et omnis qui reliquerit domum, vel fra-*

¹⁵² Luc. 6, 38: *Date, et dabitur vobis: mensuram bonam, et confertam, et coagitatam, et supereffluentem dabunt in sinum vestrum. Eadem quippe mensura, qua mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis.*

¹⁵³ M. MAUSS, op. cit., p. 28.

¹⁵⁴ Cfr. Sen. *ben.*, 1, 19: *ne deos quidem immortalis ab hac tam effusa nec cessante benignitate sacrilegi negligentesque eorum deterrent.* G. GASPARI, “Elementi per una sociologia del dono”, in *Il dono – tra etica e scienze sociali*, a cura di AA.VV., Roma, 1999, pp. 21-22, segnala la similitudine di questo pensiero con l'insegnamento evangelico.

¹⁵⁵ Sull'argomento, vd. A. R. HANDS, op. cit., p. 47 sgg.

tres, aut sorores, aut patrem, aut matrem, aut uxorem, aut filios, aut agros, propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet, et vitam aeternam possidebit. “Se Dio veramente restituisce il centuplo – in una logica usuraria *ante litteram* – lo fa solo oltre il fluire della cronologia mondana, risarcendo una dilazione tanto più remunerativa quanto più psichicamente onerosa”¹⁵⁶.

È pure probabile che, dietro l’invito a “liberarsi” dei beni mondani al fine di ottenere la salvezza eterna, agisca un’idea propria del primo Stoicismo, secondo cui la *virtus* non abbisogna di circostanze esterne favorevoli per il conseguimento della *beatitudo*: condizioni come la ricchezza o la povertà, il benessere fisico o la malattia sarebbero assolutamente *adiaphora*, ossia moralmente neutrali, ininfluenti¹⁵⁷. Non si può inoltre escludere l’influenza neoplatonica in relazione al concetto della “neutralità morale” dei beni terreni: d’altronde, versioni latine ridotte del pensiero di Plotino avevano trovato diffusione, per es., a Milano al tempo di Ambrogio e di Agostino¹⁵⁸.

Ambrogio elenca una serie di azioni benevole che permettono di acquisire *bona existimatio*¹⁵⁹, come venire in soccorso di un povero vessato da un potente, salvare la vita ad un con-

¹⁵⁶ S. M. BARILLARI, “Donare per Dio. L’azzardo della fede nella nascente economia di mercato”, in *Vincolare, ricambiare, donare. Il dono come pratica sociale e tema letterario. Atti del X Convegno Internazionale, Rocca Grimalda, 23-25 settembre 2005*, a cura di N. PASERO e S. M. BARILLARI, Alessandria, 2007, p. 170.

¹⁵⁷ In *off.*, 2, 4, 14 – 5, 17 si evince chiaramente come, per Ambrogio, le ricchezze non siano di alcun vantaggio al fine di conseguire la *vita beata*. Vd. anche I. J. DAVIDSON, “The *Vita Beata*”, art. cit., p. 211: “Ambrose is fond elsewhere of quoting Proverbs 17.6 (e.g., 1.118: *sapienti et iusto totus mundus divitiarum est*), adapting the image of the Stoic sage who possesses all things to the Christian ideal of the man of faith who gives away his wealth in this world and inherits everlasting treasure in the next”. Assai interessante il lavoro del Vasey che, analizzando tutte le occorrenze del succitato passo del libro dei Proverbi nelle opere ambrosiane, mette in risalto quanto l’esegesi sia importante per arguire le idee sociali del vescovo, il suo atteggiamento verso le ricchezze, i ricchi, i poveri, le loro reciproche relazioni e la pratica delle virtù della liberalità e della giustizia. Cfr. V. R. VASEY, art. cit., pp. 259-276.

¹⁵⁸ Cfr. P. ALLEN - B. NEIL - W. MEYER, op. cit., p. 24.

¹⁵⁹ *Ambr. off.*, 2, 21 102.

dannato a morte¹⁶⁰, etc., ovviamente agendo sotto l'impulso della *misericordia* e non della *iactantia*.

Tra le azioni che garantiscono la stima altrui, merita particolare attenzione l'*hospitalitas*, che si palesa nella cortese accoglienza del forestiero, e che si connota come azione sommamente *humana*: *est enim publica species humanitatis ut peregrinus hospitio non egeat, suscipiatur officiose*¹⁶¹. Segue l'inevitabile esempio biblico: Abramo si prodigava, per mezzo dei suoi servi, affinché nessun forestiero, passando davanti alla sua porta, andasse oltre senza ricevere la degna accoglienza¹⁶². La dimensione dell'ospitalità di Abramo si configura come *extra ordinem*, tanto da "fruttargli", in ricompensa, la promessa di un figlio: se in *off.*, 2, 21 107, essa viene presentata come ricompensa per avere accolto Dio in qualità di ospite, in *Abr.*, 1, 5, 41 ci viene presentata come ricompensa per la sua umiltà, comunque confacente alla cornice narrativa entro cui è inserita la figura del patriarca biblico.

Conviene essere ospitali, benevoli, giusti, non avidi dell'altrui, persino disposti a cedere qualcosa del proprio. E ciò deriva non solo dalla liberalità, ma risponde anche a ragioni di *commoditas*: infatti, mantenersi in buoni rapporti con gli altri evita di subire processi dispendiosi e, sopra tutto, consente di accrescere le amicizie i cui frutti si raccoglieranno in futuro. Nell'esercizio dell'ospitalità bisogna privilegiare i giusti, cui si deve una *uberior honorificentia*¹⁶³. In generale, comunque, l'ospitalità va accordata a tutti, comportamento da cui non potrà che derivare la ricompensa divina: *Tanta est enim apud*

¹⁶⁰ Ambrogio, già in *off.*, 2, 15 70, annovera l'azione di *subtrahere neci homines* fra i *plurima genera liberalitatis*, facendone quindi un dovere civico e cristiano insieme.

¹⁶¹ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 21 103.

¹⁶² R. BERTON, art. cit., p. 320: "Le recours ici à Abraham comme modèle peut avoir été inspiré par Cicéron, qui rapporte l'exemple de l'hospitalité princière de Cimon d'Athènes d'après Théophraste. On comprend qu'Ambroise cherche dans la Bible un exemple qui soit au moins aussi important, aussi grandiose et il le trouve d'autant plus naturellement en Abraham que c'est ce patriarche qui lui sert au livre I du *De Abraham* à traiter de l'hospitalité".

¹⁶³ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 21 107.

*Deum hospitalitatis gratia, ut ne potus quidem aquae frigidae a praemiis remunerationis immunis sit*¹⁶⁴.

D'altronde, dietro l'ospite si cela Cristo, motivo più che valido perché si conceda ospitalità a tutti: *licet in hospite sit Christus, quia Christus in paupere est*¹⁶⁵. Il cristianesimo, fra l'altro, rielabora la figura dell'ospite, come quella del povero in genere, come ipostasi terrena di Cristo: secondo il fondamento biblico e religioso dei riti di ospitalità, il povero, l'indigente, il forestiero, che riceve il dono, non è che una mera *figura Christi*, e, in quanto tale, non può non essere accolto da coloro che ha sommamente beneficiato¹⁶⁶. Notevole il passo in avanti rispetto a Cicerone, che, seppure inviti a distinguersi per ospitalità, dà particolare rilievo all'accoglienza in favore di uomini illustri, azione che permette di godere di autorità e favore presso i popoli stranieri¹⁶⁷. Del resto, nella cultura romana "l'istituzione dell'ospitalità trova fondamento nella concessione al 'diverso' dei diritti di cittadinanza, la qual cosa comporta anche l'ingresso in un sistema di doni e contro-doni"¹⁶⁸.

L'ospitalità obbliga il ricevente ad una controprestazione di valore economico o simbolico superiore rispetto al dono originario, perché il dono è investito di una "forza costringente" che sarebbe male augurante ignorare o soltanto pareggiare. Si potrebbero, comunque, muovere obiezioni sulla "natura interessata" che l'ospitalità pare acquisire anche nel mondo

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ Ambrogio descrive i poveri come la statua di Cristo sulla terra: come si deve onorare l'imperatore nelle statue che lo rappresentano (pena il crimine di lesa maestà), allo stesso modo occorre onorare nel povero l'immagine esteriore di Cristo. Il povero, statua di Dio, esiste per rivelare agli uomini la presenza del divino. Cfr. Ambr. *psalm.*, 118, 10, 25.

¹⁶⁷ Non a caso, Cic. in *off.*, 2, 64, dice che l'ospitalità *reipublicae est ornamento*. R. BERTON, art. cit., p. 320: "Chez Cicéron est en rapport avec la générosité, vertu en qui l'homme trouve estime et gloire. Ambroise en fait une vraie vertu. [...] Ambroise découvre dans l'hospitalité un aspect plus généreux et simple. Cicéron parlait en Romain (*off.*, 2, 18 64: *idque etiam reipublicae est ornamento homines externos hoc liberalitatis genere in urbe nostra non egere*) alors qu'Ambroise élargit sa perspective au monde entier (*off.*, 2, 21 103: *valde id decorum totius est orbis existimatione, peregrinos cum honore suscipere*)".

¹⁶⁸ S. ZANARDO, op. cit., p. 40.

cristiano come atto benevolo, tutto sommato, “a-spontaneo”. Per es., nei miti fondatori, nella pratica antica della *largitio*, nella figura pagana di una Fortuna cieca e volubile, nella carità cristiana finalizzata al premio eterno¹⁶⁹, nella filantropia illuministica il dinamismo del dono viene riversato, secondo Starobinski, in un gesto di ostentazione e di distruttività: sono forme più o meno invadenti di simulazione e contraffazione del dono, in cui generosità e ipocrisia non sono più dissociabili¹⁷⁰.

È comunque innegabile come la sfumatura politica dell’ospitalità, in seno alla tradizione classica, assuma una connotazione “cattolica” e latamente filantropica nell’autore cristiano¹⁷¹. Ambrogio si confronta, seppure risemantizzandoli, con i modelli etici paradigmatici della tradizione pagana, perché, sul piano dell’azione sociale, c’è corrispondenza di interessi, sia per pratiche come l’ospitalità, sia per la condotta da tenere in pubblico, come il modo di acquistarsi credito con la concessione di favori. Infatti, “il *de officiis ministrorum* è opera di mediazione fra una morale del comportamento ancorata ai valori del vivere civile ed un insegnamento etico che, pur basandosi su una visione trascendente, per il ruolo pubblico assunto dalla Chiesa (e dalle sue alte gerarchie), deve tradursi in attività capaci di incidere sul contesto sociale”¹⁷².

E non si può non sottoscrivere quanto espresso dal Deman in relazione alla particolare morale plasmata dal vescovo milanese:

La théologie morale en effet signale la connaissance chrétienne des mœurs élevée à la dignité scientifique. Elle constitue un savoir élaboré qui n’a rien à envier aux achèvements de la phi-

¹⁶⁹ P. GILBERT, op. cit., p. 67: “Sulla base dell’analisi proposta da Derrida, se vi è qualcosa come un dono, come un vero atto del donare, quest’ultimo non può e non deve attendere o sperare alcuna ricompensa, neppure quella relativa alla ‘resurrezione dei giusti’”.

¹⁷⁰ Cfr. S. ZANARDO, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

¹⁷¹ Qui, più che altrove, possiamo dire, con Pierre de Labriolle, che “*en même temps que chez Ambroise la morale chrétienne affirme son originalité, elle s’assimile tout ce que la morale païenne peut lui offrir d’excellent*” (P. DE LABRIOLLE, “Le *de officiis ministrorum* de St-Ambroise et le *de officiis* de Cicéron”, *Revue des cours et conférences*, 15/2 (1908), p. 178).

¹⁷² F. E. CONSOLINO, “Gli *exempla*”, art. cit., p. 351.

losophie. Or, si saint Ambroise ne nous a point laissés entièrement dépourvus en ce qui concerne la qualité chrétienne de la vie morale, il ne montre pour la constitution d'une science chrétienne des mœurs qu'une médiocre inclination. On oserait dire même qu'il s'y oppose, tant sa méfiance est visible¹⁷³.

10. *Il padre-benefattore*

Il fedele cristiano deve mettere in opera quanto apprende dalle Scritture: questa è la modalità privilegiata attraverso cui è possibile *conlatam... gratiam officiis repraesentare*¹⁷⁴. Ne sono esempio gli apostoli Pietro e Paolo che, attraverso l'opera di evangelizzazione, *vicem largitori muneris reddiderunt*¹⁷⁵, ovviamente intendendo il *munus Dei* come il dono della grazia divina, "ripagata" con buone azioni terrene. In ultima istanza, la concessione di qualsiasi beneficio è vista come ricompensa a Dio, sommo datore di ogni bene¹⁷⁶, autentico *Über-patron*.

Anche il vescovo deve concedere benefici ai suoi subordinati nell'osservanza della giustizia e usando deferenza nei confronti di sacerdoti e diaconi, che è bene tratti alla stregua di familiari¹⁷⁷, come un padre nei confronti dei figli: si tratta di una metafora, quella padre/figlio, che conosce ampia fortuna in ambito cristiano¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷³ T. DEMAN, art. cit., p. 419.

¹⁷⁴ Ambr. *off.*, 1, 32 165.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ A. NAWROCKA, "L'état d'études concernant l'influence de l'éthique de Cicéron sur l'éthique de Saint Ambroise", *Helikon*, 28 (1988), p. 318: "L'éthique chrétienne identifie le bonheur suprême avec le bien suprême personifié par Dieu qui est le fond-même et l'essence de la vie humaine".

¹⁷⁷ Ambr. *off.*, 2, 24 121: *Sed et sacerdotem beneficiis suis vel iudiciis favere convenit, ut aequitatem custodiat, et presbytero vel ministro deferre ut parenti.*

¹⁷⁸ Davidson, nel commento ad Ambr. *off.*, 1, 7, 24, op. cit., p. 468, fa notare il parallelismo tra Panezio, che scrive per il suo *filius/discipulus* Posidonio, Cicerone, che scrive per il *filius* Marco, e Ambrogio che scrive per i suoi *fili*, ossia per il clero milanese. Ambrogio mostra chiaramente la sua attitudine paterna nei confronti dei destinatari del trattato e sottolinea la "coniugabilità" dell'idea cristiana della paternità spirituale con le posizioni dei filosofi precedenti. Lungi dal nascondere il suo debito nei confronti del testo ciceroniano, Ambrogio rimarca la sua continuità con la tradizione classica, opportunamente incastonata nel pensiero biblico: Ambrogio, quindi, si presenta

Infatti, Ambrogio e gli autori cristiani in generale risemantizzano nell'ottica religiosa la figura del padre donatore di benefici ai figli, configurando il loro Dio come padre/benefattore universale degli uomini/beneficati: proprio perché padre-elargitore di tutti doni di cui godono gli uomini, Dio può chiedere loro la restituzione di ciò che, in ultima istanza, gli appartiene, pur se si tratta di figli naturali. Così nel caso di Abramo che, ricevuto un figlio da Dio secondo promessa, non rifiuta di "ridonarlo" in sacrificio a Dio che glielo richiede¹⁷⁹. Per inciso, si ricordi che la figura di Dio, sommo padre-benefattore, è delineata dagli autori cristiani secondo connotati già rilevabili nella figura del *pater-princeps*, per es., nel *Panegirico* di Plinio a Traiano¹⁸⁰.

D'altronde, nella cultura latina è corrente l'assimilazione di colui che eroga benefici alla figura paterna. A Roma, il *pater* si caratterizza per la sua capacità di conferire benefici, a partire dal dono stesso della vita. Anzi, il *beneficium datae vitae* si configura come un dono irrisarcibile da parte del figlio, perché qualunque sua controprestazione, dipendendo comunque dal primo beneficio paterno, non potrebbe mai eguagliarlo appieno¹⁸¹. Del resto, il dono religioso presuppone una dimensione intrinsecamente asimmetrica, sia per la distanza gerarchica tra benefattore e beneficiato, sia per l'incommensurabilità esistente fra il dono e l'eventuale contraccambio¹⁸²: in ultima istanza, il debito insolubile che il cristiano, *homo salvandus*, contrae nei confronti di Dio è del tutto simile a quello inerente al rapporto fra padre e figlio¹⁸³.

come un "padre" spirituale "per grazia", che, in quanto tale, ha ogni diritto di agire per il bene dei propri "figli". Sullo stesso argomento, cfr. I. J. DAVIDSON, "Ambrose's", art. cit., p. 316, il quale fa un elenco di tutti i passi del trattato in cui Ambrogio rivendica la propria paternità spirituale nei confronti del clero e, in senso lato, dell'intera comunità dei fedeli.

¹⁷⁹ Vd. Ambr. *off.*, 1, 25 118.

¹⁸⁰ Cfr. P. BROWN, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire*, London, 2002, p. 70 sgg.

¹⁸¹ Cfr. M. LENTANO, *Il dono e il debito. Verso un'antropologia del beneficio nella cultura romana*, in *Römische Werte als Gegenstand der Altertumswissenschaft*, hrs. A. HALTENHOFF - A. HEIL - F. MUTSCHLER, München - Leipzig, 2005, pp. 136-142.

¹⁸² Cfr. I. FRIEDRICH-SILBER, art. cit., pp. 49-50.

¹⁸³ Cfr. B. NEIL, art. cit., p. 243.

L'esperienza della paternità può aiutarci a comprendere la natura del legame del dono, esperienza nella quale non si stabilisce alcuna reciprocità, anzi viene meno la possibilità stessa della restituzione, e non vi è alcun avvio di una dinamica dello scambio. "Il padre non diventa tale perché desidera esserlo: egli si trova ad essere padre perché dona la vita al figlio, perché desidera il figlio al di là di ogni sua possibile ed eventuale risposta"¹⁸⁴.

11. Conclusioni

L'articolo, analizzando i passi ambrosiani esplicitamente dedicati alla riflessione *de beneficentia* e ai temi connessi¹⁸⁵, mira ad indagarne punti di continuità e/o di rottura con il modello ciceroniano, non trascurando i possibili influssi della teorizzazione senecana *de beneficiis*. Il *De officiis ministrorum* rivela un'innequivocabile impronta classica, già a partire dal titolo, ma è, allo stesso tempo, opera autonoma e compiuta di un vescovo consapevole delle esigenze del suo tempo¹⁸⁶ e del

¹⁸⁴ P. GILBERT, op. cit., p. 75. In particolare, S. Petrosino, nella parte intitolata "Il figlio ovvero del padre. Sul dono ricevuto", pp. 49-86, riflette sulla possibilità del figlio di "restituire" al padre generando un figlio; il donatario "restituisce" al donatore facendosi egli stesso donatore per un altro donatario. È questa l'unica "reciprocità non reciproca" possibile, dal momento che nel rapporto padre/figlio è esclusa ogni possibilità di "far tornare i conti" in parità. Il legame attorno al quale si annoda il dono è complesso perché ogni soggetto si trova qui non solo a svolgere contemporaneamente i due ruoli (donatore/donatario), ma anche a svolgerli sempre verso soggetti che sono irriducibilmente diversi.

¹⁸⁵ I passi del trattato ambrosiano esplicitamente dedicati al tema della *beneficentia* sono I, 30-34, II, 16 e II, 21-25.

¹⁸⁶ A. MICHEL, "Du *de officiis* de Cicéron à Saint Ambroise: la théorie des devoirs", in *L'etica cristiana nei secoli III e IV: eredità e confronti. XXIV incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana. Roma, 4-6 maggio 1995*, Roma, 1996, p. 44: "Par tout ce qu'il doit à Cicéron, son christianisme est un humanisme. Cela se manifeste aussi dans ses prises de position devant les problèmes du temps. Un de plus beaux passages du *De officiis ministrorum* est constitué par les reproches qu'il adresse à ses compatriotes parce que, devant la pénurie qui menaçait, ils chassaient les étrangers qu'ils avaient d'abord accueillis en nombre dans leurs murs. Il répond par une forte et profonde défense du droit d'accueil et de l'hospitalité. Il cite la formule fameuse de Térence: '*Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto*'".

livello socio-culturale dei suoi interlocutori. In particolare, i passi sopra analizzati denotano chiaramente la volontà di coniugare la riflessione pagana precedente, e nello specifico stoica e ciceroniana, con le nuove esigenze di una cristianità filantropica ed universale¹⁸⁷ chiamata a rispondere a problemi contingenti, quali la povertà urbana o la redistribuzione delle offerte devolute all'istituto ecclesiastico. A Sant'Ambrogio va riconosciuto il merito di "aver portato nel campo latino cristiano per la prima volta e consapevolmente l'insegnamento platonico-stoico delle virtù. La portata e il successo di questo suo impegno sono testimoniati dalla vasta diffusione della sua opera, della quale, nonostante grosse perdite nei secoli posteriori, conosciamo più di trenta manoscritti fino all'undicesimo secolo"¹⁸⁸.

Ambrogio, del resto, si sforzò di far seguire coerentemente alle parole i fatti, tant'è vero che egli stesso, consacrato vescovo, donò tutti i suoi beni ai poveri, soldato nudo e spedito come Gesù Cristo, secondo quanto ci racconta il suo biografo Paolino di Milano. Nel trattato ambrosiano trovano spazio "le qualità perennemente vive del 'moralismo' romano inteso nel senso più largo: confessione e testimonianza di un'esperienza, volontà di affrontare i problemi del proprio tempo e di riesaminare la propria vita, delicata sensibilità agli affetti umani"¹⁸⁹.

Il vescovo di Milano opta per una risemantizzazione in chiave cristiana di istituti precedentemente diffusi nella società

¹⁸⁷ J. T. MUCKLE, "The '*De officiis ministrorum*' of Saint Ambrose. An Example of the Process of the Christianisation of the Latin Language", *Mediaeval Studies*, 1 (1939), p. 63 sgg., sostiene, con dati testuali, come Ambrogio non operi con concetti eterogenei rispetto al pensiero cristiano, bensì adatti il *corpus* lessicale attinto dalla terminologia stoica al relativo contenuto cristiano della sua opera. Per es., ne dà conferma A. MICHEL, art. cit., p. 43: "Ambroise rejoint ce qu'il y a d'essentiel dans l'esprit évangélique: bienheureux les pauvres, car ils verront Dieu. Une telle conception du devoir rejoint le Stoïcisme dans la distinction établie entre les complaisances et le renoncement, entre la richesse et le dépouillement, entre le plaisir et la joie", in riferimento a *off.*, 2, 6 23.

¹⁸⁸ K. ZELZER, art. cit., pp. 55-56. Sull'efficacia dei libri e dei trattati ecclesiastici nella promozione di pratiche oblativie e caritatevoli, cfr. R. FINN, op. cit., p. 128 sgg.

¹⁸⁹ J. FONTAINE, op. cit., p. 96.

romana, come il patronato o l'evergetismo pubblico, o ancora l'ospitalità. In particolare, l'identificazione povero/ospite/Cristo¹⁹⁰ permette ad Ambrogio di dare una piena giustificazione escatologica a comportamenti altrimenti privi di senso, e di farli apparire, agli occhi dei nobili pagani convertitisi o in procinto di farlo, in linea di continuità con gli usi e i costumi del passato: pertanto, il clero romano è indotto a "investire il sistema 'elemosinario' cristiano di una panoplia architettonica e cerimoniale di forte risonanza 'classica'"¹⁹¹. In ciò si potrebbe vedere, forse con un'ipotesi un po' azzardata, sia il tentativo "politico" di acquistare consenso alla Chiesa cristiana, sia l'esigenza concreta di risolvere problemi sociali di cui la Chiesa si era ormai fatta carico per "professione di fede"¹⁹².

Pur dai brevi passi analizzati, emerge chiaramente il carattere estremamente pragmatico del trattato, che, se da un lato, è opera di persuasione alla nuova morale cristiana, dall'altro, si configura anche come un "protrettico" alle buone azioni, che, per il tramite dei sacerdoti, devono permeare la comunità religiosa e non, assicurandone il benessere collettivo. Tenuto conto del fatto che il trattato ambrosiano, in pratica, si configura come prima opera morale cristiana¹⁹³, ben si capisce

¹⁹⁰ Probabilmente, l'assimilazione poveri/stranieri è anche effetto della creazione di istituzioni caritatevoli, basate sui principi "natural" dell'ospitalità accordata allo straniero e al viaggiatore, come le numerose case d'accoglienza per pellegrini e stranieri sorte in Occidente in età tardoantica e medievale. Cfr. C. FREU, op. cit., p. 288. Il concetto "sovrappositivo" delle figure povero/ospite/Cristo si trova già in Matth. 25, 34-46.

¹⁹¹ P. BROWN, art. cit., p. 132.

¹⁹² G. BANTERLE, *I doveri di Sant'Ambrogio*, Roma, 1977, p. 15: "Il *De officiis* rispecchia fedelmente una situazione nella quale la Chiesa era chiamata ad intervenire con il suo insegnamento e con la sua azione tempestiva ed efficace. [...] Temi come quelli, per es., della giustizia e della proprietà, del riscatto degli schiavi, della frode, della speculazione fanno di questo scritto non solo un trattato di morale ecclesiastica e individuale, ma, in un certo senso, anche un codice di morale sociale".

¹⁹³ G. MADEC, *Saint Ambroise et la philosophie*, Paris, 1974, pp. 161-165, passa in rassegna le tesi in merito dei principali studiosi di Ambrogio, per pervenire alla conclusione secondo cui il vescovo milanese avrebbe soltanto voluto educare i suoi figli spirituali, senza alcuna ambizione di fondare la teologia morale né, tantomeno, di marcare una tappa decisiva nella storia delle idee.

l'impianto teoretico, tutto sommato fragile, su cui poggia: "*il reste trop d'inquiétude apologétique chez Ambroise, et son souci scientifique, généralement médiocre, se montre dans les matières morales particulièrement insuffisant. Il était bien à penser après tout qu'une science théologique des mœurs ne s'érigerait pas sans délais ni complications à l'intérieur du christianisme*"¹⁹⁴.

Ambrogio, appropriandosi di immagini classiche frammiste agli *exempla* biblici¹⁹⁵, riadatta la lezione pagana al mondo tardoantico che, sebbene in un mutato contesto storico-sociale, si trova ad affrontare problemi e situazioni non del tutto dissimili da quelli del passato, e in cui il cristianesimo trionfante ha ormai assunto il ruolo di guida della società parallelamente al potere civile costituito: suggestiva l'immagine delineata dal Hiltbrunner, secondo cui nel pensiero ambrosiano "*es ist immer wieder ein und dasselbe Haus, das für die Bedürfnisse eines neuen Bewohners umgebaut wird. Die Fassade bleiben stehen, die Veränderungen gehen hinter ihnen vor sich*"¹⁹⁶.

Il cristianesimo teorico si "incarna" nella concreta realtà quotidiana, per far fronte alla quale Ambrogio, rappresentante dell'istituzione cristiana, attraverso il filtro biblico e let-

¹⁹⁴ T. DEMAN, art. cit., p. 422. Diametralmente opposta la tesi della Nawrocka, secondo cui Ambrogio non avrebbe né cristianizzato Cicerone, né modificato le proprie tesi in base agli insegnamenti cristiani: piuttosto, il vescovo milanese avrebbe plasmato un'etica "teoantropocentrica". "Chacun de ses principes moraux conduit, en même temps vers Dieu que vers l'existence sociale de l'homme" (A. NAWROCKA, art. cit., p. 321). Ciononostante, "les deux œuvres, dans leurs points de vue sur la vie, l'un par l'anthropocentrisme de son éthique, l'autre par son théoanthropocentrisme, tendent à l'humanisation des relations humaines de leurs époques" (*ibid.*, p. 324).

¹⁹⁵ M. TESTARD, "Observations", art. cit., p. 249, ben sintetizza il metodo di lavoro proprio del vescovo milanese: "L'on sait que c'est une méthode de travail privilégiée de l'auteur du *De officiis ministrorum*, de rechercher des concordances entre le vocabulaire de la philosophie et le vocabulaire de la Bible. L'évêque y voit à la fois un moyen de démontrer l'antériorité de l'Écriture sur les philosophes qui sont censés en dépendre, et un moyen de légitimer l'usage qu'il fait lui-même de ce vocabulaire". Sull'argomento vd. anche G. MADEC, op. cit., pp. 179-186.

¹⁹⁶ O. HILTBRUNNER, art. cit., p. 178.

terario¹⁹⁷, fornisce un manuale pratico di comportamento¹⁹⁸, non scevro dal retaggio della stessa predicazione evangelica, intesa nella sua portata polemica contro una società basata essenzialmente sull'apprezzamento dei beni terreni e sul più sfrenato edonismo. L'opera ambrosiana, quindi, si iscrive a pieno titolo nel solco di una morale pragmatica, che, pur non abiurando la teoresi filosofica, se ne serve solo superficialmente, quasi con una funzione esornativo-persuasiva¹⁹⁹, risetto al fine ultimo di additare pratiche di beneficenza consone con la nuova società cristiana: di qui la scelta di seguire, in una dimensione di "continuità-nel-cambiamento", il modello ciceroniano, piuttosto che quello senecano, anche se cronologicamente più distante²⁰⁰.

¹⁹⁷ Il discorso ambrosiano consiste in un autentico *mélange* di prospettive classiche e scritturistiche, frutto della sua formazione classica e della sua "rieducazione" nelle Scritture, tale che la sua opera rivela una forma, anche dal punto di vista linguistico, classica, infarcita di *exempla* biblici. Cfr. I. J. DAVIDSON, "The *Vita Beata*", art. cit., pp. 218-219. Negli anni giovanili Ambrogio ebbe una frequentazione assidua con i classici latini, in special modo con Cicerone e Virgilio: cfr., in merito, M. D. DIEDERICH, *Vergil in the works of St. Ambrose*, Washington, 1931.

¹⁹⁸ E. FRATTINI, art. cit., pp. 762-763: "L'opera rivela l'impronta inconfondibile del vescovo latino, uomo d'azione alieno dalla speculazione astratta, volto soprattutto ai problemi della vita morale". Per es., più sopra lo studioso sottolinea come nel trattato Ambrogio si riveli preoccupato non tanto di suggerire rimedi a certe ingiustizie dell'umana società, quanto, piuttosto, di evitare che tali ingiustizie possano riflettersi negativamente sulle anime e sulla loro eterna salute. Del resto, "church preachers from the fourth century onward often resorted to familiar economic language of lending and loans in order to communicate how lay people might better invest their surplus resources", in un contesto in cui "all alms were given, at least to some extent, with an eye to the afterlife and in a spirit of self-interest" (D. CANER, art. cit., p. 331).

¹⁹⁹ O. HILTBRUNNER, art. cit., p. 179: "In der Morallehre sah er keine Aufgabe der Philosophie. Ein Christ braucht nicht wie die Philosophen nach den ethischen Prinzipien erst zu forschen, denn sie sind ihm in der heiligen Schrift und in der sichtbaren Schöpfung von Gott offenbart. Ethik heißt demnach Auslegung und Erläuterung der unverrückbar feststehenden göttlichen Gebote, der Gesetzesauslegung der Juristen näher verwandt als dem philosophischen Suchen nach neu aufzuspürenden Prinzipien".

²⁰⁰ Sulla scelta del modello ciceroniano, cfr. A. NAWROCKA, art. cit., p. 320 sgg.

Summary

In Ambrose's *De officiis ministrorum* some passages deal with *beneficia* and *beneficientia*: according to the traditional description of the *princeps-pater*, here God appears as a central figure in the gift world. God hereafter dispenses an abundant compensation to give new significance to the *beneficientia inter pares*. The *beneficium* creates a joining of society because of grace ties in the Church community. Ambrose rewrites human habits in the framework of a 'ultramundane eternal' that belittles worldly goods, but doesn't escape contemporary social phenomena. Ambrose urges his audience to *miser cordia* as gift relation's first step and to the Christian theory of poor and guest as Christ's earthly incarnations.

A new critical edition of Augustine's *sermo* 170

With a tentative analysis of the stemmatic
position of the *De lapsu mundi* collection*

by

Shari BOODTS

(Leuven)

This article aims to provide a new critical edition of Augustine's sermon 170, accompanied by an introduction in which the sermon's particular transmission is used to analyze the stemmatic position of a medieval collection of Augustinian sermons, titled *De lapsu mundi*.¹ This collection, which is well represented in the manuscripts, probably dates back to the end of the eleventh, beginning of the twelfth century and originated in Bourgogne. The majority of the collection's twenty-five sermons were borrowed from two older collec-

* I would like to thank Prof. G. Partoens and Prof. L. De Coninck for their comments on a first draft of this article and the accompanying edition.

¹ Descriptions of this collection and its principal witnesses include: C. LAMBOT, "Collection antique de sermons de saint Augustin", *Revue Bénédictine*, 57 (1947), pp. 89-108 (esp. 93-94); C. LAMBOT, "Les sermons LX et CCCLXXXIX de Saint Augustin sur l'aumône", *Revue Bénédictine* 58 (1948), pp. 23-52 (esp. 31-33); *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Sermones de Vetere Testamento*. Recensuit C. LAMBOT, Turnhout, 1961 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 41), pp. xvii-xviii and xxxiii; P.-P. VERBRAKEN, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin*, Steenbrugge - Den Haag, 1976 (Instrumenta Patristica, 12), 230-231; G. PARTOENS, "Le sermon 151 de saint Augustin. Introduction et édition", *Revue Bénédictine* 113 (2003), pp. 18-70 (esp. 31-32 and 40), and *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in Matthaëum*. I. Ediderunt P.-P. VERBRAKEN - L. DE CONINCK - B. COPPIETERS 't WALLANT - R. DE-MEULENAERE - Fr. DOLBEAU, Turnhout, 2008 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 41Aa), pp. xli-xlii.

tions, the Arlesian *Collectio Lugdunensis* and the antique *De alleluia* collection. The focus of this article lies primarily on the stemmatic position of *De lapsu mundi* within the general transmission of Augustine's *sermones ad populum*, though a few remarks on specific *De lapsu mundi* witnesses are also made. A particular point of interest is the development of a recent observation² concerning four German and Austrian *homiliaria* which appear to reveal traces of an earlier version of the *De lapsu mundi* collection. We would like to indicate at the outset that, for the sake of clarity, we will distinguish between the hypothetical earlier version of *De lapsu mundi* and the *De lapsu mundi* collection as it was described in Verbraken³ by identifying the former with the Greek letter λ and the latter with the siglum *l*.

1. Introduction

Augustine's sermon 170, which occupies col. 927-933 in vol. 38 of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, offers an exegetical analysis of Phil. 3, 6-16, through which Augustine warns his audience to not consider themselves to be just when abiding by the law, but to direct their efforts and desires toward eternal life, emphasizing that only God's judgment and God's grace can deliver them from their sins. The sermon is transmitted directly in three of the collections identified by Lambot and Verbraken⁴ as well as in the aforementioned *homiliaria*.

The first and oldest is the *Collectio Lugdunensis*, an Arlesian collection – categorized as such because it bears the mark of Caesarius of Arles, who compiled and adapted a large number of Augustine's sermons⁵ – which is known to us through

² G. PARTOENS, "A more original version of s. 142 of Saint Augustine", *Augustiniana*, 60 (2010), pp. 119-144 (esp. 124).

³ P.-P. VERBRAKEN (1976), pp. 230-231.

⁴ C. LAMBOT (1961), pp. viii-xxiv and P.-P. VERBRAKEN (1976), pp. 197-234.

⁵ For further details on the Arlesian collections, see C. LAMBOT (1961), pp. xiii-xvi; P.-P. VERBRAKEN (1976), pp. 210-218 and L. DE CONINCK (2008), pp. xxix-xxxiv. More information on Caesarius of Arles is available in and through *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Sermones nunc primum in unum collecti et ad leges artis criticae ex innumeris mss. recogniti*. Studio et diligentia

an incomplete manuscript dating back to the early seventh century, currently distributed over three codices: Lyon, Bibl. mun. 788, Lyon, Bibl. mun. 604 – which contains s. 170 – and Paris, Bibl. Nat., n.a.l. 1594.⁶ The original codex was already damaged in the ninth century – at which time it resided in Lyon – through the loss of a number of folia, causing lacunae and contaminations in and between several sermons.⁷ These defects have made it easy to identify those more recent collections that used the *Collectio Lugdunensis* as a source model, among which is also *De lapsu mundi* (= *l*). The original codex of the *Collectio Lugdunensis* was kept in the Cathedral Library of Lyon, where it was annotated by Florus of Lyon and served as a source for several fragments in his *Expositio beati Pauli collecta ex libris sancti Augustini*.⁸ The collection as an abstract entity as well as its unique witness are represented in this article by the *siglum* *F*.

The second collection, the aforementioned *De lapsu mundi*, is a medieval collection of French origin, dating back to the late eleventh or early twelfth century. It is made up of at least ten sermons from the *Collectio Lugdunensis* in its fragmented state as well as a series from the antique *De alleluia* collection.⁹ The selection from *De alleluia* is largely the same as that incorporated in another collection, titled the *Collectio Bruxellensis*, though there appears to be no connection on the level of textual variants between this collection and *De lapsu mundi*. The title of the collection stems from the beginning of the first article. The manuscript witnesses to *De lapsu mundi*

D. Germani MORIN, 2 vols., Turnhout, 1953 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 103-104).

⁶ Additional information and further general bibliography on this collection, as well as on every other collection mentioned in this introduction, can be found in L. DE CONINCK (2008), pp. xiv-lxiii. Specifically on Lyon Bibl. mun. 604, see <http://florus.bm-lyon.fr/>, where the manuscript is described in detail and can be accessed digitally in its entirety.

⁷ L. DE CONINCK (2008), p. xxxii.

⁸ See C. LAMBOT (1961), pp. 100, 287, 432 and *Augustin d'Hippone. Vingt-six sermons au peuple d'Afrique*. Retrouvés à Mayence, édités et commentés par Fr. DOLBEAU, Paris, 1996 (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité, 147), p. 537. Cf. also n. 22.

⁹ Cf. n. 6.

will be referred to with the *sigla* L^1 , L^2 etc. A list of all *De lapsu mundi* witnesses used in this article can be found on pp. 208-209.

The third collection is *De uerbis domini et apostoli*, a large and very widely distributed medieval compilation, dating from the beginning of the eighth century at the latest. However, *s.* 170 only occurs in a few manuscripts of this collection, as it is not part of the original core of *De uerbis domini et apostoli* sermons, but was added at a later time – perhaps by Florus of Lyon himself, making use once again of his codex containing the *Collectio Lugdunensis* – in an expanded and reorganized version of the *De uerbis domini et apostoli* collection¹⁰. This adapted redaction is represented here by two manuscripts¹¹: Dijon, Bibl. mun. 143 (110) (XII 1/2), orig. and prov. Cîteaux – receiving the siglum V^{70} – and London, Brit. Libr. Add. 10942 (XII mid. or 3/4), orig. La Charité (diocese of Besançon) – receiving the siglum V^{71} .¹²

In addition to these collections, *s.* 170 is also present in four *homiliaria* of German and Austrian origin: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 237 (Helmst. 204) (1178-1191), orig. and prov.: monastery of Lamspringe,

¹⁰ See G. PARTOENS, “Une version augmentée de la collection médiévale de sermons augustiniens *De uerbis Domini et Apostoli*. Son importance pour la transmission de l’œuvre homilétique de l’évêque d’Hippone”, *Recherches augustiniennes et patristiques*, 35 (2007), pp. 189-237 and for Florus’ likely involvement in the expanded version of *De uerbis domini et apostoli*, esp. G. PARTOENS (2007), pp. 207-217.

¹¹ There is a third known witness within the *De uerbis domini et apostoli* tradition that represents the same augmentation and reorganization, namely Augsburg, Univ. II.1.2°200 (1474-1476), orig. written by Michael Staynprunner, prior to the abbey of Heilig Kreuz at Donauwörth, prov. Maihingen library of Oettingen-Wallerstein (described in H. HILG, *Lateinische mittelalterliche Handschriften in folio der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg. Cod. II.1.2°91-226.*, Wiesbaden, 1999 (Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, I: Die lateinische Handschriften, 2), pp. 341-345), but this manuscript is no longer consultable due to the value of its binding.

¹² See also G. PARTOENS (2003), pp. 18-70, esp. 34 and 42; G. PARTOENS, “Le sermon 131 de saint Augustin. Introduction et édition”, *Augustiniana*, 54 (2004), pp. 35-77; G. PARTOENS (2007), pp. 189-237 (includes further bibliography) and *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in epistolas apostolicas*. I. Recensuit G. PARTOENS, Turnhout, 2008 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 41Ba), pp. cxlii-clii.

which will henceforth be indicated with the siglum *W*,¹³ Melk, Stiftsbibliothek 432 (218) (XV), designated with the siglum *M*,¹⁴ and Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 1495 (XV)¹⁵ and lat. 4730 (XV)¹⁶, which will only be mentioned in passing in the remainder of this article and therefore do not require their own sigla.¹⁷ These collections and manuscripts make up the direct transmission of *s.* 170.¹⁸

¹³ See O. VON HEINEMANN, *Die Helmstedter Handschriften*. Vol. 1. *Codex Guelferbytanus 1 Helmstadiensis bis 500 Helmstadiensis, Kataloge der Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. Die alte Reihe*. 1.1, Frankfurt am Main, 1963, p. 185 and R. KURZ, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*. Band V. *Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Westberlin*. 2. *Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken*, Wien, 1979 (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur Herausgabe des Corpus der lateinischen Kirchenväter, 10. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 350), pp. 508-509.

¹⁴ See *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in bibliotheca monasterii Melicensis O.S.B. seruantur*. Vol. I, Vindobonae, 1889, pp. 300-315; D. WEBER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*. Band VI. *Österreich*. 2. *Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken*, Wien, 1993 (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur Herausgabe des Corpus der lateinischen Kirchenväter, 12. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 601), pp. 199-201 and R. ÉTAIX, "Trois nouveaux sermons à restituer à la collection du pseudo-Maxime", *Revue Bénédictine*, 97 (1987), pp. 28-41 (esp. 28-29).

¹⁵ See D. WEBER (1993), pp. 353-355.

¹⁶ See D. WEBER (1993), pp. 409-410.

¹⁷ G. Partoens has used Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 4730 because it retained the largest number of items from the *Collectio Lugdunensis*. As this is not of primordial importance for our textual analysis based on *s.* 170, we have chosen to use the more readily available Melk, Stiftsbibliothek 432 (218).

¹⁸ *S.* 170 is also present in the fifth section of the *Collectorium* of Roberto de' Bardi. According to G. POZZI, "La 'Tabula' di Jean de Fayt al 'Collectorium' di Roberto de' Bardi", in *Miscellanea G. G. Meersseman*. Vol. 1, Padova, 1970 (Italia Sacra 15), pp. 257-311, the version of *s.* 170 in the *Collectorium* stems from the *De lapsu mundi* group. G. POZZI, "Il Vat. lat. 479 ed altri codici annotati da Roberto de' Bardi", in *Miscellanea del centro di studi medievali. Serie seconda*, Milan, 1958, pp. 125-166 (esp. 137-138) states that marginal annotations in Paris, Bibl. Arsenal 239 show that de' Bardi has made use of this particular *De lapsu mundi* source, which is also incorporated in our edition. We have therefore considered the *Collectorium*'s testimony as secondhand and disregarded it for our critical text.

C. Lambot¹⁹ has established that the sole extant manuscript witness of the *Collectio Lugdunensis* constitutes the *archetypus* for those collections and sermons that have used the *Collectio Lugdunensis* as a (partial) source. Collations of s. 170 offer no textual evidence to the contrary. There are very few readings²⁰ where Lyon, Bibl. mun. 604 (= *F*) contains an error that is not present in any of the other manuscripts, and these rare variants can all be classified as either grammatical mistakes and rarities or quotations from the Bible, both of which are easily corrected independently or from memory. We can therefore confirm the position of *F* at the top of the stemma, including among its descendants *De lapsu mundi*, the addition of s. 170 within the enlarged version of *De uerbis apostoli*, and – according to the same textual evidence present in s. 170 – also the German and Austrian *homiliaria*.

The status of *F* as *archetypus* also holds true for the most important representative of the indirect transmission,²¹ Florus

¹⁹ C. LAMBOT (1948), pp. 31-33 and C. LAMBOT (1961), p. 7. Lambot's conclusions were confirmed by Fr. DOLBEAU (1996), p. 531.

²⁰ 52 concupiscis] concupiscis *F*, concupisce *L*^{5.6.7a.c.8} 120 omnis] omnes *F* 252 coronabit] coronauit *F* 282 suscitabo] resuscitabo *V*¹⁰ *V*¹¹ *IWM* *vlm* *maur*. [The apparatuses in this article are not absolutely exhaustive. They do contain all significant readings, but exclude those that have little or no value as evidence, e.g. an alteration of *quid* to *quod* or a variation in the spelling of a proper name.]

²¹ Another important indirect witness for Augustine's sermons is Beda Venerabilis. Of s. 170, however, he quotes only one line – insufficient to determine Beda's position within the direct transmission of the sermon – in his *De orthographia*, in order to illustrate the specific use of *quo* instead of *ubi* (l. 969-970 in *Beda's Venerabilis Opera. Pars VI Opera Didascalica I. Cura et studio Ch. W. Jones, Turnhout, 1975* (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 123A): 'Quo aliquando pro ubi ponitur. Augustinus: *Inuenis domum famosam, quo boni habitant, id est ubi habitant*' (the line quoted here is l. 100-101 in our edition of s. 170). The exact same phrase is quoted in an identical fashion by Alcuinus in his own *De orthographia* under *Littera Q* (see col. 915A in vol. 101 of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*). It is interesting to note that, regardless of its recognition in these two works as a legitimate variant, several copyists of s. 170 have regarded *quo* as an error and replaced it with a more commonplace alternative. Additionally, the reading *famosam* instead of *fumosam* (the latter of which can be considered more appropriate in the context as a counterpart to *marmoratam* and as a reiteration of *fumigatam* (l. 101)) is not attested in any of the direct witnesses of s. 170. See also on this passage Fr. DOLBEAU,

of Lyon's *Expositio beati Pauli collecta ex libris sancti Augustini*,²² in which a short fragment from *s.* 170 is quoted.²³ On fol. 66r of *F*, we find a bracket before *totum* (l. 275), indicating the beginning of the quotation in Florus' *Expositio*. On fol. 66v another bracket closes the citation after *alet in patria* (l. 288). Furthermore in the margin of fol. 66v we read 'Cor II' – an indicator from Florus as to the position this fragment was to occupy in his *Expositio*. We can thus state without question that *F* was the direct source model for the fragment of *s.* 170 in Florus' *Expositio*. A circuitous connection through the *De uerbis apostoli* branch – theoretically possible because Florus probably also had a hand in this part of the transmission (cf. *supra*) – can thus be excluded.

The specific transmission of *s.* 170 constitutes an ideal situation to investigate, on a basis of textual evidence, the stemmatic position of *De lapsu mundi* within the wider transmission of Augustine's *sermones ad populum*. In addition to this more general query, we will particularly look into a remark formulated by G. Partoens in a recent publication, about a more original version of *s.* 142,²⁴ in which he analyzes the content and composition of the aforementioned *homiliaria* in relation to both the *Collectio Lugdunensis* and *De lapsu mundi*. He concludes that these four manuscripts (our manuscripts *W* and *M* and the two codices from Vienna) appear to provide a text which is dependent ultimately on the *Collectio Lugdunensis* but was transmitted

Augustin et la prédication en Afrique. Recherches sur divers sermons authentiques, apocryphes ou anonymes, Paris, 2005 (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité, 179), pp. 503-504.

²² Further details on Florus and his work on Augustine's sermons can be found in C. CHARLIER, "La compilation augustinienne de Florus sur l'Apôtre. Sources et authenticité", *Revue Bénédictine*, 57 (1947), pp. 132-167 and a recent publication by L. DE CONINCK - B. COPPIETERS - R. DEMEULENAERE, "Pour une nouvelle édition de la compilation augustinienne de Florus sur l'apôtre", *Revue Bénédictine*, 119 (2009), pp. 317-335.

²³ We have used Troyes, Bibl. mun. 96, which is the most important manuscript witness to Florus' *Expositio*, next to the partially autographical Lyon, Bibl. mun. 484, which is unfortunately incomplete and has lost the section relevant to our edition. In Troyes, Bibl. mun. 96 the fragment in question can be found on fol. 162r.

²⁴ G. PARTOENS, (2010), pp. 119-144.

[...] through the mediation of a collection that contained a group of *L* [= Partoens' *siglum* for *F*] sermons that was very similar to, but not identical with the group of *L* [= *F*] sermons in *De lapsu mundi* as the latter is described by Pierre-Patrick Verbraken in his *Études critiques*.²⁵

Taking this observation one step further, we might hypothesize that the composition of these *homiliaria* hints at the existence of an older version of *De lapsu mundi* (= *λ*), derived also from the *Collectio Lugdunensis* and preserved (partly) in these *homiliaria*, of which *De lapsu mundi* as described by Verbraken (= *l*) is a descendant. Through the incorporation of textual evidence from s. 170 – in addition to the already established links on the level of composition – we may perhaps further develop this suggestion.

2. Stemmatic analysis

A convincing number of readings²⁶ indicates that the two *De uerbis apostoli* manuscripts, Dijon, Bibl. mun. 143 (110) (= *V*¹⁰) and London, Brit. Libr., Add. 10942 (= *V*¹¹), have derived their version of s. 170 from the *Collectio Lugdunensis* through the mediation of a common ancestor. In addition to the errors that the two manuscripts have in common, *V*¹⁰ has its own variant readings, excluding the possibility that s. 170 was transmitted directly from *V*¹⁰ to *V*¹¹. A dependence in the other direction is impossible both on chronological grounds and because *V*¹¹ represents a second stage of the adapted version of *De uerbis apostoli*, whereas *V*¹⁰ is a witness to the first stage (cf. *supra*). It is also worth mentioning that *V*¹⁰ sports several corrections which have brought its text closer to that

²⁵ G. PARTOENS (2010), p. 124. The reference in the quotation is to P.-P. VERBRAKEN (1976), pp. 230-231.

²⁶ **18** his] illis *V*^{10.11} **29-30** propterea] *om.* *V*^{10.11} **47** sibi] *om.* *V*^{10.11} **54** antea] ante *V*^{10.11} **164** iudicio] iudicium *F* *L*^{1.2.4.5.6.7.8.9} *WM* (*e Vulgata*) **175** audiui] audiamus *V*^{10.11} **199** stercora] ista *F*^{a.c.} *V*^{10a.c.11} **205** nunc...perfectum] *om.* *V*^{10a.c.11}, est modo perfectum *V*^{10p.c.} **212** quia] *om.* *V*^{10a.c.11} **229** putes] putetis *V*^{10.11} et] *om.* *V*^{10.11} **232** Sustine Dominum] *om.* *V*^{10.11} **246** Se...die!] *om.* *V*^{10.11} *L*³ **261** sed] *om.* *F*^{a.c.} *V*^{10.11} **274** se] *om.* *V*^{10.11}.

of the *archetypus*, a phenomenon to which we will return below. The two *De uerbis apostoli* witnesses share not a single distinctive error with the *De lapsu mundi* manuscripts (= *l*) and have hardly any readings in common with the *homiliaria*. We can therefore establish *V*¹⁰ and *V*¹¹ as a separate branch in the stemma, descending in a straight line from *F* – a conclusion that is supported historically considering the involvement of Florus in the rearrangement and expansion of *De uerbis apostoli* (cf. *supra*). When we consider the number of readings that differ from those of *F*, we find that the two *V*-witnesses are clearly closer to the *archetypus* than the *De lapsu mundi* manuscripts (= *l*); their text may be judged to be of a better quality.

Moving on to the second branch of the stemma, which may or may not contain both *De lapsu mundi* and the four *homiliaria*, we will first look at Partoens' findings regarding the connections between these witnesses. In his analysis of the presence of authentic *F*-sermons in both *De lapsu mundi* and two of the *homiliaria* – Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 237 (Helmst. 204) (= *W*) and Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 4730 – he found that their contents not only overlap but that the *homiliaria* contain a few additional *F*-sermons, which do not appear in *De lapsu mundi* as identified by Verbraken.²⁷ This suggests that *W* and its companions represent an older, slightly more extensive version (this would be *λ*) of at least the *F*-section present in *De lapsu mundi*.

Two addenda might be made to this hypothesis, the first contributing significantly to the validity of the second. As previously stated, we have chosen to use Melk, Stiftsbibl. 432 (218) (= *M*) instead of either of the Vienna codices in our edition of *s.* 170. We have reason to believe, however, that with regard to certain aspects of its content this manuscript must not be viewed – as it has been thus far – as an isolated volume, but must in fact be connected to another codex, Melk,

²⁷ G. PARTOENS (2010), pp. 125-126: *s.* 191, 2-4, *s.* Wilmart 11, 1 + 3-5 + 6-10 + 12-14.

Stiftsbibl. 210 (217) (XV)²⁸. Though the two manuscripts do not share strong physical resemblances – their script and size differ – they are compatible chronologically. Their origin is unknown, but it might be considered suggestive that their original catalogue numbers in the library of Melk are consecutive. R. Étaix has already fleetingly suggested that Melk, Stiftsbibl. 432 (218) might be a “volume complémentaire au lectionnaire de l’office”²⁹, noting that the sermons it contains are organized “selon l’ordre du temporel, de l’Avent à la fête de la Trinité, le dimanche octave de Pentecôte” but that the manuscript does not include a single homily on the daily gospel. A superficial analysis of Melk, Stiftsbibl. 210 (217) shows that its content is not limited to sermons on the gospels, so it does not seem that this codex is in fact in its entirety the second half of the combination alluded to by Étaix. However, there is an aspect of the two codices’ composition that is so beautifully complementary that it links the two manuscripts rather decisively. This common ground consists of a series of sermons that almost completely covers the content of the *De lapsu mundi* collection as described by Verbraken (= *l*). As there is not a single sermon from *De lapsu mundi* that appears in both manuscripts, it becomes highly likely that their respective compilers have divided the content of a common model between them. The connection between these two manuscripts then leads to the second addendum we wish to make to Partoens’ analysis. The following table illustrates how those *De lapsu mundi* sermons that derive from the *De alleluia* collection (the second source collection of *De lapsu mundi*) are also, like the sermons from the *Collectio Lugdunensis* section, very well represented in *W* and the combination of the two codices from Melk. This resemblance makes it even more likely that *De lapsu mundi* is somehow connected to *W* and *M*³⁰. For reasons of convenience, we use the siglum *M* here

²⁸ See *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in bibliotheca monasterii Melicensis O.S.B. seruantur*. Vol. I, Vindobonae, 1889, pp. 287-300, G. MORIN (1953), pp. cxix-cxx and D. WEBER (1993), pp. 195-196.

²⁹ R. ÉTAIX (1987), p. 28.

³⁰ Unlike in *W*, the order and location of the sermons in *M* is not reminiscent of that in the possible source collection(s). This is explained through the

for the combination of Melk, Stiftsbibl. 432 (218) and 210 (217). In order to differentiate between the presence of *De lapsu mundi* sermons in either codex, the foliation of Melk, Stiftsbibl. 210 (217) is marked by the use of *italics*.

Ss. <i>l</i> (orig. <i>Coll. Lugd.</i>)	Ss. <i>l</i> (orig. <i>De alleluia</i>)	<i>W</i>	<i>M</i>
s. 60, 1-6 + s. 389, 4-6		fol. 92v-96r	fol. 162v-166v
s. 36		fol. 96r-98r	<i>fol. 128v-131r</i>
s. 38		fol. 98r-100v	<i>fol. 131r-133r</i>
s. 348		fol. 102r-103r	-
s. 2, 1-9 + s. 9, 3-21		fol. 103r-109v	<i>fol. 19r-21v</i>
s. 22		fol. 89v-92v	<i>fol. 70r-72v</i>
s. 170		fol. 86r-89v	fol. 146r-150r
s. 341		fol. 7r-10v	-
<i>app.</i> 65		fol. 3v-4v	<i>fol. 97r-98r</i>
	s. 13	-	<i>fol. 65v-67v</i>
	s. 14	-	<i>fol. 78r-80r</i>
	s. 15	fol. 83v-86r	-
	s. 48	-	<i>fol. 153r-154v</i>
	s. 49	fol. 80v-83v	<i>fol. 154v-157r</i>
	s. 147	-	<i>fol. 96v-97r</i>
	s. 151	fol. 10v-13r	fol. 137v-140v
	s. 349	fol. 13r-14v	fol. 159r-161v
	s. 85	fol. 14v-16r	<i>fol. 122v-123v</i>
	s. 92	-	<i>fol. 146v-147r</i>
	s. 94	fol. 23v-24r	<i>fol. 90r-90v</i>
	s. 107	-	<i>fol. 105r-106r</i>
s. 347, 1-3		fol. 100v-102r	-

This table invites several remarks. Firstly it is noteworthy that though both *W* and *M* (with the incorporation of Melk, Stiftsbibl. 210 (217)) contain almost the entire *De lapsu mundi* collection (= *l*), they do not overlap completely in terms of content. The scant sermons that are missing are not identical in *W* and *M*. We will return to the implications of this fact below. Secondly, the above table does not list all *De lapsu*

purpose of the codex. Cf. R. ÉTAIX (1987), p. 28: "Les sermons sont classés selon l'ordre du temporal, de l'Avent à la fête de la Trinité, le dimanche octave de Pentecôte."

mundi sermons (= *l*). Three sermons, which were not derived from either the *Collectio Lugdunensis* or *De alleluia*, were not added to the overview. We will mention here only that *s.* 91³¹, which is transmitted solely in *De lapsu mundi*, is present in both *W* (fols 4v-7r) and Melk, Stiftsbibl. 210 (217) (fols 144v-146v) and thus constitutes a strong argument in favor of a connection on the level of content between these *homiliaria* and *De lapsu mundi*.³² A third and final remark again concerns what the table does not show. As was the case for the *F*-section of *De lapsu mundi* represented in the *homiliaria*, *W* also contains one additional sermon that is transmitted in the *De alleluia* collection, but is absent from *De lapsu mundi*, *s.* 42. However, this particular sermon is transmitted in *De alleluia*, but also in another collection, titled *Quinquaginta*, which is the source for several sermons in *W*. Therefore the presence of *s.* 42 in *W* does not necessarily mean that the codex contains, also for the *De alleluia*-section, traces of a more extensive version of *De lapsu mundi* (= *λ*).³³

³¹ The remaining two sermons, *s.* 382 and *s.* 393, both considered pseudo-Augustinian, the first present only in *M* (fols. 92v-94v), the second transmitted in *W* (fols. 159v-160v) and Melk, Stiftsbibl. 210 (217) (fols. 65r-65v), provide less clear-cut information. As their origin within the transmission remains hazy, they do not actively contribute to our point here. Cf. *Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi. Volumen I. Opera Homiletica. Pars A (Praefatio) (Ambrosius-Augustinus)*. Cura et studio I. MACHIELSEN, Turnhout, 1990, pp. 101-102 and 104-105.

³² L. DE CONINCK (2008), p. xlii, like C. LAMBOT (notebooks, 62 and 98v) before him, suggests that perhaps *s.* 91 was part of one of the sections at the beginning of codex *F* that are currently lost.

³³ Collations of *s.* 42 in *W* (fols. 169v-170v) have not resulted in a clear, unambiguous attachment to either *De alleluia* or *Quinquaginta* or the third collection in which the sermon is transmitted, *De diuersis rebus*. The first part of the sermon (l. 4-25 in C. LAMBOT's edition of 1961) is missing in the extant *De alleluia* witnesses, proving at least that the version in *W* is not directly connected to *De alleluia* as we know it today. An interesting note can be added regarding l. 14, where all manuscripts of both *Quinquaginta* and *De diuersis rebus* contain (several slight variations of) an extra sentence between *peccatis* and *sine quibus*, which has been eliminated by subsequent editors because of its lack of coherence and meaning: *remittite et remittetur uobis non mortalibus [dico] nisi/nec contemnatur/contemnantur/tenentur/conconnatur*. In *W* there is not a trace of this addition. This fact either connects *W* more closely to the complete *De alleluia* source which served as model for the *Quinquaginta* collection and which did not yet contain the extra line, or it indicates that the

When we then shift our attention to the text of *s.* 170 in these *homiliaria*, we find, first of all, manifest textual support for the fact that neither *W* nor *M* is part of the transmission of the *De lapsu mundi* collection in the form identified by Verbraken (= *l*). The sermon provides a large number of significant readings distinctive to witnesses of *De lapsu mundi* only, clearly delineating the group within the stemma:

18 credimus] *om.* *L*^{1.3.5.6.8.9} 24 nos fecimus] *inu.* *l* 38/39 datorem
fuisse] *inu.* *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8} *am vlim maur* 48 legem] lege *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.9} occul-
tam] occulta *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.9}, occulte *L*⁸ 61 nec] *om.* *L*^{1.2.3.5.6a.c.7.8.9} 62
mundum] in *praem.* *L*^{1.2.3.5.6.7.8.9} 67 persona Adam] *inu.* *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8}
am vlim maur 68/69 soli inquit] *inu.* *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8} *am vlim maur*
72 Spiritus] deus *praem.* *l vlim maur* 76 Vincas] et *praem.* *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.7.8.9}
maur, qui *praem.* *L*⁶ 80 factum] facti *l vlim^{p.c.} maur* 82 est ipse]
inu. *l* 84 Pilato Pontio] *inu.* *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8} *am vlim maur* 86 inui-
dentiae] inuidiae *l* 94 mundi] *om.* *L*^{1.2.4.5.6.8.9} 95 ergo] itaque *l*
am vlim maur 99 dicimus malam] *inu.* *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.9} *vlim domum esse]*
inu. *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7} *vlim* 107 diabolus] *om.* *L*^{1.2.3a.c.4.5.6.7.8.9} *vlim* 114
in...inuenit²] inuenit in te *L*^{1.2.3.5.7.8} *vlim* 116 peperit] concepit *l maur*
118 quam ergo] *inu.* *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8} *vlim* 131 Dei] *om.* *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.8.9}, in
marg. *L*⁷ 132 Attendite] attende *L*^{1.2.4.5.6.7.8.9} 137 Dei] *om.*
L^{1.2.3a.c.4.5.6.7.8.9} 138 latoris legis] *inu.* *l vlim maur* 143 ex] in *l*
vlim maur 158 exigens] exigendo *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.8.9} *vlim maur* 178 se]
om. *L*^{1.2.3a.c.4.5.6.8.9} 181 et] *om.* *l maur* 187 in...Iesu] iesu christi
l vlim 206 ipsa] illa *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8} 230 de] ex *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8} *vlim maur*
243 istis lectionibus] his sermonibus *l vlim maur* 244 mihi dedit]
inu. *l vlim maur* 250 nouissimus] dies *add.* *l am vlim maur* | est]
om. *L* 251 hinc cum] *inu.* *l vlim maur* 253 Totum] nunc *l*
vlim maur 254 nisi] in caelo *add.* *L*^{1.2}, in caelum *add.* *L*^{3.4.5.6.7.8.9}
254/255 ad...aeternam] *om.* *L* 270 et] ne *l am vlim maur*.

These variants allow us to stipulate with certainty that if the *homiliaria* are connected to the branch containing *De lapsu mundi* – which, as we have seen, is strongly suggested by their composition – their twigs branch off higher up in the stemma, above the *hyparchetypus* of *De lapsu mundi* as described by Verbraken (= *l*), at the point where we would hypothetically place *λ*.

Thus far, the *homiliaria* have generally been treated and referred to as a single unit. However, this identification stems solely from the general nature of their content and their geo-

copyist of *W* or one of its ancestors, like the editors, judged the sentence to be inauthentic or faulty and eliminated it. The point remains open to discussion.

graphical proximity. G. Partoens³⁴ has grouped *M* together with the two codices from Vienna, based on a global comparison of the items from the *Collectio Lugdunensis* that each manuscript possesses. Our collations of s. 170 confirm that there is no mutual dependence between *W* on the one hand and the remaining three *homiliaria* on the other hand. *W* and *M* have only two variant readings exclusively in common:

39 alterum] alium *W M am maur* **103** appellas] appellans *W M am vlim maur*.

Both are insufficient to support a claim of a close kinship between the two witnesses.³⁵ Stematically, they have to be viewed as two separate entities. This conclusion is further supported by our earlier observation that *W* and the two codices from Melk have each selected a slightly different set of *De lapsu mundi* sermons. We will therefore treat *W* and *M* individually from here on out.

Whereas ample evidence is available in s. 170 to confirm the existence of a common *hyparchetypus* for all direct *De lapsu mundi* witnesses, s. 170 yields far less conclusive textual proof when we attempt to attach *W* and *M* to the *De lapsu mundi* branch of our stemma. Though it is the case that when either manuscript shares an error with one or more other manuscripts these ‘other manuscripts’ are almost always *De lapsu mundi* sources, the nature of the common variants is such as to inspire caution. We will look first at *W*.

The following apparatus shows all significant readings that *W* shares with a majority of *De lapsu mundi* witnesses:

14/15 Christi Iesu] inu. l *W M am vlim maur* **56/57** Vbi...est] om.
L^{1.2.4.5.6.8.9} *W M am vlim maur* **74** uirilis] hominis *L*^{1.2.4.5.6.7.8.9} *W M*
am maur **100** quo] quam *V*¹¹ *L*^{1.2.4.5.6.7} *W M am vlim maur* **128**
 Infelix] ego add. *L*^{1.2.3.5.6.7.8.9} *W M am vlim maur (e Vulgata)* **149**
 Domine] om. *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.8.9} *W maur (e Vulgata)* **179** ista] istam *V*¹¹
L^{1.3.4.5.6.7.8.9} *W maur* **261** participamur] participamus *V*¹⁰ *L*^{4.5.8} *W*
maur **262** participabimur] participabimus *V*¹⁰ *L*^{1.3.5.6.8} *W maur*.

³⁴ G. PARTOENS (2010), p. 124 n. 29.

³⁵ The first reading, *alterum*, is easily replaced by *alium* under the influence of *alium* on l. 38. As to the second, both forms are grammatically possible and their close similarity makes them quite readily interchangeable.

Though the quantity of these readings is not negligible, their quality has to be deemed questionable. Several of these variants could likely have originated independently in different manuscripts, such as the *saut du même au même* on l. 56/57, the alteration of the grammatically rare *quo* to *quam* on l. 100³⁶ and the changes in Bible quotations on l. 14/15, 128, and 149. Taken as a whole, these readings do not provide the necessary leverage to establish with a significant degree of certainty a *hyparchetypus* between *F* on the one hand and *W* and *l* on the other hand.

Perhaps we can reach a higher degree of probability when we implicate another sermon from the *De lapsu mundi* selection, present in *W*, though this time one from the section modeled after *De alleluia*. A collation of *s.* 15 (to be found in *W* on fols 83v-86r, directly preceding *s.* 170), based on the edition by C. Lambot³⁷, shows us two things. Firstly, the text of *W* seems to be more closely connected to *De lapsu mundi* than to the direct *De alleluia* witnesses.³⁸ Secondly, as was the case in *s.* 170, several typical *De lapsu mundi* mistakes – mostly omissions and inversions – do not occur in *W*.³⁹ The image that arises from *s.* 15 is thus compatible to the results for *s.* 170, namely that of a source which is on the whole more closely connected to *De lapsu mundi* (= *l*) than to the direct witnesses of *De alleluia*, but which goes back to a version of *De lapsu mundi* (= λ) not tainted by the typical mistakes of the collection's preserved witnesses. The incorporation of the results from *s.* 15, combined with the strong

³⁶ See n. 21.

³⁷ C. LAMBOT (1961), pp. 192-201.

³⁸ E.g. **64** nouerat *A*] non errat *l X*, non erret *W* **91** ure renes meos *A*] *om. l X W* **91/92** Proba...me¹ *A*] *om. l X W* **147** a christianis malis *sic emendauerunt maur*] *christanis a malis A*, christianis malis *l X W* **159/160** Vndique palea est, ignis. Sordes pone, non fidem *sic emendauerunt maur*] undique p. e. ignis, sordes. Pone nunc fidem *A*, undique p.e. Ignis sordes punit, non fidem *l W* **209** pauci essent² *A*] *om. l X W* **223/224** quia et torculari *A*] *om. l X W*.

³⁹ E.g. **8** dei *W*] *om. l* **44** id est *W*] idem *l* **60** per diuersa *W*] peruerse *l* **130** bona *W*] omnia *l* **148** hortatori suo *W*] hortanti se *l* **171/172** Si autem...nisi malus *W*^{in marg.}] *om. l* **175/176** quoniam...cor tuum *W*] *om. l* **200** placet tibi *W*] *inu. l* **207** mihi uolo *W*] *inu. l* **211** boni essent *W*] *inu. l*.

argument of *W*'s composition, empowers the limited findings of *s.* 170 to the point where it seems defensible to cautiously suggest a *hyparchetypus* λ , through which *W* is attached to *l*.

Turning then to *M*, we find a very similar situation. The combination of the two codices from Melk constitutes a very strong argument of composition. However, like in *W*, the readings that might support this argument on the level of the text are of questionable value:

14/15 Christi Iesu] *inu. l W M am vlim maur* 33 uersatum] conuer-
satum *l M am vlim maur* 56/57 Vbi...est] *om. L^{1.2.4.5.6.8.9} W M am*
vlm maur 74 uirilil] hominis *L^{1.2.4.5.6.7.8.9} W M am maur* 100
quo] quam *V¹¹ L^{1.2.4.5.6.7} W M am vlim maur* 126 legem] in mem-
bris meis *add. V¹¹ l M am vlim maur (e Vulgata)* 128 Infelix] ego
add. L^{1.2.3.5.6.7.8.9} W M am vlim maur (e Vulgata) 138 uiuit] uiuitur
L^{1.2.4.5.6.7.8.9} M am vlim 172/173 Ne...clamemus] *om. L^{1.2.4.6.7} M am*
vlm 211 futuro] futurorum *V¹¹ l M am vlim maur* 214 caritas
est] *inu. L^{1.2.3.4.5.6.8} M am vlim maur* 230 hac aqua] *inu. L^{1.2.3.5.6.7.8} M*
maur 258 iam²] *om. l M* 283 eos] eum *l M vlim*.

The number of readings that *M* shares with a majority of *De lapsu mundi* witnesses is slightly greater than was the case for *W*, but again the larger part of these variants has to be disregarded, for the same reasons already stated in the section on *W* – *saut du même au même*, changes to Biblical quotations, grammatical oddities that invite emendation etc. In addition to these readings, *M* also occurs in different combinations with one or two *l*-witnesses, but not consistently with the same manuscript so as to detect a certain pattern.⁴⁰

As with *W*, broadening our scope might serve to verify whether the hypothesis of λ remains tenable for *M* as it did for *W*. We will therefore take a closer look at one of the other sermons transmitted both in *M* and *De lapsu mundi*. Two of the sermons in question belong to the section of *De lapsu*

⁴⁰ 75 peperit] et *add. L⁹ M* 85/86 nostra peccata] *inu. V¹¹ L⁹*
M 115 iniquitate] iniquitatibus *L^{2.3} M* 128 imploret] implorat *L⁸*
M 164 Misericorde] misericordia *L⁴ M maur* Domino] domini *L^{4.6} M*
maur 167 addit] addidit *V¹¹ L^{3.8} M maur* 182 existimationis] esti-
mationis *L⁵ M* 183 maximeque] maxime *L⁴ M* 202 possint] possent
L⁸ M maur 233 Intende] attende *L⁷ M* 234 ad] in *L⁶ M* 242
finem] fine *V¹¹ L^{1.2} M maur* 249 hominum] homini *L⁴ M* 275/276
ab...recedere] *om. L^{5.8} M*.

mundi that was modeled after *De alleluia*, namely *s.* 151 and *s.* 349.⁴¹ When we look at the text of *s.* 151⁴² (to be found on fols 137v-141r), we find that *M* corresponds to *De lapsu mundi* or to a cluster of *De lapsu mundi* witnesses in the majority of those readings – which are rather few in number – that are typical for the collection.⁴³ The correspondence is not completely consistent, however, as is shown by readings such as on l. 178 *sed uirtus peccati lex*, which is present in *M*, though it is absent in most of the *De lapsu mundi* sources used.

When we combine the results from the analysis of the stemmatic relation between *De lapsu mundi* and *W* and *M*, to conclude, we find we are presented in fact with three separate traditions which each undeniably transmit (a large part of) the same collection, while at the same time showing relative independence on the level of the text. This situation allows us to tentatively uphold the hypothesis of λ , an older version of *De lapsu mundi*. We would suggest – notably solely on the basis of *s.* 170 – that λ probably transmitted a text very close to that of its models, the *Collectio Lugdunensis* and *De alleluia*, because there are so few errors common to *De lapsu mundi* (= *l*), *W* and *M* – errors which would reveal changes in the text of λ compared to its models. We would like to add, however, that these observations remain to a large extent speculative. Further research of other texts might yield results

⁴¹ Melk, Stiftsbibl. 210 (217), as is evident from the table on p. 6, also contains several sermons from the *De alleluia* section, but – though arguments linking this codex to *M* are very strong indeed – prudence has directed us to choose a sermon for comparison from the same manuscript containing also *s.* 170. Without going into detail, we would like to mention that a brief survey of *s.* 36 in Melk, Stiftsbibl. 210 (217) reveals the same pattern we have found in *s.* 170.

⁴² We have preferred to use this sermon as a modern critical edition is readily available. See G. PARTOENS (2003), p. 56sq. and (2008), pp. 13-30.

⁴³ See G. PARTOENS (2003), pp. 57-70. The most notable resemblances between (a significant majority of) *De lapsu mundi* (witnesses) and *M* occur in the following loci: 17 uoces] uocem *X l C M am vlim maur* 69 uide] uidete *L^{1a.c.2.45} C M am vlim* 73 habet²] habeat *L^{2.3a.c.4.5} M* 87 fieri potest] potest fieri *l C M am vlim maur* 192/193 liberabit-nostrum] *om. L^{1a.c.2.4.5} C M am vlim*.

that allow us to confirm the stemma with more certainty or in fact to adapt it in light of new evidence.

3. *Some remarks on individual De lapsu mundi witnesses*

Earlier in this article, we provided an apparatus listing a number of typical readings that prove that all *l*-witnesses represented in the edition of *s.* 170 form a clearly delineated group. We have not elaborated on the transmission of the individual manuscripts within this group because a complete overview of the genealogical relations within the collection is impossible based on the text of *s.* 170 alone. Nevertheless, the process of editing *s.* 170 has allowed for some observations to be made which we would like to offer as a step towards a stemma of the direct witnesses of the *De lapsu mundi* collection.

A first remark concerns Cambridge, McClean 104 (*L*¹)⁴⁴ and Clermont-Ferrand, Bibl. mun. 48 (*L*²)⁴⁵. Our collations have shown that the latter quite possibly descends in a straight line from the former. They exclusively share several significant errors, which is very rare within the *De lapsu mundi* group:

36 dixisse...Paulum] apostolum paulum dixisse *L*^{1,2} 49 esse...uidebantur] non uidebantur esse *L*^{1,2} 180 esse...stercora] et stercora esse *L*^{1,2} 254 nisi] in caelo *add. L*^{1,2}.

Moreover, where *L*² has a lot of additional errors, of which we will only highlight here the large omission of *mortuorum... resurrectione* on l. 188/192, *L*¹ has only the following variants that are not present also in *L*²:

⁴⁴ See M. PEYRAFORT-HUIN, *La bibliothèque médiévale de l'abbaye de Pontigny (XII^e-XIX^e siècles). Histoire, inventaires anciens, manuscrits*, Paris, 2001, pp. 512-513 for a detailed account of the origin and provenance of this manuscript.

⁴⁵ We have not been able to find any indication of this manuscript's origin and are thus not able to confirm whether or not a geographical link exists between *L*¹ and *L*². Some sparse further information on the content of the codex can be found in C. COUDERC, *Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de la ville de Clermont-Ferrand*, Paris, 1890, p. 14.

18 credimus] *om.* *L*^{1.3.5.6.8.9} 117 Daud] *et add.* *L*^{1.3} 137 rapis]
 sapis *L*^{1.4.5.8.9} 140 aliquanto] aliquando *L*^{1.4.5.6} 171 conspectum]
 conspectui *L*^{1.6.9} 179 ista] istam *V*¹¹ *L*^{1.3.4.5.6.7.8.9} *W* *maur* 237 nos
 ille] *inu.* *L*¹ 245 nouissimo] nouissima *L*^{1.7} 262 participabimur]
 participabimus *V*¹⁰ *L*^{1.3.5.6.8} *W* *maur*.

Most of these readings are insignificant variants, embodying either very small changes – some of which can be attributed to the script or to orthographical variations – or *loci* where several individual copyists within the *De lapsu mundi* tradition have experienced difficulties and have tampered with the transmitted text. The limited number of deviations (apart from the typical *l*-readings) with regard to the text of *F* in *L*¹ make it an important *l*-witness. The highly probable dependence, on the other hand, of *L*² on *L*¹ would justify the elimination of *L*² in future editions.

A second remark concerns Dijon Bibl. mun. 163 (*L*³).⁴⁶ Though this manuscript is without a doubt part of the *De lapsu mundi* group (cf. the apparatus on p. 197), it also boasts several correct readings alien to the collection, almost always in the form of secondary additions and changes:

56/57 Vbi...est] *in marg.* *L*³, *om.* *L*^{1.2.4.5.6.8.9} *W* *M* *am vlim maur* 74
 uirilis] uiri *V*¹¹, hominis *L*^{1.2.4.5.6.7.8.9} *W* *M* *am maur* 94 mundi¹] *in*
marg. *L*³, *om.* *L*^{1.2.4.5.6.8.9} 97 autem] *om.* *V*¹¹ *L*^{1.2.3a.c.4.5.6.7.8.9} *am vlim*
maur 107 diabolus] *om.* *L*^{1.2.3a.c.4.5.6.7.8.9} *vlm* 137 Dei] *om.*
L^{1.2.3a.c.4.5.6.7.8.9} 138 uiuit] uiuis *V*¹⁰ *L*³ *maur*, uiuitur *L*^{1.2.4.5.6.7.8.9} *M* *am*
vlm.

The most likely source for these corrections – also because of its geographical and chronological proximity – is Dijon, Bibl. mun. 143 (*V*¹⁰), which – as we previously noted – has also been corrected on several occasions. A correspondence between *L*³ and the *De uerbis apostoli* branch containing *V*¹⁰ has already been posited⁴⁷ and can be confirmed through the

⁴⁶ See Ch. SAMARAN-R. MARICHAL, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*. Vol. 6, Paris, 1968, p. 187; Y. ZALUSKA, *L'enluminure et le scriptorium de Cîteaux au XII^e siècle*, Cîteaux, 1989 (Cîteaux, Commentarii cistercienses. Studia et Documenta, 4), pp. 235-236; *Manuscrits enluminés de Dijon. Corpus des manuscrits enluminés des collections publiques des départements*, Paris, 1991, pp. 92-93 for the dating of this manuscript and its attribution to Cîteaux as a place of origin.

⁴⁷ G. PARTOENS (2003), n. 48 and pp. 40 and 42.

readings of s. 170. The most illustrative piece of textual evidence is found on l. 246, where ‘*Se ipsum primo die, nos nouissimo die*’ was originally lost to three *l*-witnesses (probably through an independently made *saut du même au même*), including *L*³. The first part of the sentence, ‘*se ipsum primo die*’, which is missing from both *De uerbis apostoli* manuscripts, remains absent in *L*³, whereas the second part, ‘*nos nouissimo die*’, has been correctly reinstated by a correcting hand, confirming by its incompleteness that the correction stems from the *V*-branch of the stemma.

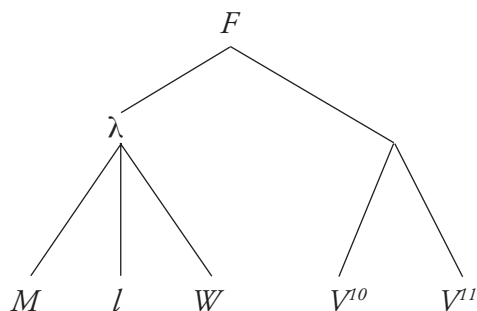
In addition to Dijon, Bibl. mun. 163 (*L*³), there is another *De lapsu mundi* manuscript that is reputed to derive several readings from a source within the *De uerbis apostoli* branch, namely Paris, Bibl. Arsenal 586 (*L*⁷).⁴⁸ S. 170 does not offer a large number of variants to support this theory. The most important is the addition on l. 56/57: *ubi uero cum praeuocatione peccatum est*, which is absent from all *De lapsu mundi* sources save *L*³, where it was added *post correctionem*, and Paris, Bibl. Arsenal 586 (*L*⁷), where it occurs in the running text and had to have been derived either directly from *F* or, more likely, from the *V*-branch. S. 170 might not conclusively support the connection between *L*⁷ and *De uerbis apostoli* but neither does it present readings that contradict the hypothesis of a connection. The fact that the addition is already in the running text (rather than in the margin as is the case in *L*³) suggests that the correction was already made in an ancestor of Paris, Bibl. Arsenal 586.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ For more information on the corruption of this manuscript, see G. PAR-TOENS (2003), p. 40. For the date and provenance, see A. BONDÉELLE-SOUCHIER, *Bibliothèques cisterciennes dans la France médiévale. Répertoire des abbayes d'hommes. Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'IRHT*, Paris, 1991 (Histoire des bibliothèques médiévales, 6), pp. 105-111.

⁴⁹ The possibility that Paris, Arsenal 586 was copied with both a *De lapsu mundi* and a *De uerbis apostoli* source at hand is, in our opinion, effectively eliminated by the scant number of readings that point in the direction of the *V*-branch.

4. *Conclusion*

The aim of this article has been to research the stemmatic position of the *De lapsu mundi* collection with the aid of textual evidence provided by s. 170. We have paid particular attention to the suggestion of a connection between *De lapsu mundi* and four German and Austrian *homiliaria*. This connection was made initially on the basis of similarities in the selection of sermons from the *Collectio Lugdunensis* present in both *De lapsu mundi* and the *homiliaria*. Further refinement of this theory achieves both greater knowledge of the transmission of *De lapsu mundi* and a better assessment of the value of the *homiliaria* in question. Collations of s. 170 have yielded the following results. Firstly, we were able to confirm that the *homiliaria* are not part of the *De lapsu mundi* collection as such; nor do they constitute a group in themselves as *W* does not share a common ancestor exclusively with *M* and the two codices from Vienna. Secondly, though s. 170 does not offer completely conclusive textual evidence, we are strongly inclined to attach *I*, *W* and *M* to the same branch of the stemma – steered in this direction also by the remarkable resemblances they share on the level of composition. In so doing, we are tentatively supporting, not single-mindedly confirming, the hypothesis of λ , an older, more original version of *De lapsu mundi*, an intermediary between the archetype *F* and *I*, *W*, *M*. As such, the analysis based on s. 170 allows us to draw up the following stemma:



The merit of *W* and *M* lies primarily in what they reveal regarding the historical development of the *De lapsu mundi* collection, though they might prove themselves equally valuable in the realm of textual criticism. Our collations of s. 170 have shown especially *W* to contain a text of superior quality, close to that of the *archetypus* and free of the typical errors that afflict the *De lapsu mundi* witnesses. The quality of *M* on the other hand is diminished to a certain degree by a relatively large number of additional individual errors, which are due most likely to a larger number of copies that stand between this manuscript and its original source, *F*. Despite the fact that their exact stemmatic position is still somewhat in doubt, *W* and *M* should not be discarded in future editions. Though we are of course aware that because of the preservation of *F* their value is modest for those sermons transmitted through the *Collectio Lugdunensis*, they may prove useful for those *l*-sermons that derive from the *De alleluia* collection, of which our direct witnesses all descend from an incomplete model. Their position in our stemma makes it imperative that they be, if not necessarily incorporated, at least considered as interesting sources for the sermons they contain.

5. Editorial principles

With *F*, unique witness to the *Collectio Lugdunensis*, we possess the *archetypus* for the entire transmission of s. 170, a comfortable situation for an editor. However, as C. Lambot⁵⁰ has already pointed out, caution is necessary because the *Collectio Lugdunensis* is in fact an Arlesian collection, which means it was subject to alterations by Caesarius of Arles. In the case of two or more parallel traditions, we must therefore not systematically give preference to the *Collectio Lugdunensis*, as is shown in Lambot's edition of s. 2 and s. 38⁵¹ and De Coninck's text of s. 60⁵². However, since we do not possess an alternative transmission for s. 170, we can only emphasize

⁵⁰ C. LAMBOT (1961), p. 7.

⁵¹ C. LAMBOT (1961), pp. 7-16 and 474-487.

⁵² L. DE CONINCK (2008), pp. 231-247.

that the text as published here could be the product of a manipulation but nevertheless represents the closest we can get at present to Augustine's original wording. On a practical level, this situation translates into a policy where we have, as a rule, given preference to *F*.

A few evident mistakes in *F*, which are due to simple copying errors rather than to intentional manipulation and have often already been recognized by later copyists or editors, have been corrected. Regarding the corrections made in *F*, we have in general followed the readings *post correctionem* as the majority of the interventions offered by the correcting hand constitute corrections of obvious mistakes on the level of both grammar and content. There are, however, a few exceptions, upon which we wish to draw attention here. Firstly there are four instances⁵³ where the corrector of *F* replaces *iudicio* with *iudicium* in a Biblical quotation (or a derivation thereof): *Ne intres in iudiciolum cum seruo tuo*. The accusative is the reading of the Vulgate, whereas the ablative appears to be a *Vetus Latina* reading that occurs several times in the works of Augustine and other Church Fathers. Here, we have therefore chosen to follow *F^{a.c.}*. Secondly, on l. 192, we find *resurrectione* *F^{a.c.}* versus *resurrectionem* *F^{p.c.}*. As the same quote occurs a few lines earlier, l. 187/188 with *F* reading *resurrectionem*, it is likely the corrector simply sought to homogenize the two. We have preserved the reading *ante correctionem* as more authentic. Furthermore, there is one occasion, 229 putes] *sic* *F^{a.c.+p.c.2}*, putis *F^{p.c.1}*, where *F* displays two stages of correction. To clarify: this does not mean that two correctors were at work here, but simply that a single corrector changed his mind and in a second stage deleted his prior correction in favor of the original reading.

The punctuation is ours and has been adapted with the sole aim of facilitating comprehension of Augustine's argument, though we have specifically avoided displacing the breaks in and between sentences. The punctuation mark “-” has furthermore occasionally been used to indicate and perhaps mend syntactical breaks in the text of *s.* 170, namely on l. 62, 167,

⁵³ Namely on l. 157, 159, 161 and 172.

178 and 182. In the same pursuit of clarification, the orthography has been adjusted to modern conventions. The edition is accompanied by two apparatuses, a critical apparatus, exhaustive with the exception of insignificant orthographical variants, and an apparatus identifying all biblical quotations.

Conspectus siglorum

<i>F</i>	Lyon, Bibl. mun. 604 (VII), orig. Lyon, fols 57v-67r
<i>V</i> ¹⁰	Dijon, Bibl. mun. 143 (110) (XII 1/2), orig. and prov. Cîteaux, fols 206r-208v
<i>V</i> ¹¹	London, Brit. Libr., Add. 10942 (XII mid. or 3/4), orig. La Charité (diocese of Besançon), fols 98r-100v
<i>l</i>	<i>Consensus omnium codicum collectionis De lapsu mundi</i> ⁵⁴
<i>L</i> ¹	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., McClean 104 (XII 3/4), orig. Pontigny, fols 74v-78v
<i>L</i> ²	Clermont-Ferrand, Bibl. mun. et univ. 48, vol. II (XII-XIII), fols 11r-14v
<i>L</i> ³	Dijon, Bibl. mun. 163 (XII 2/4), orig. Cîteaux, fols 46r-51v
<i>L</i> ⁴	Firenze, Bibl. Med. Laur., S. Cruc. Plut. XVIII dext., cod. 4 (XIII), fols 134v-137r
<i>L</i> ⁵	Oxford, Bodleian Libr., Bodl. 93 (S.C. 1902) (XII-XIII), orig. Exeter, fols 24v-28r
<i>L</i> ⁶	Paris, Bibl. Arsenal 239 (XIII), orig. Saint-Victor, fols 149r-153r
<i>L</i> ⁷	Paris, Bibl. Arsenal 586 (XII [XIII]), orig. Fontenay, fols 17r-19v
<i>L</i> ⁸	Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 2722 (XII/XIII), orig. South of France, fols 53v-60v
<i>L</i> ⁹	Porto, Bibl. Públ. Mun. ms. 56 (now Santa Cruz 31) (XII/XIII), orig. Avignon or Santa Cruz, fols 57v-60v ⁵⁵
<i>W</i>	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 237 (Helmst. 204) (1178-1191), orig. and prov. monastery of Lamspringe, fols 86r-89v
<i>M</i>	Melk, Stiftsbibliothek 432 (218) (XV), fols 146r-150r

⁵⁴ We have aimed to consult as many *De lapsu mundi* witnesses from the timeframe prior to the fourteenth century as possible but were sadly not able to obtain the following manuscripts: Hereford, Cathedral Libr. cod. P.III.7 (XII) (on the possible connection of this manuscript with *L*⁵, see R. A. B. MYNORS and R. M. THOMSON, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library*, Hereford, 1993, pp. 86-87), Padua, Bibl. Antoniana cod. X.179 (XIII-XIV), St.-Petersburg, Publ. Bibl. O.v.I.11 (XII) and Todi, Bibl. Com. cod. 5 (XIII). The following *De lapsu mundi* witnesses were disregarded due to their relatively recent date of origin: Dortmund, Stadt- und Landesbibl. cod. 188 (XV), Utrecht, Univ. Bibl. ms. 3 C 13 (kat. 60) (1452).

⁵⁵ On the ambiguity concerning place and date of this manuscript, see G. PARTOENS (2003), p. 31, n. 48.

- flor* Troyes, Bibl. mun. 96 (IX med.) written by Mannon of St-Oyen, prov. St-Oyen (St-Claude, Jura), fol. 162r (l. 275/288 *totum – patria*; II Cor. 1, 22; *ex sermone de uerbis apostoli*)
- am* *Plura ac diuersa diui Aurelii Augustini sermonum opera*, III: *Liber sermonum de uerbis Apostoli quorundamque aliorum*, Basilee: per magistrum Johannem de Amerbach, 1494, De tempore XLIX fols f5^r-g1^v
- vlim* *D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi, sermonum pars una [...]* *una cum indiculo Possidii episcopi & aliis [...]*. Opera et studio Ioannis Vlimmerii canonici regularis apud Martinenses Louanii, Louanii, 1564, sermo 53, inc. fol. 103v
- maur* *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi operum tomus quintus, continens sermones ad populum [...]*. Opera et studio monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti, è Congregatione S. Mauri, Parisiis, 1683 = *Patrologia Latina* 38, cc. 927-933.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ The Maurist text was based on two *De lapsu mundi* witnesses, our manuscripts *L*³ and *L*⁸. Cf. C. LAMBOT, "Les manuscrits des sermons de saint Augustin utilisés par les Mauristes", *Revue Bénédictine*, 79 (1969), pp. 98-114 (esp. 103).

SERMO DE IVSTITIA QVAE EX LEGE ET EA QVAE EX FIDE EST
ET QVOMODO DIABOLVS PRINCEPS SIT MVNDI EX TRADVCE
PECCATI ET DE PERFECTIONE IMPERFECTA
ET DE AETERNITATE FVTVRA

- 5 1. Diuinae lectiones omnes ita sibi connectuntur, tamquam una sit lectio, quia omnes ex uno ore procedunt. Multa sunt ora ministerium sermonis gerentium, sed unum est os ministros implentis. Audiuius apostolicam lectionem et forte aliquem moueat quod ibi scriptum est: *Secundum iustitiam*
10 *quae ex lege est, qui fuerim sine querela. Quae mihi lucra fuerunt, haec propter Christum damna esse duxi.* Deinde secutus ait: *Non solum damna, sed etiam stercora existimaui esse, ut Christum lucrifaciam et inueniar in illo non habens meam iustitiam quae ex lege est, sed iustitiam quae est ex fide Christi*
15 *Iesu.* Quomodo enim stercora existimat et damna, secundum iustitiam quae ex lege est conuersari sine querela? Quis enim legem dedit? Nonne ipse legem praemisit qui postea reis legis

9/15 Phil. 3, 6-9

1 sermo] incipit *F* *V*¹⁰, septimus eiusdem *add.* *L*^{1.2.6.7.9}, incipit septimus *L*³, incipit *praem.* *L*⁷, eiusdem *add.* *L*⁸, augustini *add.* *W*, dominica quinta post epyphaniam sermo sancti augustini episcopi *M*, in eadem dominica *am* 1/4 sermo...futura] *inscriptio e* *F* *V*¹⁰ *L*^{1.2.6.7.8} *W* *M*, item eiusdem de uerbis apostoli secundum iusticiam que ex lege est qui fuerim sine querela que mihi lucra fuerunt haec propter christum damna esse dixi *V*¹¹, *def.* *L*⁴, *locus uacuuus* *L*⁵ 1 lege] est *add.* *L*³ *W* ex²...est] est ex fide iesu christi *L*³ est] *om.* *M* 2 et] *om.* *V*¹⁰ 2/4 et...futura] *om.* *L*³ princeps sit] *inu.* *L*² sit] *om.* *L*⁸ mvndi] huius *add.* *L*⁸ ex] et *L*⁸ *M* 4 aeternitate] trinitate *L*^{1.2.6.8.9} 6/7 sunt ora] *inu.* *M* *am* 8 et] etsi *L*⁵ 9 moueat] moneat *L*⁴ 10 qui...sine] *iterat* *L*^{6a.c.} sine] causa *add.* *L*^{7a.c.} 11 duxi] dixi *L*^{4.8} 12 ait] adiunxit *L*² existimaui] estimaui *L*² 13 Christum] christi *L*⁷ lucrifaciam] lucrifacerim *L*⁸ meam] *om.* *L*^{6a.c.} 14 est] *om.* *L*⁷ est²...fide] ex fide est *M* *vlim* fide] lege *L*⁸ 14/15 Christi Iesu] *inu.* *l* *W* *M* *am* *vlim* *maur* 15 enim] ergo *add.* *L*⁸, ergo *W* 15/16 stercora...quae] legem dedit *L*⁴ 15 existimat] existimat *L*², existimaui] *L*^{4.8} *maur* et] *om.* *M* et damna] et damnaque *M*, damnaque *am* 16 ex] nonne *praem.* *L*⁴ conuersari] *in marg.* *W*

cum indulgentia uenit? Sed his eum credimus uenisse cum indulgentia quos reos lex tenebat. Numquid autem lex reos
 20 tenebat eos qui secundum iustitiam quae ex lege est conuersati sunt sine querela? Si ergo indulgentiam et ueniam peccatorum reis legis attulit Dominus, non attulit Paulo apostolo, qui dicit sine querela se in lege conuersatum? Sed ipsum audiamus alio loco: *Non ex operibus*, inquit, *quae nos fecimus*,
 25 *sed secundum suam misericordiam saluos nos fecit per lauacrum regenerationis*. Et iterum: *Qui prius fui blasphemus et persecutor et iniuriosus, sed misericordiam consecutus sum*, et reliqua. Hac se constituit conuersatum in lege sine querela, hac talem se confitetur fuisse peccatorem, ut omnis peccator propterea de se non desperet, quia Paulus meruit indulgentiam.
 30

2. Videte, fratres, et uim sermonis huius intuemini, quomodo Paulus apostolus damna existimat et stercora ubi sine querela dixit se uersatum fuisse. Hac impletor legis, hac reus legis, uno eodemque tempore, ante baptismum, ante gratiam.
 35 Sed non sine causa damna esse dicit – ne subintrent cogitationes noxiae hoc ideo dixisse apostolum Paulum, quod alius dederit legem, alius euangelium, sicut manichaeus mente peruersa sentit et reliqui haeretici, qui dixerunt alium datorem fuisse legis quae data est per Moysen, alterum autem largitorem euangelicae gratiae; illum quidem Deum malum, illum
 40 uero Deum bonum. Quid miramur, fratres? In obscuritate

24/26 Tit. 3, 5 26/27 I Tim. 1, 13

18 his] illis *V*^{10.11} eum...uenisse] *om.* *L*⁴ credimus] *om.* *L*^{1.3.5.6.8.9}
 uenisse] se *L*² 19 indulgentia] uenit *add.* *L*⁴ reos] reis *L*^{8a.c.} 20
 eos] *om.* *M* 21/23 Si...se] *iterat* *L*⁸ 23 conuersatum] esse *add.* *L*⁴
 24 quae] sustine *praem.* *L*², *om.* *L*⁸ nos fecimus] *inu.* *l* fecimus]
 perfecimus *L*⁸ 26 iterum] tamen *L*⁹ prius] primus *L*^{5.8} 27 et
 reliqua] *om.* *M am* 28 sine querela] *om.* *W* talem] tale *W* 28/
 29 talem se] *inu.* *L*³ 29 se] *om.* *V*¹¹ *L*^{1.2.4.5.6.8.9} omnis] omnes
F^{a.c.} peccator] *in marg.* *L*⁶ 29/30 propterea] *om.* *V*^{10.11} 31 ser-
 monis huius] *inu.* *M* huius] *om.* *L*⁴ *W* 32 Paulus apostolus] *inu.*
*L*⁵ 33 dixit] dicit *maur* dixit se] *inu.* *W* uersatum] conuersa-
 tum *l M am vlim maur* 33/34 hac...legis] *in marg.* *L*⁶ 35 Sed] si *L*⁸
 36 dixisse...Paulum] apostolum paulum dixisse *L*^{1.2} 37 dedit] dedit *L*⁸
 38 alium] illum *L*⁸ 38/39 datorem fuisse] *inu.* *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8} *am vlim maur*
 39 alterum] alium *W M am maur*

legis, tamquam in clausis ostiis, caliginem passi sunt, quia non pietate pulsauerunt. Inuenimus aliquando eundem Paulum apertissime dicere legem bonam esse, quam tamen ideo datam
 45 dicit esse, ut abundaret peccatum; et ideo abundasse peccatum, *ut superabundaret gratia*. Praesumebant enim homines de uiribus suis et faciendo quidquid sibi licere arbitrabantur, peccabant in legem Dei occultam. Vnde ista lex manifesta promulgata est eis qui omnino sibi rei esse non uidebantur.
 50 Data est illis lex, non quae sanaret, sed quae aegrotantes probaret. Lex praecurrit ante medicum – ut se aegrotus, qui se sanum putabat, inueniret aegrotum – et dixit: *Non concupisces*. Et quia ante datam legem praeuaricatio nondum erat – *Vbi enim non est*, inquit, *lex, nec praeuaricatio* – antea sine lege
 55 peccabatur; data uero lege posteaquam peccatum est, amplius peccatum est, quia cum praeuaricatione peccatum est. Vbi uero cum praeuaricatione peccatum est, inuenit se homo uinci cupiditatibus suis, quas mala consuetudine aduersus se nutriebat, qui etiam cum uinculo et obligatione peccati ex Adam
 60 fuerat propagatus. Vnde dicit apostolus: *Fuimus et nos aliquando natura filii irae*. Inde est quod nec unius diei infantem

44 cfr Rom. 7, 12
 53/54 Rom. 4, 15
 LXX)

46 Rom. 5, 20
 60/61 Eph. 2, 3

52 Rom. 7, 7; Ex. 20, 17
 61/62 cfr Iob 14, 4 (*sec.*

42 non] *om. L^{6a.c.}* 43 pulsauerunt] pulsarunt *L^{1.2}* Inuenimus] inueniamus *L⁴* eundem] eum *L⁸* Paulum] aliquando *add. L⁸* 44 bonam esse] *inu. vlim* 45 dicit] *om. M* esse] *om. L⁴* abundasse] abundaret *L⁵* 46 homines] *om. W* 47 faciendo] faciebant *M* sibi] *om. V^{10.11}*, illi *L^{6a.c.}* 48 legem] lege *L^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.9}* occultam] occulta *L^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.9}*, occulte *L⁸* manifesta] manifeste *V¹¹* 49 est] *om. V^{11a.c.}* *L^{1.2}* esse non] *inu. L⁹* esse...uidebantur] non uidebantur esse *L^{1.2}* 50 aegrotantes] aegrotaret *L^{6a.c.}*, aegrotates *L^{6p.c.}* 51 praecurrit] praecurrit *vlim* se²] *om. L^{5.8}* 52 concupisces] concupiscis *F*, concupisce *L^{5.6.7a.c.8}* 53 quia] qui *F^{a.c.}* datam] *om. M am* praeuaricatio] praeuaricaritio *L⁸* nondum] non *L⁸* 54 non...inquit] inquit non est *M* antea] ante *V^{10.11}* sine lege] *inu. V¹¹* 55 amplius] quam *add. L⁹*, in *praem. W* 56/57 Vbi...est], *om. L^{1.2.4.5.6.8.9}* *W M am vlim maur in marg. L³* 57 inuenit] uenit *W* uinci] uicio *L⁸* 58 cupiditatibus] a *praem. L³* *maur in marg. L³* aduersus] aduersum *M am maur* se] *om. F^{a.c.}* 61 natura] in *marg. L³* natura...irae] filii irae *natura L^{2.8}* filii] aliquando natura filii *add. L⁴* nec] *om. L^{1.2.3.5.6a.c.7.8.9}*

mundum dicit a peccato – non ex eo quod commisit, sed ex eo quod traxit.

3. Audi psalmum interiora dicentem et peccatorum nostro-
 65 rum secretiora canentem. Ex persona enim generis humani
 dicitur Christo: *Tibi soli peccaui et malum coram te feci*. Non
 ex persona unius Dauid hoc dicit, sed ex persona Adam, de
 quo est genus humanum. Audi enim sequentia: *Tibi soli*,
 70 inquit, *peccaui et malum coram te feci, ut iustificeris in sermo-*
nibus tuis. Christo dicitur. Vnde hoc intelligimus? Audi quod
 sequitur: *Et uincas, cum iudicaris*. Non est iudicatus Deus
 Pater, non est iudicatus Spiritus sanctus; non inuenimus nisi
 solum Filium in ista carne quam de nostra massa suscipere
 dignatus est, iudicatum – non ex nodo concupiscentiae uirilis
 75 et feminae: uirgo credidit, uirgo concepit, uirgo peperit, uirgo
 permansit. Et ideo dicitur: *Vincas, cum iudicaris*. Iudicatus
 est enim et uicit, quia sine peccato iudicatus est. Patientiae
 fuit sustinere iudicium, non reatus. Multi innocentes iudican-
 tur, sed in ipsis causis quas agunt. Nam de reliquo peccato
 80 non carent, quia sicut ante homines factum, sic ante Deum

66/71 Ps. 50, 6 76 Ps. 50, 6

62 mundum] in *praem.* *L*^{1.2.3.5.6.7.8.9} eo] o *L*⁸ commisit] lege usque
 huc et deinceps usque in finem *add. alia manus in marg. codicis F* 63
 traxit] contrauxit *L*⁸, contraxit *vlim maur* 65 secretiora] secreta *M am*
 66 Christo] de *praem.* *L*⁷ malum] malignum *vlim maur* 66/69
 Non...feci] *om. M* 67 hoc] haec *L*⁸ ex²] de *L*⁷ persona Adam]
inu. L^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8} *am vlim maur* 68 est] *om. am* sequentia] psalmum
am 68-69 soli inquit] *inu. L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8} *am vlim maur* 69 malum]
 malignum *vlim maur* 70 hoc] haec *L*⁸ intelligimus] intelligitur *L*²
 71 cum] eas *L*⁸ 72 Spiritus] deus *praem. l vlim maur* 73 nostra] *om.*
*L*⁴ 74-76 non...permansit] *om. vlim* 74 nodo] modo *L*^{4.6.8} uiri-
 lis] uiri *V*¹, hominis *L*^{1.2.4.5.6.7.8.9} *W M am maur* 75 uirgo¹] unde *praem.*
*L*⁴ credidit] et *add. L*⁹ concepit] et *add. L*⁹ peperit] et *add. L*⁹
M am 76 Et ideo] non *L*⁴ ideo] uirgo *L*^{8p.c.}, permansit et ideo *add.*
*L*⁸ Vincas] et *praem. L*^{1.2.3.4.5.7.8.9} *maur*, qui *praem. L*⁶ 77 est¹] *add.*
F^{p.c.} enim] *om. L*² quia] qui *L*⁸ iudicatus] *om. L*⁴ 78 sus-
 tinere iudicium] *inu. M* 79 Nam] homo *add. W*^{p.c.} peccato] *om. L*⁴
 80 carent] caret *F V*¹⁰ *W* (cfr pluralia 'iudicantur' et 'agunt') sicut] *add.*
L^{6p.c.} factum] facti *l vlim*^{p.c.} *maur*, et *add. L*⁹

cogitationes peccatum est. Factum tuum coram oculis Dei cogitatio tua est. Testis facti est ipse iudex, accusatrix facti ipsa conscientia. Ergo ille uere innocens iudicatus est et ideo uicit. Solus enim uicit – non de iudice Pilato Pontio, neque
 85 de Iudaeis saeuientibus, sed de ipso diabolo, qui omnia nostra peccata rimatur diligentia inuidientiae.

4. Et quid ait Dominus Iesus de ipso diabolo? *Ecce uenit princeps mundi huius*. Iam saepe dictum est caritati uestrae ‘mundum istum’ appellari peccatores. Et quare peccatores
 90 nomine mundi appellantur? Quia dilectione mundi inhabitant mundum. Qui enim non diligunt mundum, non habitant in eo quod non diligunt. *Nostra*, inquit, *conuersatio in caelis est*. Si ergo qui diligit Deum, in caelo habitat cum Deo, qui diligit mundum, in mundo habitat cum principe mundi. Omnes
 95 ergo dilectores mundi ipsi sunt mundus; habitatores mundi, non carne, quod omnes iusti, sed animo, quod soli peccatores, quibus princeps est diabolus. Quomodo autem dicitur ‘domus’ habitatores domus, secundum quam sententiam dicimus malam domum esse marmoratam et bonam domum

87/88 Ioh. 14, 30

92 Phil. 3, 20

81 cogitationes] cogitationis *F V¹⁰ l M am vlim maur (ex archetypo)*, cogitatio *V¹¹* oculis] hominum coram oculis *add. L⁸* 82 cogitatio] cogitatio *L⁸* est²] *om. W* est ipse] *inu. l* 83 ipsa] est *add. L⁸* ille uere] *inu. L⁷* iudicatus est] *inu. L³* 84 Solus...uicit²] *om. L⁴* Pilato] pylato *V^{10.11}* *L⁴ WM* Pilato Pontio] *inu. L^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8} am vlim maur* Pontio] poncio *L^{2.9} M* 85 diabolo] dixit *add. F^{a.c.} V¹⁰*, vicit *add. V¹¹* 85/86 nostra peccata] *inu. V¹¹ L⁹ M vlim* 86 rimatur] rimantur *vlim* inuidientiae] inuidiae *l* 87 quid] quod *L^{1.2.4.5.6.9}* uenit] *om. L⁸* 89 istum] *om. W* 90 nomine mundi] *inu. M* 91 habitant] inhabitant *V¹¹* 92 quod] quem *L^{1.2.4.5.6.7} vlim* inquit] apostolus *add. L^{3.9p.c.}* 93 Deo] eo *L⁴* 94 habitat...principe] cum principe habitat *M am vlim maur* mundi], *om. L^{1.2.4.5.6.8.9} in marg. L³* 95 ergo] itaque *l am vlim maur* 96 sed] *om. L⁴* soli] sibi *L⁸* 96/97 peccatores] *add. quia iust L^{8a.c.}* 97 est] *om. L⁸* autem] *om. V¹¹ L^{1.2.3a.c.4.5.6.7.8.9} am vlim maur* 97/98 dicitur] dei *L⁸* 98 habitatores] habitores *W^{a.c.}* 99 dicimus] *om. L⁸* dicimus malam] *inu. L^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.9} vlim* domum¹] domus *L⁸* domum esse] *inu. L^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7} vlim* esse] domum *add. L⁸* marmoratam] marmoratam *L^{8a.c.}*, et laqueatam *add. W*

- 100 esse fumigatam. Inuenis domum fumosam quo boni habitant, et dicis: "Bona domus". Inuenis domum marmoratam et laqueatam quam possident iniqui, et dicis: "Mala domus". 'Domum' appellas non parietes et receptacula corporum, sed ipsos habitatores. Sic 'mundum' appellauit scriptura habitatores mundi per concupiscentiam dilectionis, non per conuersionem corporis. Ergo, *Ecce*, inquit, *uenit princeps mundi et in me nihil inuenit* – in solo ipso nihil inuenit diabolus – et tamquam diceretur ei: "Quare ergo moreris?" ibi sequitur: *Sed ut sciant omnes quia uoluntatem Patris mei facio, surgite, eamus hinc*. Surgit et it ad passionem. Quare? *Quia uoluntatem Patris mei facio*. Propter hanc ergo singularem innocentiam ait psalmus: *Tibi soli peccaui et malum coram te feci, ut iustificeris in sermonibus tuis et uincas, cum iudicaris*, quia nihil mali in te inuenit. Quare autem in te inuenit, o genus humanum? Quia sequitur et dicit: *Ego enim in iniquitate conceptus sum et in peccatis peperit me mater mea*. Dicit hoc Dauid. Quaere unde natus sit Dauid: inuenies de legitima coniuge, de nullo adulterio. Secundum quam ergo propaginem dicit: *In iniquitate*

100/101 cfr Beda Venerabilis, *De orthographia*: Quo aliquando pro ubi ponitur. Augustinus: *Inuenis domum famosam, quo boni habitant*, id est ubi habitant. **106/111** Ioh. 14, 30-31 **112/113** Ps. 50, 6 **115/116** Ps. 50, 7 **118/119** Ps. 50, 7

100 esse] domum *add.* *L*⁸ quo] quam *V*¹¹ *L*^{1.2.4.5.6.7} *W am vlim maur*, qua *L*⁸ **101** Bona] bonam *L*⁸ **103** appellas] appellans *W M am vlim maur* **106** corporis] corpore *L*⁸ Ergo] igitur *L*⁸ princeps] princeps *V*¹¹ mundi] huius *praem.* *L*⁴ **107** nihil¹] nihili *L*⁸ inuenit¹] inueniet *V*¹¹ *L*⁸ diabolus] *om.* *L*^{1.2.3a.c.4.5.6.7.8.9} *vlm* **108** diceretur ei] *inu. vlim* moreris] morieris *L*⁴ ibi] et *praem.* *L*⁴ **109–111** surgite...facio] *om.* *L*⁸ **110** Surgit...it] surgite eamus *L*² it] uadit *V*¹¹ *L*⁵ **111** mei] *om.* *M* hanc] in *marg.* *L*⁸ ergo] *om.* *vlm* ait] ut *L*^{4.8} **112** malum] malignum *vlm maur* **113–114** in...inuenit¹] inuenit in te *L*⁶, interuenit *M* **114** inuenit¹] inueni *V*¹¹ *L*^{5.8} autem] *om.* *L*⁴ in...inuenit²] inuenit in te *L*^{1.2.3.5.7.8} *vlm* inuenit²] inuenio *V*¹⁰, inueni *W* o] *om.* *V*¹⁰ **115** Ego] ecce *L*⁵ enim] autem *W* in] *om.* *L*^{6.7} iniquitate] iniquitatibus *L*^{2.3} *M am vlim* **116** peperit] concepit *l maur* mater] iterat *L*^{3a.c.} hoc Dauid] *inu.* *L*⁴ **117** natus] ductus *W* sit] est *L*^{7.8} Dauid] et *add.* *L*^{1.3} coniuge] uxore *L*^{2.8} *maur* **118** quam ergo] *inu.* *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8} *vlm* propaginem] progeniem *L*⁷ iniquitate] iniquitatem *V*¹¹, iniquitatibus *vlm*

120 *conceptus sum*, nisi quia est ibi quiddam de mortis propagine
quod secum trahit omnis qui ex coniunctione uiri et feminae
nascitur?

5. Habens ergo unusquisque concupiscentiam, attendat
legem dicentem: *Non concupisces*. Inuenit in se quod illa pro-
hibet et fit reus legis. Inueniens autem in se cui subditus
125 est, incipiat iam dicere: *Condelector legi Dei secundum inte-
riorem hominem; uideo autem aliam legem repugnantem legi
mentis meae et captiuantem me in lege peccati, quae est in mem-
bris meis*. Cognouit se aegrotum, impleret medicum: *Infelix
homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius?* Respondeat
130 medicus: *Gratia Dei per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum*.
Gratia Dei, non merita tua. Quare ergo te dixisti in lege
cum iustitia sine querela conuersatum? Attendite: sine que-
rela dixit hominum. Est enim quaedam iustitia quam potest
homo implere, ut nullus hominum queratur de homine.
135 Dicit: *Non concupiscas alienum*. Tu si non rapueris alienum,
nulla querela erit hominum. Ergo aliquando concupiscis et
non rapis. Sed sententia Dei supra te est, quia concupiscis:
reus es legis, sed in oculis latoris legis. Sine querela uiuit:
quare ergo ista damna; quare ista stercora? Constrictior est

123 Rom. 7, 7; Ex. 20, 17
7, 24-25

125/128 Rom. 7, 22-23

128/130 Rom.

135 Ex. 20, 17

119 quia] *om. M* est ibi] *inu. vlim maur* 120 omnis] *omnes F*
122 concupiscentiam] *iterat L^{6a.c.}* attendat] *attendit W* 123 concu-
piscis] *concupiscis F^{a.c.}* illa] *lex L^{2.8} maur, ipsa L^{4.6a.c.}* 123/124 pro-
hibet] *prohibet F^{a.c.}* 126 legem] *in membris meis add. V¹¹ l M am vlim*
maur (e Vulgata) 127 lege] *legem V¹¹ L⁵* 128 impleret] *implorat*
L⁸ M am Infelix] *ego add. L^{1.2.3.5.6.7.8.9} W M am vlim maur (e Vulgata)*
129 liberabit] *liberauit L⁸* 131 Dei] *om. L^{1.2.3.4.5.6.8.9}, in marg. L⁷* lege]
conuersatum add. L⁸ 132 conuersatum] *om. L⁸* Attendite] *attende*
L^{1.2.4.5.6.7.8.9} 133 enim] *quaedam querela add. L⁸* 134 nullus homi-
num] *hoc non L⁸* 135 Dicit] *enim add. L⁸ vlim maur* si non] *add.*
L^{5p.c.} 136 concupiscis] *concupisces F^{a.c.}, concupiscas L⁸* 137 rapis]
sapis L^{1.4.5.8.9} Dei] *om. L^{1.2.3a.c.4.5.6.7.8.9}* concupiscis] *concupisces F^{a.c.},*
quia add. L⁸ 138 reus] *uero add. L⁵* oculis] *occulitis L^{5.8}* latoris
legis] inu. l vlim maur uiuit] *uiuis V¹⁰ L³ maur, uiuitur L^{1.2.4.5.6.7.8.9} M*
am vlim 139 ergo] *in add. V¹¹* quare²] *in add. V¹¹, ergo add. L⁸*
Constrictior] constrictio L^{5a.c.}

140 aliquanto nodus iste, sed soluet qui solet. Hoc autem non
 ego solus pia subiectione, sed omnes pia intentione merea-
 mur. Quidquid faciebant Iudaei unde homines non que-
 rerentur et esset ipsis conuersatio ex lege sine querela, sibi
 tribuebant et ipsam iustitiam secundum legem uiribus suis
 145 assignabant; implere non poterant, sed in tantum faciebant
 in quantum poterant; sibitribuendo, nec hoc pie implebant.

6. Hoc ergo dicit legem implere, hoc est non concupiscere.
 Quis hoc qui uiuit, potest? Adiuuet nos psalmus, qui modo
 cantatus est: *Exaudi me, Domine, in tua iustitia*, hoc est 'non
 150 in mea'. Si diceret: "Exaudi me in iustitia mea", tamquam
 meritum uocaret. Vocat quidem nonnullis locis et suam ius-
 titiam, sed hic melius discernit, quia et suam quando dicit,
 datam dicit; quomodo dicimus: *Panem nostrum quotidianum*
da nobis hodie. Quomodo nostrum? Quomodo da? Ergo hic
 155 distinctius loquens ait: *Exaudi me in tua iustitia*. Et sequi-
 tur: *Et non intres in iudicium cum seruo tuo*. Quid est: *Ne*
intres in iudicio cum seruo tuo? "Non stes mecum in iudicio,

149 Ps. 142, 1 153/154 Matth. 6, 11 155 Ps. 142, 1 156/157
 Ps. 142, 2

140 aliquanto] aliquando *L*^{1.4.5.6} aliquanto...iste] iste nodus aliquando
*L*⁸ nodus] modus *F*^{a.c.} *L*⁴ solet] soluet *L*^{5a.c.} *am* 141 subiectione]
 subiectio est *L*⁸ 141/142 mereamur] meiramur *L*⁹ 142 unde] ut
M 143 et] *om.* *L*^{1.4.5.6}, si *L*², quae *L*⁸ ipsis] illis *V*¹¹ *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.9}, ipsum
M^{a.c.}, ipsius *am* ex] in *l* *vlm* *maur* sibi] sed *praem.* *L*⁴ 144
 secundum] in *L*⁸ legem] lege *L*⁸ 145 assignabant] obseruabant *L*⁸
 poterant] potuerunt *L*⁴, sibi tribuendo *add.* *W*^{a.c.} in] *om.* *L*⁴ 146
 in] *om.* *W* tribuendo] retribuendo *M* nec] haec *L*⁸ 147 dicit]
 docet *L*⁸ 148 hoc] ergo *M*, ergo *praem.* *am* *vlm* qui uiuit] *inu.*
*L*⁹ qui²] quo *L*⁸ 149 Domine] *om.* *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.8.9} *W* *maur* (e *Vulgata*)
 150 mea] iustitia *add.* *L*^{4.6p.c.} iustitia mea] *inu.* *W* 151 quidem] et
add. *vlm* nonnullis] non in illis *L*⁴, et in *praem.* *am*, in *praem.* *vlm*
maur suam] *om.* *L*⁸ 152 hic] sic *M* *am* suam] iustitiam *add.*
*L*⁴ dicit] et *add.* *L*^{4.5.6.7.8} 154 Quomodo] dicimus *add.* *W* hic]
 hinc *F*^{a.c.} *V*^{10.11} *L*^{9a.c.} 155/156 Et sequitur] in *marg.* *L*³ 156 intres...
 iudicium] in iudicium intres *L*⁸ Ne] non *V*¹¹ *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8} *am* *vlm* *maur*
 157 intres] *iterat* *L*^{9a.c.} intres...iudicio¹] in iudicium intres *L*⁸ in¹...
 tuo] cum seruo tuo in iudicium *W* iudicio¹] iudicium *F*^{p.c.} *V*^{10.11} *l* *W* *M*
am *vlm* *maur* (e *Vulgata*)

exigendo a me omnia quae praecepisti, exigens omnia quae
iussisti. Nam reum me inuenies, si in iudicio intraueris
160 mecum. Opus est ergo”, inquit, “mihi misericordia tua potius
quam liquidissimo iudicio tuo.” Quare ergo *ne intres in iudicio
cum seruo tuo?* Sequitur et dicit: “*Quia non iustificabitur in
conspetu tuo omnis uiuens*. Seruus enim sum; quare mecum
165 stas in iudicio? Misericorde Domino utar.” Quare? *Quoniam
non iustificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis uiuens*. Quid dixit?
Quamdiu uiuitur in hac uita, nemo iustificatus est – sed in
conspetu Dei. Non frustra addit: *In conspectu tuo* – nisi quia
potest esse iustificatus aliquis in conspectu hominum, ut et
illud impleatur: *Secundum iustitiam quae ex lege est, qui fue-*
170 *rim sine querela in conspectu hominum*. Refer ad conspec-
tum Dei: *Non iustificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis uiuens*.

161/163 Ps. 142, 2 164/165 Ps. 142, 2 169/170 Phil. 3, 6
171 Ps. 142, 2

158 exigendo...praecepisti] *prima manus in marg. codicis F* praecepisti]
iussisti *L*⁵ praecepisti...quae²] *om. L*⁸ exigens] exigendo *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.8.9}
vlm maur, et *M am* omnia²] a me *praem. L*⁵ 159 iussisti] praecepisti *L*⁵
reum...inuenies] me inuenies reum *M am* in iudicio] *om. L*⁴ 159-
160 in...mecum] intraueris mecum in iudicium *W* 159 iudicio] iudicium
Fp.c. V^{10.11} *I W M am vlim maur (e Vulgata)* intraueris] intraueri *V*^{11a.c.}
160 inquit mihi] *inu. M* 161 iudicio¹] *om. L*⁵ ergo] in *marg. L*⁴
ne] non *L*^{4.7} iudicio²] iudicium *Fp.c. V*^{10.11} *I W M am vlim maur (e Vulgata)*
162 Sequitur...dicit] *om. L*⁴ dicit] dicunt *L*² 162/163 in...uiuens]
in *marg. L*⁶ 163 conspectu] dei *add. L*⁸ 163/165 uiuens...uiuens]
om. M 163 enim] tuus *W* 164 stas] intras *L*⁴ iudicio] iudicium
F L^{1.2.4.5.6.7.8.9} *W M (e Vulgata)* Misericorde] misericordi *V*¹¹, misericordie
L^{5.6}, misericordia *L*⁴ *M am vlim maur* Domino] domine *V*¹⁰, domini
L^{4.6} *M am vlim maur* Quoniam] quia *L*^{1.2.3} 165 Quid dixit] *om. L*⁸
166 uiuitur] uiuit *L*⁴ sed] *om. L*⁸ 167 Non] nam *L*^{3.5} addit]
addidit *V*¹¹ *L*^{3.8} *M vlim maur* In conspectu] *om. L*³ nisi] *ita codd.*
(*anac.*) quia] qui *L*⁸ 168 potest esse] *inu. L*⁴ iustificatus aliqu-
is] *inu. M* hominum] referat conspectui dei *add. L*^{6a.c.} 169/170
fuerim], fuerunt *L*^{4.9} fuerint *L*^{5.6.7}, fuerit *L*⁸ *W, om. M am* fuerim...con-
spectu] sine querela in conspectu fuerim *vlm* 170 conspectu] fuerim
add. M am Refer ad] referat *L*^{1.2.6}, referat in *L*^{4.5a.c.9} *am vlim*, referat ad
L^{5a.c.}, refert *L*^{8p.c.} 170-171 conspectum] conspectui *L*^{1.6.9}, conspectu *L*⁸ *am*
vlm 171 iustificabitur] iustificatur *W* in] *om. L*^{9p.c.} conspectu]
conspectui *L*⁹

7. Quid ergo facturi sumus? Clamemus: *Ne intres in iudicio cum seruo tuo*. Clamemus: *Infelix ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius? Gratia Dei per Iesum Christum*
 175 *Dominum nostrum*. Hoc ergo psalmum audiuius, hoc apostolum audiuius, quia cum fuerit illa iustitia secundum quam uiuunt angeli, cum fuerit illa iustitia ubi nulla erit concupiscentia – iam unusquisque metiatur se quid est modo et quid erit tunc, et inueniet in comparatione illius iustitiae ista
 180 damna esse et stercora. Quisquis autem putat se modo posse implere iustitiam et, cum uixerit bene atque innocenter secundum probabilitatem existimationis humanae – in uia remansit; non desiderat melius, quia implesse se putat, maximeque sibi tribuens erit superbus. Et melior est peccator humilis quam
 185 iustus superbus. Ideo ait: *Et inueniar in illo non habens meam iustitiam quae ex lege est* – sicut Iudaei putabant – *sed iustitiam quae ex fide est in Christo Iesu*. Deinde secutus ait: *Si quo modo occurram in resurrectionem mortuorum*. Ibi se creditur impleturum esse iustitiam, id est plenam se habiturum iustitiam. In comparatione resurrectionis illius, stercus est tota uita

172/173 Ps. 142, 2 173/175 Rom. 7, 24-25 185/187 Phil. 3, 9
 187/188 Phil. 3, 11

172/173 Ne...Clamemus] *om. L^{1.2.4.6.7} M am vlim* 172 iudicio] iudicium *Fp.c. V^{10.11} l W M am vlim maur (e Vulgata)* 173/174 liberabit] liberauit *L⁸* 174 huius] clamemus ne intres in iudicium cum seruo tuo *add. M am vlim* 175 Hoc] hic *V¹¹*, hunc *L⁵* ergo] *om. L⁴* audiuius] audiamus *V^{10.11}* hoc] hic *V¹¹* 175/176 hoc...audiuius] *in marg. L³, om. L^{5.8}* 176 audiuius] audiamus *V¹¹, om. L⁴, in marg. L⁶* 176/177 secundum...iustitia] *om. V¹¹* 178 iam] inde *L² maur, et praem. L⁹ se] om. L^{1.2.3a.c.4.5.6.8.9}* et] *om. L⁸* 179 inueniet] *om. L⁸* ista] istam *V¹¹ L^{1.3.4.5.6.7.8.9} W maur* 180 damna esse] *inu. L⁵* esse] *om. W esse...stercora] et stercora esse L^{1.2}* Quisquis] quis *L⁸*, qui *M* se] et *add. M* posse] *om. V¹¹ L^{6a.c. L^{9a.c.}}* 181 et] *om. l maur* 182 probabilitatem] probabilem *V¹¹*, modo *add. V¹¹* existimationis] estimationis *L⁵ M* 183 maximeque] maxime *L⁴ M*, quia *add. L⁴* 184 melior] melius *L⁸* 185 Ideo] sibi *add. L⁴* inueniar] inueniat *L⁴* in illo] *om. L⁸* meam] misericordiam *L⁹* 187 in...Iesu] iesu christi *l vlim*, christo iesu *M*, christi iesu *maur* Si] sed *L⁸* 188 resurrectionem] resurrectione *V¹⁰ L⁹* 188/192 mortuorum...resurrectione] *om. L²* 188 Ibi se] ipse *M* 189 impleturum esse] *inu. L⁹* 190 resurrectionis illius] *inu. L⁴* tota uita] uita ista *L⁸*

quam gerimus. Adhuc illum audi apertius dicentem: *Si quo modo occurram in resurrectione iustorum; non quia iam acceperim aut iam perfectus sim.* Et contexuit deinde: *Fratres, ego me non arbitror apprehendisse.* Quomodo comparat iustitiam iustitiae, salutem saluti, fidem speciei, peregrinationem ciuitati!

195 8. Attendite quomodo hoc impleat: *Fratres, ego me non arbitror apprehendisse. Vnum autem.* Quid unum, nisi ex fide uiuere spe salutis aeternae, ubi erit plena et perfecta iustitia, in cuius comparatione damna sunt quae transitura sunt, et stercora
200 quae reprobanda sunt? Quid ergo? *Vnum autem: quae retro oblitus, in ea autem quae inante sunt extensus, secundum intentionem sequor ad palmam supernae uocationis Dei in Christo Iesu.* Et ad eos qui de sua perfectione possint praesumere: *Quotquot ergo perfecti sumus, hoc sapiamus.* Iamdudum dixerat se imperfectum, nunc autem perfectum. Quare, nisi quia
205 ipsa est perfectio hominis inuenisse se non esse perfectum? *Quotquot autem perfecti sumus, hoc sapiamus. Et si quid forte*

191/194 Phil. 3, 11-13 196/197 Phil. 3, 12 200/204 Phil. 3, 13-15
207/208 Phil. 3, 15

191 illum] apostolum *L*^{6p.c.} *am vlim maur, om. M* audi] illum *add. M*,
audiui *am* Si] sed *L*⁸ 192 resurrectione] resurrectionem *F*^{p.c.} *V*^{10.11}
l M am vlim maur iam] *om. L*⁷ 193 aut] ut *L*^{4.6} contexuit]
contextit *maur* Fratres...me] me fratres ego *M* me] *om. L*⁸ 193/
194 me non] *inu. L*⁴ me...arbitror] non arbitror me *vlim* 194 non]
om. L^{6a.c.} arbitror] me *add. L*⁸ 197 Quid] quod *V*¹¹, autem *add. L*⁴
198 spe] in *praem. V*¹¹ erit] *om. L*² 199 damna] data *F*^{a.c.} *V*^{10a.c.}
transitura] transitoria *L*³ 199/200 et...sunt] *om. L*⁴ 199 stercora] ista
F^{a.c.} *V*^{10a.c.11} 199/200 stercora quae] *om. L*⁸ 200 sunt] et stercora
*add. L*⁸ retro] sunt *add. M am* 201 autem] *om. M am vlim maur*
inante] ante *M am vlim maur* extensus] extentus *vlim*^{p.c.} *maur* 202
sequor] sequitur *L*⁸ 203 eos] inquit *add. W* perfectione] *coniecerunt vlim maur, om. F V*^{10.11} *l W M am* possint] possunt *V*¹¹ *L*^{4.7}, pos-
sent *L*⁸ *M am vlim maur* possint praesumere] *inu. L*³ praesumere]
iustitia *add. L*⁷ 204 Quotquot] quomodo *L*⁸ ergo] autem *L*⁸ *maur*
(cf. 207) 204/205 dixerat se] *inu. W* 205 nunc...perfectum] *om. V*^{10a.c.11}, est modo perfectum *V*^{10p.c.} autem] *om. L*^{9a.c.} Quare] et *add. L*⁸
206 ipsa] illa *L*^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8} est] *add. L*^{2p.c.} perfectio hominis]
inu. W hominis] luminis *L*^{1.2.4.5.9} 207 autem] ergo *M* perfecti]
sumus *add. M*^{in marg.} sumus] *om. am* sapiamus] audiamus *L*⁸

210 *aliter sapitis, id quoque uobis Deus reuelabit*, id est ut si uos
 in aliquo profectu animi iustificatos probatis, legendo scriptu-
 ras et inueniendo quae sit uera et perfecta iustitia, inueniatis
 uos reos et desiderio futuro damnetis praesentia, uiuatis ex
 fide et spe et caritate, et intelligatis quia quod adhuc credi-
 tis, nondum uidetis; quod adhuc speratis, nondum tenetis;
 215 quod adhuc desideratis, nondum impletis. Et si talis caritas est
 peregrinantium, qualis erit uidentium? Ergo ille qui docebat
 Dei iustitiam et non constituebat suam, clamabat de psalmo:
Exaudi me in tua iustitia et non intres in iudicium cum seruo
tuo, quoniam non iustificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis uiuens.
 9. Secundum hanc uitam dicitur Moysi: *Nemo faciem Dei*
 220 *uidit et uixit*. Non enim uiuendum est hac uita, ut illam
 faciem uideamus. Moriendum est mundo, ut Deo in sem-
 piternum uiuamus. Tunc non peccabimus, non solum factis,
 sed nec concupiscentiis, cum illam faciem uiderimus quae
 uincit omnes concupiscentias. Tam enim dulcis est, fratres
 225 mei, tam pulchra, ut illa uisa nihil aliud possit delectare.
 Satietas erit insatiabilis, nullum fastidium; semper esuriemus,
 semper saturi erimus. Audi ipsas duas sententias de scriptura:

217/218 Ps. 142, 1-2 219/220 Ex. 33, 20

208 aliter] aliud *L*⁵, *om.* *L*⁸ uobis] nobis *L*⁴ uobis Deus] *inu.* *V*¹¹
*L*⁸ reuelabit] reuelauit *V*¹⁰ *W M am vlim* id est] item *L*⁴ ut]
 et *W* 209 iustificatos] iustificatus *F*^{a.c.} 210 inueniatis] inueniatis
F^{a.c.} 211 desiderio] desideria *L*⁸ futuro] futurorum *V*¹¹ *l M am vlim*
maur uiuatis] uiuates *F*^{a.c.} 212 et¹] ex *L*² intelligatis] intelle-
 gates *F*^{a.c.} quia] *om.* *V*^{10a.c.11} quod adhuc] *inu.* *M* 213 nondum¹]
 non *W*^{a.c.} uidetis] impletum *add.* *L*⁸ speratis] sperates *F*^{a.c.} 214
 desideratis] desiderates *F*^{a.c.} impletis] implestis *V*¹¹ caritas est] *inu.*
L^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8} *M am vlim maur* 215 erit] eris *V*¹¹ ille] *om.* *W* doce-
 bat] dicebat *F*^{a.c.} *V*^{10a.c.}, discebat *V*¹¹ 216 Dei iustitiam] *inu.* *L*^{4.6.8} *vlim*
maur constituebat] constituebant *W* de] in *M* 217 intres...
 iudicium] in iudicium intres *L*⁸ 218 quoniam] quia *L*^{4.6} 220 uiuen-
 dum] uidendum *L*⁹ hac] in *praem.* *W maur* 221 faciem uideamus]
inu. *M* Deo] in *praem.* *L*⁵ 222 sempiternum] aeternum *M* fac-
 tis] facitis *L*⁵ 223 uiderimus] uidebimus *L*⁸ *maur* 225 pulchra] est
add. *L*⁶ uisa] *om.* *L*⁵, usa *L*⁸ aliud] in *marg.* *L*⁹ aliud possit]
inu. *L*^{3.8} delectare] delectari *V*¹¹ *M* 226 erit] *om.* *L*⁸ esuriemus]
 suriemus *L*⁸ 227 saturi] esaturi *L*^{5a.c.}, saturati *L*⁹

- Qui bibit me, dicit Sapientia, adhuc sitiet; et qui edit me, adhuc esuriet.* Sed ne putes quia ibi erit indigentia et fames, audi
 230 Dominum: *Qui biberit de hac aqua, non sitiet in aeternum.* Sed dicitis: “Quando erit?” Quandocumque erit, tamen exspecta Dominum: *Sustine Dominum, uiriliter age et confortetur cor tuum.* Numquid tanta restant, quanta peracta sunt? Intende
 235 ab Adam usque ad hodiernum diem quot saecula euoluta sunt, et ecce iam non sunt. Pauci dies remanent quodammodo; sic enim dicendum est quod remanet in comparatione transactorum saeculorum. Exhortemur inuicem; exhortetur nos ille qui uenit ad nos, qui cucurrit uiam et dixit: “Sequimini”, qui ascendit prior in caelum, ut caput de sublimioribus subueniat
 240 ceteris membris in terra laborantibus, qui dixit de caelo: *Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris?* Ergo nemo desperet: reddetur nobis in finem quod promissum est; ibi implebitur illa iustitia.
10. Audistis et euangelium istis lectionibus concordare. *Voluntas, inquit, Patris est ut omnia quae mihi dedit, non pereant, sed*
 245 *habeant uitam aeternam; et ego resuscitabo eos in nouissimo die.*

228/229 Sir. 24, 29 230 Ioh. 4, 13 232/233 Ps. 26, 14 240/
 241 Act. 9, 4 243–245 Ioh. 6, 39–40

228 bibit] bibunt *L⁸ maur* dicit Sapientia] *om. L⁸* sitiet] sitient *L⁸ maur* edit] edet *F^{a.c.} V¹⁰*, edunt *L⁸ maur* 229 esuriet] esurient *L⁸ maur* putes] *sic F^{a.c.+p.c.2}*, putis *F^{p.c.1}*, putetis *V^{10.11}* ibi erit] *inu. V¹¹*
 indigentia] indigentiae *V¹¹* et] *om. V^{10.11}* audi] audite *V¹¹* 230 de] ex *L^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8} vlim maur* hac] quam ego dederō *L³* hac aqua] *inu. L^{1.2.3.5.6.7.8} M maur* sitiet] et non sitiet *add. L⁸* 231 dicitis] dicites *F^{a.c.}*, dicetis *L⁸*, dicis *M am vlim maur* Quandocumque] quandoque *L⁸* tamen] tantum *V¹¹*, *om. L⁴ W* 232 Sustine Dominum] *om. V^{10.11}*
 233 tuum] et sustine dominum *L⁸* Intende] attende *L⁷ M* 234 ad] in *L^{6a.c.} M* saecula] *om. L⁴* saecula euoluta] iterat *L⁸* 236 remanet] remanent *V¹⁰ L⁵* 237 Exhortemur] ad *add. L⁴*, nos *add. vlim*
 inuicem] in *praem. am* nos ille] *inu. L¹* 238 uiam] *om. L⁸* et dixit] *om. V¹¹* Sequimini] *om. L²*, et dicit *add. L⁸* 239 ut caput] *prima manus in marg. codicis F* 241/242 reddetur...est] iterat *L⁸* 242 finem] fine *V¹¹ L^{1.2} M am vlim maur* ibi] *om. L⁴* ibi implebitur] *inu. L^{1.2.6.7} vlim* implebitur] imbitur *L^{8a.c.}* illa iustitia] in *praem. L⁴*, *inu. W* 243 istis lectionibus] his sermonibus *l vlim maur* 244 inquit... est] patris est inquit *L⁸* mihi dedit] *inu. l vlim maur* 245 eos] ea *L^{1.2.7}*, eam *L⁵*, eum *L^{6.8}* nouissimo] nouissima *L^{1.7}*

Se ipsum primo die, nos nouissimo die. Primus dies ad caput Ecclesiae. Dies enim noster Dominus Christus non facit occasum. Nouissimus dies erit finis saeculi. Nolo dicas: "Quando iste erit?" Generi humano longe erit, unicuique hominum
 250 prope erit, quia nouissimus est cuiusque dies mortis. Etenim hinc cum exieris, recipies pro meritis et resurges ad recipienda quae egisti. Tunc Deus coronabit non tam merita tua quam dona sua. Quidquid tibi donauit, si seruasti, cognoscit. Totum ergo, fratres, desiderium nostrum non sit nisi ad uitam aeter-
 255 nam. Nemo sibi placeat, quasi qui hic iuste uixerit, et comparet se illis qui male uiuunt, secundum Pharisaicum, qui se iustificabat, qui non audierat apostolum: *Non quia iam acceperim aut iam perfectus sim*. Ergo non acceperat adhuc hoc quod desiderabat. Pignus acceperat, sic dixit: *Qui dedit nobis pignus*
 260 *Spiritum*. Cuius rei pignus erat, ad hoc peruenire cupiebat: participatio quaedam, sed distat. Aliter modo participamus, aliter tunc participabimur. Modo per fidem, per spem, in eodem Spiritu; tunc autem species erit, res erit, idem autem

257/258 Phil. 3, 12 259/260 II Cor. 1, 22; 5, 5

246 Se...die¹] *om.* V^{10.11} L³ Se...die²] *om.* L^{5.8} nos...die²] *in marg.*
 L³ dies] *om.* M 247 enim] *om.* L⁸ Dominus] *iesus add.*
 L³, *om.* L^{9a.c.} Christus] et *add.* L² 249 hominum] homini L⁴ M
 250 nouissimus] dies *add.* l *am vlim maur* est] *om.* l dies] *om.* L²
 dies mortis] *inu.* L³ 251 hinc cum] *inu.* l *vlm maur* recipies] *reci-*
 pieris F V⁷¹ L^{1.2.3.5.6.7.8.9} W M *am vlim maur* (*fortasse recte*), *reciperis* V¹⁰ re-
 surges] *resurgis* F L^{1.2.6.9} W 252 egisti] *gessisti* L⁸ *maur* coronabit]
 coronauit F 253 Quidquid] enim *add.* L^{6a.c.} donauit] *donauit* W
 si] *om.* L⁴ cognoscit] *cognoscis* F W, *cognoscet* V¹¹ L⁸ *maur* Totum]
 nunc l *vlm maur*, *inc. flor* (II Cor. 1, 22; *inscriptio*: ex sermone de uerbis apo-
 stoli) 254 nisi] in caelo *add.* L^{1.2}, in caelum *add.* L^{3.4.5.6.7.8.9}, in caelum non
 sit nisi *add.* *vlm maur* 254/255 ad...aeternam] *om.* l 255 qui] *om.* M
 256 secundum] illum *add.* L³ Pharisaicum] pharyseum V¹⁰ 257 ius-
 tificabat] *iustificabit* L⁸ 257/258 iam acceperim] *inu.* W 258 aut] et ut W
 iam] *om.* l M hoc] *om.* V¹¹ M 259 sic] sicut V¹⁰ dixit] *dicit* M
 dedit nobis] *inu.* L⁸ 259/260 nobis...Spiritum] pignus spiritum nobis
 M *am* 259 pignus] *om.* L^{6a.c.} 260 Spiritum] spiritus L² Cuius]
 cui W pignus erat] *inu.* L⁹ hoc] hanc V⁷¹ 261 quaedam] *qui-*
 dem V¹¹ sed] *om.* F^{a.c.} V^{10.11} participamus] *participamus* V¹⁰ L^{4.5.8}
 W *maur* 262 participabimur] *participabimus* V¹⁰ L^{1.3.5.6.8} W *maur*, *par-*
 ticipamus M^{a.c.} per spem] *om.* L⁴ 263 idem autem²] in eodem L⁸
 autem] *om.* L⁴

265 Spiritus, idem Deus, eadem plenitudo. Qui clamat absentibus, exhibebit praesentibus; qui uocat peregrinos, nutriet et alet in patria.

11. Via nobis factus est Christus et desperamus nos peruen-
turos? Via ista finiri non potest, praecidi non potest, corrumpi
non potest, nec pluuiā, nec diluuiis, nec a latronibus obsideri.
270 Ambula securus in Christo, ambula, ne offendas et cadas,
ne retro respicias, ne in uia remaneas, ne a uia recedas. Ista
omnia praecaue tantum et peruenisti. Cum perueneris, tunc
iam gloriare ex hoc – noli in te. Nam qui se laudat, Deum
non laudat, sed se a Deo auertit; quomodo qui uult recedere
275 ab igne: ignis calidus remanet, sed ille frigescit; quomodo
qui uult recedere a lumine: si recesserit, lumen in se lucidum
remanet, sed ille tenebratur. Non recedamus a calore Spiritus,
a lumine ueritatis. Vocem modo audimus, tunc autem *facie*
ad faciem uidebimus. Nemo sibi placeat, nemo alicui insultet.
280 Omnes sic uelimus proficere, ut non inuideamus proficienti-
bus, non insultemus deficientibus; et erit in nobis cum gaudio
impletum quod promissum est in euangelio: *Et ego suscitabo*
eos in nouissimo die.

278/279 I Cor. 13, 12 282/283 Ioh. 6, 40

264 idem] autem spiritus id est *add. L⁸* 266 patria] *fn. flor* 267
est] *om. F^{a.c.}* 268 Via] uita *L²* praecidi...potest²] *om. M am*
269 a] *om. V¹⁰* a...obsideri] obsideri a latronibus *V¹¹* 270 et] ne
l am vlim maur 271 ne¹] nec *M am* ne²] ut *W* 272 tantum]
tamen *M* 272/273 tunc iam] *inu. W* 273 ex] et *V¹¹* qui se]
inu. vlim se] *om. M* 274 se] *om. V^{10.11}* quomodo] quoniam *M*
275–276 ab...recedere] *om. L^{5.8} M* 277 a calore] in colere *L⁸* 278
a lumine] diuine *L⁸* audimus] audiuius *vlim maur* facie] a *praem.*
L^{4p.c.} 279 ad faciem] *iterat L^{5a.c.}* alicui] alii *L⁸ maur* 280 sic]
si *L^{5.8}* uelimus] uoluimus *L⁸* 281 deficientibus] *om. L^{9a.c.}* cum]
eum *L⁷* 282 promissum est] *inu. M* suscitabo] resuscitabo *V^{10.11} l M*
W vlim maur 283 eos] eum *l M vlim*, uos *W* die] explicat *add. F*,
explicit sermo septimus *add. L^{3.6ut uid.}*, dinit sermo septimus *add. L^{7.8.9}*

Summary

This article aims to provide a new critical edition of Augustine's *sermo* 170, accompanied by an introduction in which the sermon's particular transmission is used to determine the stemmatic position of a medieval collection of Augustinian sermons, titled *De lapsu mundi*, within the general transmission of the *sermones ad populum*. A particular point of interest is the development of a recent observation concerning four German and Austrian *homiliaria*, the most prominent of which is Wolfenbüttel, Herz.-Aug.-Bibl., Cod. Guelf. 237 (Helmst. 204) (1178-1191), which appear to reveal traces of an earlier version of the *De lapsu mundi* collection. The article uses textual evidence from Augustine's *s.* 170 but also *s.* 15 and *s.* 151 to ascertain the validity of this hypothesis and correspondingly the critical value of the *homiliaria* involved. Additionally, a few remarks on specific *De lapsu mundi* witnesses are made.

Augustine and Phil. 3, 3-16

One bible fragment,
several exegetical approaches*

by

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In this article we will conduct a comparative study of Augustine's *sermones ad populum* 169 and 170. Both sermons treat more or less the same bible fragment, namely verses 3 (or 6)-16 of the third chapter of Paul's letter to the Philipians.¹ This Bible fragment deals with Paul confirming his being without reproach before the law and admitting the fact that he realized after his conversion that this being without reproach was worthless compared with the knowledge of Christ. In the first place, we will describe the argumentative structure of the two sermons. For this purpose, we will identify, on the basis of mainly content related indications, what can be considered as the introduction, the body and the conclusion of the sermons. Examining the content and certain explicit markers of structure,² we will also distinguish between different units in the body of the sermon. It will become clear that *s.* 169's structure is that of a line by line commentary on

* I would like to thank Prof. G. Partoens and Dr. A. Dupont for their comments on a first draft of this article.

¹ For more information on Augustine's use of Phil. 3, 13-14, see P.-M. HOMBERT, *Nouvelles recherches de chronologie augustinienne*, Paris, 2000, pp. 380-382, 533-534, 613-614 and N. CIPRIANI, "L'utilizzazione di Fil. 3, 13-14 nell'opera di S. Agostino", *Augustiniana*, 56 (2006), pp. 299-320.

² Such as *Cum ergo ait*: ... (*s.* 169, l. 17); *Videte ergo quid sequatur*. (*s.* 169, l. 276); *Quid ergo facturi sumus*? (*s.* 170, l. 172); *Attendite quomodo hoc impleat*: ... (*s.* 170, l. 196); etc.

these bible verses, while the structure of *s.* 170 resembles that of a *quaestio*. We will prove – by comparing these different structures – the sermons to treat the bible fragment differently and indicate how this divergence could be explained by the presence of a different type of audience.³ We will not engage in a theological discussion about the interpretation of Augustine's use of bible verses, theological terms, etc., but focus on a structural analysis of both sermons.

1. *Sermon 169*⁴

In this sermon, Augustine treats the pericope Phil. 3, 3-16. He explains the fragment verse by verse, giving more attention to verses 3-10 than to the last 6.

a. *Introduction* (§1, l. 4-16)

[Phil. 3, 3 : Nos enim sumus circumcisio, qui Spiritui Dei serui-
mus et gloriamur in Christo Iesu et non in carne fidentes.⁵]

In his introduction, Augustine first indicates the subject of his sermon. He asks the public to pay attention *ad apostolicam lectionem* (*s.* 169, l. 4) : he will be talking about the reading of the apostle. Immediately after having announced the subject, Augustine presents himself modestly as some sort of an agent. The public has to pay attention to the message he transfers and help him with their sympathy. God has to reveal the meaning of the message to the public. And Augustine? He is

³ One should take into account that we can only comment on the audience as it is presented through the text. Even though, for instance, Augustine presents something as “public knowledge” (for more information about this term, see L. F. BITZER, “Rhetoric and public knowledge”, in *Rhetoric, Philosophy, and literature: An Exploration*, ed. by D. M. BURKS, West Lafayette, 1978, pp. 67-93), this may not necessarily have been the case. With a particular type of sermon, Augustine aims at a particular kind of public. Therefore, he constructs an image of his (ideal) public. It is that image that we can deduce from the text of the sermons.

⁴ All Latin quotations are based on S. BOODTS, M. TORFS, G. PARTOENS, “Augustine's Sermon 169: A Systematic Treatise on Phil. 3, 3-16. Exegetical Context, Date and Critical Edition”, *Augustiniana*, 59 (2009), pp. 11-44.

⁵ All citations of the pericope of the letter to the Philippians are based on the overview offered by S. BOODTS, M. TORFS, G. PARTOENS (2009), pp. 12-13.

just a medium, some sort of communication channel between God and the public that is listening.⁶

After the general introduction to the subject and the use of the *topos* of the “weak preacher”,⁷ Augustine already repeats (*ergo*) the first verse of the day’s lecture,⁸ Phil. 3, 3 (*Nos enim sumus circumcisio, qui Spiritui Dei seruimus.* [s. 169, l. 7-8]). He does not immediately explain the relevance of the content of this verse, but refers to a linguistic discussion about the word *spiritui*.⁹ Apparently, one could read both *spiritu* and *spiritui* in the available codices. Since Augustine does not want philological discussions to interfere with the more important theological discussions concerning the deeper meaning of the verse, he quickly indicates:

Sed non ibi quaestio est. Manifestum est enim utrumque et congruum regulae ueritatis, quia et Spiritui Dei seruimus et non carne, sed spiritu Deo seruimus. (l. 10-12)

⁶ s. 169, l. 4-6: *Ad apostolicam lectionem aures et animum intendat sanctitas uestra adiuuando nos affectu apud Dominum Deum nostrum, ut ea quae illic nobis reuelare dignatur, ad uos apte atque salubriter proferre possimus.*

⁷ This term is used to describe situations in which the preacher presents himself as not having the final responsibility for what he says when he speaks the truth. The words he pronounces come from God and it depends on God and on the listeners’ *affectus* whether the audience will understand and act according to what it has heard or not. Augustine uses this *topos* frequently. Limiting ourselves to s. 151 to s. 183, we can very clearly distinguish it in: s. 151, s. 152, s. 153, s. 154, s. 156, s. 159, s. 162, s. 163A, s. 163B, s. 164, s. 168, s. 169, s. 170, s. 176, s. 179, s. 179A, s. 180, s. 182, s. 183. Cf. G. LAWLESS, “Preaching”, in *Augustine through the Ages. An Encyclopedia*, ed. by A. D. FITZGERALD, Michigan/Cambridge, 1999, pp. 675-677.

⁸ For more information on the lectures preceding s. 169, see M. MARGONI-KÖGLER, *Die Perikopen im Gottesdienst bei Augustinus. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der liturgischen Schriftlesung in der frühen Kirche*, Wien, 2010, p. 348.

⁹ A similar procedure can be found in *En. in Ps.* 67, 89, 105, 118 and 135, as well as in *Io. eu. tr.* 104.

For information about misinterpretations of Augustine’s reading of Phil. 3, 3, see G. PARTOENS, “Augustine’s *sermo* 169: Correction of Two Misinterpretations and Proposition of a New Date”, in *Ministerium Sermonis. Philological, historical, and theological studies on Augustine’s Sermones ad Populum. Instrumenta patristica et mediaevalia*, ed. by G. PARTOENS, A. DUPONT, M. LAMBERIGTS, Turnhout, 2009, pp. 69-95.

For Augustine’s opinion on the necessity of mastering Greek and Hebrew and on the importance of comparing different manuscripts, see *doc. christ.* 2, 16-22.

This reference to a scientific discussion and certainly to the Greek codices can indicate, as Hill says, that Augustine intended to explain every problem that an interpreter of Scripture could be confronted with.¹⁰ It can, however, also disclose some characteristics of the public listening to the sermon. One can hardly imagine that Augustine would bother to refer to Greek texts and to codices containing alternative versions when talking to people only concerned with “everyday life”. The reference to the discussion complicates the message of the sermon in general: it can be considered as “noise” by a public that is not interested in this kind of reflections and, thus, can instantly disturb the comprehension of the sermon’s message or the desire to understand it. The philological discussion about the choice between *spiritu/Spiritui* has also been mentioned by Ambrose in his *De Spiritu Sancto* (second book, paragraph 46: *Quod si quis de Latinorum codicum varietate contendit, quorum aliquos perfidi falsaverunt, Graecos inspiciat codices, et advertat quia ibi scriptum est: οἱ Πνεύματι Θεοῦ λατρεύοντες, quod interpretatur Latinus: qui Spiritui Dei servimus...*). Since Ambrose was involved in discussions with the Arians about the nature of the Holy Spirit, this philological discussion had implications for the theological discussion. For Augustine, however, there was no need to treat the nature of the Holy Spirit in his s. 169, which was directed against the Pelagians, since Pelagians and Catholics shared the same ideas about this nature. Thus, from a theological point of view, he did not necessarily have to refer to the philological discussion about the variant readings. The fact that he does refer to the different readings *spiritu/Spiritui*, therefore, supports our hypothesis of the presence of an intellectual public, appreciating the reference to this scientific discussion. Finally, the term of address Augustine uses in his introduction – *sanctitas uestra*¹¹ – can certainly indicate that he held the intellectual and spiritual qualities of his audience in great esteem.¹²

¹⁰ E. HILL, *The Works of Saint Augustine. A Translation for the 21st Century. Sermons III/5 (148-183): On the New Testament*, transl. and notes by E. HILL, New York, 1992, p. 235, n. 2.

¹¹ E. ZOCCA, *Dai “santi” al “santo”. Un percorso storico-linguistico intorno all’idea di santità (Africa romana, secc. II-V)*, Roma, 2003 – esp. pp. 233-300 –

b. *Body* (§§ 2-17) – Part 1: *circumcisio* (§§2-3)

[Phil. 3, 3: Nos enim sumus circumcisio, qui Spiritui Dei seruimus et gloriamur in Christo Iesu et non in carne fidentes.]

Augustine begins the first part of his actual explanation of the bible verses with the clarification of the metaphor used in Phil. 3, 3a (*Nos sumus circumcisio...*). He interprets the word *circumcisio* as *iustitia*, pointing out the strong expressive value of the word *iustitiam* for *iustos* (a metonymy). As Hill has remarked,¹³ Augustine does not give any argument supporting this identification between *circumcisio* and *iustitia*.¹⁴ He stresses the fact that the *circumcisio/iustitia* is not ours but God's and that it is not taken but given. This "gift"-character of the *circumcisio/iustitia* will develop, as we will see, into a thread throughout the sermon: Augustine will come back to the subject on a regular basis. Augustine's metaphorical

has shown that Augustine uses the terms *sanctus* and *sanctitas* to refer to bishops. We can see, however, that he also uses these terms to address for example Jerome (*ep.* 73 and 82), Albina, Pinianus and Melania (*ep.* 124), Albina (*ep.* 126), Proba and Juliana (*ep.* 150), etc. Therefore, it seems more appropriate to establish a link between Augustine's use of the term *sanctitas uestra* and his esteem for the addressee's spiritual capacities.

¹² See also G. PARTOENS (2009). In the beginning of his article (pp. 69-70), G. Partoens refers to the possibility that sermon 169 is delivered during some sort of an "exegetical seminar".

¹³ E. HILL (1992), p. 235, n. 5.

¹⁴ According to V. ERMONI, "Circoncision", in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. by A. VACANT, E. MANGENOT, Paris, 1910, pp. 2520-2527, Augustine – just as Ambrose in his *De Abraham* before him and, for example, Gregory the Great after him – based his link between circumcision and justification (or baptism) mainly on Gen. 17, 14 (*masculus cuius praeputii caro circumcisa non fuerit delebitur anima illa de populo suo quia pactum meum irritum fecit*). In Rom. 4, 11 (*et signum accepit circumcisionis signaculum iustitiae fidei quae est in praepotio ut sit pater omnium credentium per praepotium ut reputetur et illis ad iustitiam*), the circumcision is considered to be a sign of the justice of the faith. If the audience was familiar with these bible citations and reasoned in the same way as Augustine did – which they probably did, since, according to Ermoni this way of thinking only disappeared after the Middle Ages –, they did not feel the need for any argumentation considering this identification between *circumcisio* and *iustitia*.

Cf. also C. MAYER, "Circumcisio", in *Augustinus-Lexikon*, ed. by C. MAYER, 2, Basel, 1996-2002, pp. 935-939.

explanations are clearly framed by the use of the same image at the beginning and at the end of these explanations. On l. 18-19, Augustine presents the *circumcisio* as the *umbra* of the real signification, which is revealed when the light comes (*luce ueniente*). On l. 38-39, after having clarified the metaphor, Augustine reuses this image: *lucem praetendit, umbram remouit*.¹⁵

After this clarification of the metaphor, Augustine begins with his actual explanation of the bible verse. He introduces this explanation by citing the entire verse Phil. 3, 3. In the first paragraphs, he only cited Phil. 3, 3a. First, he very briefly explains the last part of the verse (...*et gloriamur in Christo Iesu et non in carne fidentes* [l. 40-41]): the people who are *in carne fidentes*, are those who take pride in the circumcision of the flesh.¹⁶ This brief explanation is followed by a return to the beginning of the verse. Further specifications on the *in carne fidentes* will be dealt with in the next part of the sermon. Augustine tries to tighten the “gift link” between the *circumcisio* and God by considering two elements that are associated with circumcision – the stone knife with which one is circumcised (Gen. 17, 12; Lev. 12, 3), and the eighth day after birth which is the ideal day to be circumcised (Jos. 5, 2) – as being metaphors too. In Augustine’s interpretation, the stone knife allegorically refers to Christ,¹⁷ while the eighth day after birth relates to Sunday, the day Christ arose from the dead.

Obviously, Augustine applies a similar method twice when explaining verse Phil. 3, 3. First, he gives a metaphorical

¹⁵ We can see how the terms *umbra-lux*, *lux-umbra* form a chiasmus. This chiasmus seems to reflect the content of the sermon, since Augustine first mentions *umbra* and then *lux* at the moment he still needs to explain the metaphor, while he first mentions *lux* after having given his clarifications.

¹⁶ S. 169, l. 41-43: *Respexit quosdam in carne fidentes: ipsi erant qui de carnis circumcissione gloriabantur. De quibus alio loco dicit: quorum Deus uenter et gloria in pudendis eorum.*

Augustine refers here to the Jews.

¹⁷ S. 169, l. 45-48: *Non utique frustra octauo die iussus est infans circumcidi, nisi quia petra qua circumcidimur Christus erat. Cultellis enim petrinis circumcissus est populus, petra autem erat Christus.*

Cf. also *Io. eu. tr.* 30 and *sermone*s 160, 231, 260, 10D.

explanation of – in the first case – the *circumcisio* (considered to be the *iustitia*) and – in the second case – two elements linked to the *circumcisio*, namely the stone knife (considered to be Christ) and the eighth day (linked to the day of Christ's resurrection), then he stresses in both cases the “given” character of this *circumcisio*. The bible fragments used to sustain his interpretations are different for both occurrences of the method.

Body (§§2-17) – Part 2: in carne fidere (§§4-5)

[Phil. 3, 4-6a: Quamquam ego habeam fiduciam et in carne. Si quis alius in carne putat se habere fiduciam, magis ego: circumcisione octauae diei, ex genere Israel, tribu Benjamin, Hebraeus ex Hebraeis, secundum legem pharisaeus, secundum aemulationem persequens ecclesiam]

At the beginning of the fourth paragraph, Augustine repeats the entire verse Phil. 3, 3, of which he has already explained the first part in §§2-3. In the third paragraph, Augustine has already briefly revealed the identity of the people who were *in carne fidentes*. Phil. 3, 4 now gives him the opportunity to use Paul as an example to elaborate upon these people, since Paul mentions his own former *fiduciam in carne*: [...] *Si quis alius in carne putat se habere fiduciam, magis ego* (l. 76).

First, in Phil. 3, 5, Paul is described as the “perfect” Jew: he was born as a son of Jewish parents, circumcised on the eighth day and he originated from a respected tribe:¹⁸

Circumcisione octauae diei, *id est: non proselytus, non aduena ad populum Dei, non maior circumcitus, sed a parentibus natus Iudaeus habeo circumcisionem octauae diei*. Ex genere Israel, tribu Benjamin, Hebraeus ex Hebraeis, secundum legem pharisaeus. (l. 77-81)

Phil. 3, 6a ([...], *secundum aemulationem persequens ecclesiam* [l. 91-92]) adds to these characteristics Paul's former *aemulatio* in pursuing anything that was against the Jewish law, for example Christianity. Although Augustine does not explicitly

¹⁸ Augustine stresses this last element by introducing a reflection on the history of the Jewish tribes after having cited the words of the apostle.

connect the *in carne fidentes* with the Jews, this identification can be deduced from the fact that Paul is presented as the perfect example of those who put their trust in the flesh and as the perfect Jew, living by the law and defending it.

In a reflection on the meaning of Paul's name, Augustine already indicates the change that Paul underwent after his conversion. He refers to the link that exists between Saul and king Saul, and between Paul and the word "paulus", meaning "little, modest". This reflection already announces what will follow in the next bible lines and, thus, what will follow in the sermon. At the end of the fifth paragraph, Augustine repeats Phil. 3, 6a once more, so that he can easily continue his sermon with the citation of Phil. 3, 6b at the beginning of the next part.

Body (§§2-17) – Part 3: Justice versus justice (§§6-11)

[Phil. 3, 6b-9: secundum iustitiam quae in lege est, qua fuerim sine querela. Quae mihi lucra fuerunt, haec propter Christum damna esse duxi. Verumtamen et arbitror omnia damna esse propter eminentem scientiam Christi Iesu Domini nostri, propter quem arbitror omnia non solum detrimenta esse, uerum et stercora existimaui esse, ut Christum lucrificerem et inueniar in illo non habens meam iustitiam, quae ex lege est, sed eam quae per fidem est Christi, quae est ex Deo, iustitia in fide]

Augustine has now arrived at the most extensive part of his sermon, in which he treats the difference between human and divine justice. The starting point of his reflection is the observation that Paul claims that he could not be reproached according to the justice of the law: ...*secundum iustitiam quae in lege est, qua fuerim sine querela* (Phil. 3, 6b; l. 104).¹⁹ At this point, Augustine refers to Zacharias and Elisabeth, two saints of the New Testament, about whom has been as well said in that Testament that they were *sine querela in omnibus iustificationibus Domini* (l. 105-107).²⁰ He does not,

¹⁹ Cf. Paul's *aemulatio* in pursuing anything that was against the Jewish law, mentioned in part 2.

²⁰ In his *De Natura*, Pelagius indicates that Zacharias and Elisabeth were without sins, calling them *iusti* or *sancti*.

however, elaborate on this comparison of Paul with Zacharias and Elisabeth and continues only with the idea that Paul was *sine querela* according to the justice of the law.²¹ It might very well be, says Augustine, that Paul was without reproach before the law, but, nevertheless, it was because of that law that he was prosecuting the Christians. This observation could make us wonder whether the law is malicious because it seems to be wrong to be without reproach before the justice of the law.²² In relation to this question we can ask ourselves, according to Augustine, why Paul indicates in Phil. 3, 7-8²³ that he considers everything that seemed to be profitable for himself in the past, as harmful and useless compared to the *scientia* of Christ.

After the general introduction to the problem raised by the lecture of Phil. 3, 6b, and the mentioning of further specifications provided in Phil. 3, 7-8, Augustine returns to

²¹ The fact that Augustine only briefly mentions Zacharias and Elisabeth again can indicate that Augustine supposes that his audience knew the stories of those two saints and was able to discover the points of comparison itself. This observation favours our hypothesis of the audience consisting of people whom Augustine believed to possess great spiritual quality.

²² Augustine introduces this problem with several rhetorical questions: *Quid ergo putamus, fratres? Esse sine querela secundum iustitiam quae in lege est, malum est? Si malum est secundum iustitiam quae in lege est, esse sine querela, ergo aliquid mali est lex? Sed habemus eundem apostolum dicentem: Itaque lex quidem sancta et mandatum sanctum et iustum et bonum. Si lex sancta et mandatum sanctum et iustum et bonum, secundum iustitiam quae est ex lege sancta, conuersari sine querela quomodo potest non esse bonum? Quomodo potest non esse sanctum? An forte sanctum est?* (l. 109-117) Augustine here implicitly criticizes the Manichean idea that a bad law cannot come from a good God and that, therefore, there must be two Gods, one good and one evil. D. MARAFIOTI, "Lex. A. Theological aspects", in *Augustinus-Lexikon*, ed. by C. MAYER, 3, Basel, 2004, pp. 931-943, confirms that Augustine emphasizes the good and holy character of the law.

²³ Augustine cites these words of the apostle, interrupting his citation by paraphrases: *Audiamus ipsum apostolum, uidete quid dicat: Quae mihi lucra fuerunt, haec propter Christum damna esse duxi. Damna sua dicit et inter damna sua computat quod in iustitia quae est in lege, fuerit sine querela. Verumtamen, inquit, et arbitror omnia damna esse propter eminentem scientiam Christi Iesu Domini nostri. Attendo, inquit, laudes meas, comparo eminentiae Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Illud sitio, hoc contemno. Parum est hoc: propter quem arbitror, inquit, omnia non solum detrimenta esse, uerum et stercora existimaui esse, ut Christum lucrificerem.* (l. 117-125)

the starting point of his reflection by repeating the question which followed the lecture of Phil. 3, 6b, this time with more pathos: Augustine addresses Paul in the second person (apostrophe) as if he were present at the moment of speaking;²⁴ he repeats his request for clarification in a stronger way by using the construction *obsecro te*; he explicitly asks his public to see the complexity of the problem which they are confronted with.²⁵ Subsequently, he recapitulates once more the problematic elements of the verse, establishing very clearly the different steps of reasoning one follows so as to discern the problematic character of the verse: 1) Every catholic knows that the law is holy, just and good (cf. Rom. 7, 12). Anyone who denies this and who says that the law has not been given by God, does not wish to be a catholic.²⁶ 2) Paul could not come to Christ because he was without reproach before the law. After the repetition of the problematic elements, Augustine seems to realize that he has been talking about the problem for quite some time and that he needs to continue with a solution. Therefore, he explicitly indicates that he is moving on:

Sequamur ergo et accedamus aliquantum, ne forte in ipsis uerbis apostoli elucescat nobis aliquid unde ista remoueatur et soluatur obscuritas.²⁷ (l. 139-141)

Augustine refers to the following verses (8 and 9) as a key to solve the problem:

²⁴ Cf. Th. F. MARTIN, "Vox Pauli: Augustine and the Claims to Speak for Paul, An Exploration of Rhetoric at the Service of Exegesis", *Journal of early Christian Studies*, 8, 2 (2000), pp. 237-272.

²⁵ S. 169, l. 126-132: *Quaestio maior exorta est: si secundum iustitiam quae in lege est, uersabaris sine querela et hoc in detrimentis tuis, in damnis, in stercorebus computas, ut Christum lucrifacias, ergo iustitia illa a Christo prohibebat? Obsecro te, expone hoc paululum. Deo potius dicamus, illuminet et nos a quo et ipse illuminatus est qui epistolam istam scribit nobis non atramento, sed Spiritu Dei uiui. Videtis, carissimi, quam sit arduum, quam difficile intellegere hoc: ...*

²⁶ This remark implicitly refers to the Manichees' belief that the law does not come from God. Cf. E. HILL (1992), p. 236, n. 19.

²⁷ Augustine here again uses the image of the *obscuritas* which is removed to indicate the process of procuring information.

Existimaui haec omnia detrimenta et stercora, ut Christum lucrifaciam et inueniar in illo non habens meam iustitiam, quae ex lege est sed eam quae est per fidem Christi, quae est a Deo. (l. 142-157)²⁸

After his clear and twofold description of the problem and after having presented a key to solve it, Augustine can now proceed to the actual solution he proposes:

lege Dei proposita quisquis timuerit et suis uiribus eam implere se posse putauerit et fecerit quod lex iubet, non amando iustitiam, sed timendo poenam; fuit quidem secundum iustitiam quae ex lege est, homo sine querela. (l. 162-165)

Thus, being afraid of punishment,²⁹ you can obey the law, but do so in a limited way.³⁰ He refers to this “limited” obedience to the law, giving two examples: a lion that is terrified by human weapons and, therefore, does not attack, remains a lion; a wolf that does not attack sheep due to barking dogs and the shouting of shepherds, does not change into a sheep. God, on the other hand can make a wolf change into a sheep: that is God’s justice. While our “own” justice³¹ can be linked to fear, God’s justice is connected to love. These two kinds of justice can explain the apparent paradox in Paul’s words: he was without reproach before the law because he obeyed it out of fear; but after having received God’s justice, his “own” justice seemed nothing compared to what he had just received.

²⁸ At this point, Augustine seems to observe some reactions of understanding and exhorts those listeners who readily understand things to be patient with those who do not see the solution yet. He expresses the thoughts and questions the *tardiores* could have, using some questions addressed at Paul himself. (l. 151-157) Cf. E. HILL (1992), p. 236, n. 20.

²⁹ The fear of punishment is described as an easy way to avoid injustice. Augustine uses a series of rhetorical questions to show that one should not be too proud of oneself if one fears punishment: *Quid magnum est poenam timere? Quis eam non timet? Quis latro, quis sceleratus, quis nefarius?* (l. 172-174)

³⁰ Cf. D. MARAFIOTI (2004).

³¹ The justice of the law, which we think is our own or comes from our own efforts. All justice comes, according to Augustine, from God.

Having described his solution to the problem, Augustine apparently wants to make his solution even more acceptable by referring to other bible verses, namely to Rom. 9, 30-32:

*Quid ergo dicemus? – ait alio loco ipse apostolus – Quia gentes quae non sectabantur iustitiam, apprehenderunt iustitiam. Sed quam? Iustitiam autem quae ex fide est. Gentes autem quae non sectabantur iustitiam quae in lege est, quasi propriam suam, quae fit de timore poenae, non de amore iustitiae – quia non sectabantur iustitiam, apprehenderunt iustitiam: iustitiam autem, quae ex fide est. Israel autem, inquit, persequens legem iustitiae, in legem non peruenit. Quare? Quia non ex fide. Quid est Quia non ex fide? Non speravit in Deo, non illam petiuit a Deo, non credidit in eum qui iustificat impium, non fuit similis publicano oculos in terram deicienti, pectus suum percutienti et dicenti: Domini, propitius esto mihi peccatori. Ergo persequens legem iustitiae, in legem non peruenit. Quare? Quia non ex fide, sed quasi operibus. Offenderunt in lapidem offensionis.*³² (l. 193-205)

Here the two types of justice are mentioned again, not with the terms *iustitia sua* and *iustitia Dei*, but with *iustitia* and *iustitia quae ex fide est*. The reference to the verses of the letter to the Romans is followed once more by a description of the conversion Paul underwent, resuming problem and solution. Augustine takes the last part of Rom. 9, 32³³ as a starting point to describe how Paul, who was without reproach before the law, was confronted with Christ (the stumbling stone) and how he renounced his “own” justice for God’s. Examining all the references to the difference between the justice of the law and God’s justice, we can observe that Augustine seems to identify the *stercora* of Phil. 3, 8 with Paul’s life *sub lege* compared to his life *sub gratia*. Treating the structure of s. 170, we will see that in that sermon, the *stercora* will not be identified with the life *sub lege*, but with earthly life in general (and, thus, with life *sub lege* and life *sub gratia*).

³² Augustine here again interrupts his citation of the words of Paul with paraphrases and questions to influence the interpretation of the verses by the public.

³³ S. 169, l. 205: *Offenderunt in lapidem offensionis*.

The reference to Rom. 9, 32 is not only useful to Augustine as some kind of summary anchoring the knowledge of the difference between the two kinds of justice in the audience's brain, but it also allows him to make a smooth transition to his arguments in favor of the "gift"-character of the divine justice.³⁴ Starting from the last part of the verse, Augustine describes how Paul was *percussus* by Christ, the stumbling stone. This *percussio* brought him to look down on everything for which he was estimated highly by the Jews [...] *ut inueniretur in illo non habens suam iustitiam, quae ex lege est, sed eam quae per fidem est Christi, quae est, inquit, ex Deo* (s. 169, 10; Phil. 3, 9). Thus, the people who stumble over the *lapidem offensionis*, are described as those who trust only in their own justice, in their own obedience (out of fear) to the law, not in God's justice. Augustine has already mentioned that this divine justice is connected to love (*caritas*); now he goes one step further and explains that this love does not come from ourselves either, it comes from God, through the Holy Spirit who is given to us.³⁵ That is why Christians should pray for the non-believers: these people cannot start to believe without God's help.

Augustine ends this section about the different types of justice with an apostrophe (in the second person singular) to those people who put their trust in themselves and not in God.³⁶ He asks them to take a good look at Paul's words and to accept that justice does not come from themselves. While in the previous paragraphs from his sermon, Augustine seems to consider the non-Christians (the Jews) as people who rely only on themselves and not on God, he now warns Christians not to feel too much at ease: the mere fact of being a Christian does not necessarily prevent you from being trapped by

³⁴ Cf. the "gift"-character of the *circumcisio* as it was mentioned in the first part.

³⁵ Rom. 5, 5: *caritas diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis*. (l. 240-242)

³⁶ This is the reproach Augustine makes against the Pelagians. Cf. also the dating of this sermon by G. PARTOENS (2009). In this passage, Augustine uses an elevated style, introducing pathetic elements such as the repetition of the imperative *tolle te* (l. 255), the *variatio* "*certe ex lege est, nempe ex lege est*" (l. 258), the asyndeton of imperatives *aperi, lege, audi, uide* (l. 260-261), etc.

pride or from relying on yourself instead of on God. That is why Christians not only have to pray for the non-believers, but also for themselves, to implore God's help and justice.

Body (§§2-17) – Part 4: Christ's resurrection (§§12-15)

[Phil. 3, 9-10a: et inueniar in illo non habens meam iustitiam, quae ex lege est, sed eam quae per fidem est Christi, quae est ex Deo, iustitia in fide, ad agnoscendum eum et uirtutem resurrectionis eius et communicationem passionum eius]

Augustine could have ended his sermon after part 3: he started with the explanation of the *circumcisio* as being a metaphor for *iustitia* and has described very carefully the whole semantic field of this *iustitia*, including an exhortation to the public to pray for the non-believers and for themselves so that God may give them His help and justice.³⁷ Apparently he had planned, however, to discuss the whole fragment of Phil. 3, 3-16. He spent much time on verses 6-9 and now he wants to go on with the rest of the verses: *Videte ergo quid sequatur* (s. 169, l. 276).

In order to create a transition to the next part, Augustine introduces a brief reflection on Christ's resurrection (§ 12). He first repeats the last verse he has cited (Phil. 3, 9)³⁸ and subsequently, he goes on with the first part of Phil. 3, 10, dealing with the virtue of Christ's resurrection: *ad agnoscendum eum et uirtutem resurrectionis eius* (l. 279). Using six rhetorical questions, Augustine defines the specificity of this virtue. It is not because of Him having risen from a fleshly body that His resurrection is great;³⁹ it is a result of Him

³⁷ When we look at the overview (provided by S. BOODTS, M. TORFS, G. PARTOENS (2009), p. 13) of the verses of the letter to the Philippians used by Augustine, we can observe that Augustine clearly drew a line between Phil. 3, 9 and Phil. 3, 10. There are almost no sermons (or *Enarrationes in Psalmos* or *Tractatus*) that treat verses of the first part of Phil. 3 (until verse 9) together with verses of the second part (after verse 9). Only *En. in psalm. 65* treats Phil. 3, 9-10.

³⁸ In his citation, Augustine inserts references to the previous part: *quamuis ex lege, tamen meam* (l. 277); *quae impetrat a Deo* (l. 278).

³⁹ We will rise from our fleshly body at the end of times too and with regard to our bodies, this resurrection will be even more admirable because

having set an example to us all and having given us something to hope for. The virtue of Christ's resurrection, which is mentioned in Phil. 3, 10a, should be considered, according to Augustine, as the justification of the believers: Christians are justified by His resurrection just as one is circumcised by a stone knife. Here, Augustine returns to the metaphors he has explained at the very beginning of his sermon:

Ex illius enim resurrectione iustificamur, tamquam a petra circumcidimur. Propterea inde coepit: *Nos sumus circumcisio*. Vnde circumcisio? A petra. Qua petra? Christo. Quomodo? Octauo die: quomodo resurrexit dominico die. (l. 290-294)

This return indicates that Augustine is still preoccupied by the *circumcisio/iustitia*, which has been his subject from the beginning onwards. The reference to these metaphors gives his speech more coherence and also gives him the opportunity – as we will see – to insert a nuance he did not speak of while treating verses 3-9.

First, Augustine suggests to do three things with regard to the concept of justification. (1) Christians have to hold on to the justification they already have. (2) Being small, Christians should be prepared to grow. (3) Christians will bring their justification to perfection at the end of times.

Hanc ergo, fratres mei, iustificationem et habeamus in quantum habemus, et augeamus in quantum minores sumus, et perficiamus cum illuc uenerimus ubi dicitur: [...](l. 295-297).

After these remarks on the possible evolution of justification, he repeats that justification comes entirely from God, but – and here is the nuance he did not make before – that does not mean that human will is completely irrelevant.⁴⁰ At this point, Augustine completes his criticism on the Pelagian

His body did not degenerate while ours will have returned to ashes. Cf. also P. FREDRIKSEN, "4. Vile Bodies: Paul and Augustine on the Resurrection of the Flesh", in *Biblical Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective. Studies in Honor of Karlfried Froehlich on His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. by M. S. BURROWS, P. RO-REM, Michigan, 1991, pp. 75-87.

⁴⁰ N. W. DEN BOK, "Freedom of the will. A systematic and biographical sounding of Augustine's thoughts on human willing", *Augustiniana*, 44 (1994), pp. 237-270.

conception of free will: he has already indicated that our justification comes from God and not from ourselves (against the Pelagian thesis that we can obtain this justification by ourselves); now he remarks that this does not mean, however, that human (free) will does not exist anymore (as opposed to the Pelagians who say that Augustinians pretend that free will does not exist). God's justice always exists but it does not exist in a person if he or she does not want it to exist in him or her (a). Augustine remarks that there is a difference between Creation and the creation of just men.⁴¹ God made us human without our consent, but he cannot make us just without us willing to be justified (b):

(a) Sine uoluntate tua non erit in te iustitia Dei. Voluntas quidem non est nisi tua, iustitia non est nisi Dei. Esse potest iustitia Dei sine uoluntate tua, sed in te esse non potest praeter uoluntatem tuam. (l. 299-302)

(b) Qui ergo fecit te sine te, non te iustificat sine te. Ergo fecit nescientem, iustificat uolentem.⁴² (l. 312-313)

Here, Augustine cites Phil. 3, 9b-10,⁴³ because the last part of Phil. 3, 10 indicates our part in the process of justification, namely the *communicatio passionum Christi* (l. 318).

Augustine considers love (*caritas*) as the ultimate sharing in Christ's passion. He expresses the power of love by giving the example of a criminal who does not betray his accomplices, neither yields up his own name while he is being tortured, and this out of love for something or someone. The love of a criminal, however, is not the same love as the one a Christian should feel. It is love that comes from God and is given to a

⁴¹ Even though both are explicitly presented as coming from God (l. 308-310).

⁴² As G. PARTOENS (2009) has already remarked, these words do not oppose Augustine's doctrine of grace after 417-418, as A. KUNZELMANN, "Die Chronologie der Sermones des Hl. Augustinus", in *Studi Agostiniani (Miscellanea Agostiniana 2)*, ed. by Ordine eremitano di S. Agostino, Rome, 1931, p. 471, has said them to do. Augustine here only stresses the fact that his doctrine does not destroy the existence of human will.

⁴³ S. 169, l. 315-317: ..., *quae ex lege est, sed iustitiam per fidem Christi, quae est ex Deo, iustitiam ex fide, ad agnoscendum eum et uirtutem resurrectionis eius et communicationem passionum eius.*

Christian through the Holy Spirit.⁴⁴ Wishing to reassure the defenders of human free will, Augustine remarks that, when one receives the Holy Spirit (and *caritas* through the Holy Spirit), one's own spirit (or will) does not have to be afraid that it will not have its place anymore. The Holy Spirit will enlarge the heart and there will be enough space for both of them:⁴⁵

Cum habitare in corpore tuo coeperit Spiritus Dei, non inde excludet spiritum tuum: noli timere. (l. 343-344)

Suscipe diuitem Spiritum Dei: dilataberis, non angustaberis. (l. 347-348)

Thus, in this sermon, Augustine describes human will as existing and as a determining element in the process of justification, but as originating from God as well.

Body (§§2-17) – Part 6: Paul's imperfection (§§16-17)

[Phil. 3, 10b-13a: *conformatus morti ipsius, si quo modo occurram in resurrectione mortuorum. Non quia acceperim aut iam perfectus sim: sequor autem si apprehendam, in quo et apprehensus sum a Christo Iesu. Fratres, ego me non arbitror apprehendisse. Vnum autem.*]

Augustine now returns to the example of Paul and refers to the fact that Paul had to be buried (the old Paul had to die) in order to come to a new state of mind and to say: *conformatus, morti ipsius, si quo modo occurram in resurrectionum mortuorum* (s. 169, l. 364-365).⁴⁶ Paul has found the right kind of

⁴⁴ S. 169, l. 325: *Deus non amatur nisi de Deo*; l. 339-340: *Ergo unde tibi caritas, nisi quia diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis?* (Rom. 5, 5).

⁴⁵ Augustine contrasts the presence of the Holy Spirit in one's heart with the receiving of a rich person in one's home. Receiving someone in one's home usually causes a lot of worries: *Si diuitem aliquem hospitio suscipias, pateris angustias; ubi maneat tu non inuenis, ubi illi lectus paretur, ubi coniunx, ubi filii, ubi familia.* (l. 344-346) Stylistically, the state of worrying is very well reflected by the repetition of the word *ubi*, together with the parallel construction of *ubi illi [...] familia*.

⁴⁶ Augustine remarks that there is a difference between the "searching Paul" who wants to be found in Christ, not having his own justice – which is from

justice, but that does not imply that he is sure to participate in the resurrection at the end of times, because he has not yet attained perfection with regard to this justice.⁴⁷ One could wonder now why Paul considers himself as not being perfect yet: he seems to have everything a good Christian should have.⁴⁸ The answer can be found, according to Augustine, in Phil. 3, 13a: Paul realizes that there is still something missing (*Ego me ipsum non arbitror apprehendisse. Vnum autem.* [l. 385-386]), which Augustine identifies by means of the favour the psalmist asks for in psalm 26, 4, namely the ability to live in God's house forever and to contemplate the Lord: *Vnam petii a Domino, hanc requiram. [...] Vt inhabitem in domo Domini per omnes dies uitae meae. [...] Et contempler delectationem Domini* (l. 388-389).⁴⁹ He does not give any arguments, however, to sustain this link between the words of the apostle and the words of the psalm. The only thing both fragments have in common, is the word 'one'.⁵⁰

The thesis that the contemplation of the Lord is what all Christians, including Paul, have to aim for, is sustained by

the law – but the justice that comes from his faith in Christ, and the Christian Paul who hopes to be able to participate in the resurrection.

⁴⁷ S. 169, l. 370-372: *Quare dixisti: Si quo modo occurram? Non quia iam acceperim, aut iam perfectus sim: sequor autem si apprehendam, in quo et apprehensus sum a Christo Iesu* (Phil. 3, 12).

⁴⁸ The mentioning of this question (*Quid est quod nondum acceperat?* (l. 375)/*quid nondum acceperat?* (l. 380): Augustine repeats the question after having summed up everything Paul already disposes of.), the question one could ask after having heard that Paul considers himself not to be perfect yet, reflects the confusion that can arise in an audience that has heard something disturbing. Augustine uses short sentences and addresses Paul in the second person to ask him directly for more explanations. The questions are also very short. The use of these short sentences, further characterized by parallel constructions and repetitions, also gives the impression of speed, a speed which is equally characteristic of a "discussion" among a public that can react to each other's ideas.

⁴⁹ The answer is formulated in the first person, as if it is Paul himself who talks all the time, even if Augustine inserts comments in between his citations. Cf. Th. F. MARTIN (2000).

⁵⁰ For more information on the possible interpretations of 'one', see G. PARTOENS (2009), pp. 85-92.

the story about Martha and Maria.⁵¹ In this story Christ himself shows that Maria, who has chosen to contemplate Him instead of being occupied *circa multum ministerium* (l. 397), has opted for the right conduct. Just as Paul, Maria is not perfect yet, but, willing to listen to the Word, she will evolve and finally attain the state in which she will “know” the Word without having to hear it. Martha has to consider her sister as an example for her personal development. The story of Martha and Maria, thus, resembles the story of Paul: Martha can be considered as the “searching Paul” (*sub lege*), while Maria stands for Paul who has discovered God’s justice (*sub gratia*) but has not yet attained perfection.

c. *Conclusion* (§18)⁵²

[Phil. 3, 13b-16: Quae retro oblitus, in ea quae ante sunt extentus, secundum intentionem sequor ad palmam supernae uocationis Dei in Christo Iesu. Quotquot ergo perfecti, hoc sapiamus. Et si quid aliter sapitis, id quoque uobis Deus reuelabit. Verumtamen in quod peruenimus, in eo ambulemus.]

Augustine initiates his conclusion by asking the question which the public probably wanted to ask hearing the precedent passage: *Quid ergo facio* (l. 417)? The answer to that question can be found, according to him, in the last four verses (Phil. 3, 13b-16) of the discussed bible fragment, which he treats very quickly in the last part of his sermon. While

⁵¹ Augustine says: *Meministis, fratres mei, euangelicae illius lectionis ubi duae sorores Dominum susceperunt: Martha et Maria* (s. 169, l. 392-393). This reference to an evangelic lecture does not necessarily imply that this lecture immediately preceded the sermon, just as the apostolic lecture (although it is possible). This story may have been read earlier, on a different occasion attained by more or less the same public, or Augustine may simply refer to the story when he uses the term *lectio*. In either case, this sentence refers to public knowledge, which Augustine assumes to be present with his public too. It is followed by a short summary of the story, which gives the public the possibility to verify whether they are thinking of the right story. For Augustine’s use of the story of Martha and Maria, see M. SVENSSON, *Theorie und Praxis bei Augustin. Eine Verhältnisbestimmung*, Freiburg/München, 2009.

⁵² Since the sermon as it was pronounced by Augustine probably did not contain the “*Conuersi ad Dominum...*”-formula at the end, it will not be examined in the analysis.

dealing with these verses, Augustine is confronted with a new paradox: Paul has said he is not perfect (*Non quia iam acceperim aut iam perfectus sim* [Phil. 3, 12a]) and in Phil. 3, 15 he says “as far as we are perfect”. This paradox is quickly resolved by making the distinction between the perfect possessor (which Paul is not yet) and the perfect voyager (which Paul already is). The paradox being resolved, Augustine can give advice to his audience. They have to see that they are voyagers on their way to God. During the voyage, they should always move on and, thus, they should never stay in the same place, neither turn back or get off the road. Trying to influence his public in this conclusion, Augustine uses an elevated style in this last part of the sermon. It contains a lot of parallel constructions and repetitions and it presents many imperative forms. Some examples:

Adhuc sequor, adhuc proficio, adhuc ambulo, adhuc in uia sum, adhuc me extendo. (l. 419-420)

Ergo si et tu ambulas, si te extendis, si ea quae uentura sunt cogitas, obliuiscere praeterita, noli in ea respicere [...] (l. 420-422)

Proficite, fratres mei, discutite uos semper sine dolo, sine adulatione, sine palpatione. (l. 439-440)

Semper adde, semper ambula, semper profice. (l. 444)

2. *Sermon 170*⁵³

In this sermon, Augustine explains verses Phil. 3, 6-16. Thus, the explained fragment is not completely identical with the fragment he has dealt with in sermon 169. He does not treat the verses one by one either (as he did – most of the time – in sermon 169), but in groups of verses as a whole.

⁵³ All Latin quotations are based on S. BOODTS, “A new critical edition of Augustine’s *sermo* 170. With a tentative analysis of the stemmatic position of the *De lapsu mundi* collection”, *Sacris erudiri*, 50 (2011), pp. 185-225.

Moreover, the verses of Paul's letter to the Philippians are not the only verses Augustine copes with.⁵⁴

a. *Introduction* (§1)

Augustine begins his sermon by claiming parallels between all lectures because they derive from one and the same source. Different people may use the words but that does not alter the fact that these words originate from the same source. The first lines of the sermon provide us with some more information about the situation in which it was delivered. First of all, Augustine mentions several liturgical lectures. Later on in his sermon, he explicitly refers to the chanting of Psalm 142⁵⁵ and to the lecture of the Gospel according to John.⁵⁶ Thus, it is probable the sermon was pronounced during a celebration of the Eucharist.⁵⁷ Secondly, Augustine presents himself again as a "weak preacher", but in another way than in sermon 169. According to this introduction, every preacher is "weak", because the messenger can differ, but the message, which always originates from the same source, i.e. God, cannot. Augustine does not ask the public to support him. In general, when we compare this part of the introduction to the corresponding part in sermon 169, we could say that Augustine presents himself more modestly in sermon 169 than he does in 170.

⁵⁴ For more information on the lectures preceding s. 170, see M. MARGONI-KÖGLER (2010), pp. 348-350.

⁵⁵ S. 170, l. 148-149: *Adiuuet nos psalmus, qui modo cantatus est: Exaudi me, Domine, in tua iustitia [...]*.

⁵⁶ S. 170, l. 243: *Audistis et Euangelium istis lectionibus concordare*. Cf. FR. DOLBEAU, *Augustin d'Hippone. Vingt-six sermons au peuple d'Afrique*. Retrouvés à Mayence, édités et commentés par FR. DOLBEAU, Paris, 1996 (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité 147), pp. 151-154.

⁵⁷ During the Eucharist, there were normally three lectures, as we can also deduce from the description of a typical Sunday in Hippo in F. VAN DER MEER, *Augustinus de zielzorger. Een studie over de praktijk van een kerkvader. Deel II*, Antwerpen, 1957, pp. 108-116. More information about this threefold sequence during Eucharist can be found in M. KLÖCKENER, "Euangelium. 5. L'e. dans la proclamation liturgique", in *Augustinus-Lexikon*, ed. by C. MAYER, 2, Basel, 1996-2002, pp. 1148-1150, and in A. ZWINGGI, 'Der Wortgottesdienst bei Augustinus (I)', *Liturgisches Jahrbuch*, 20 (1970), pp. 98-100.

After having used the *topos* of the “weak preacher”, Augustine introduces his subject of the day: the apostolic lecture, more in particular, Phil. 3, 6-9, which might have provoked some questions.

Secundum iustitiam quae ex lege est, qui fuerim sine querela. Quae mihi lucra fuerunt, haec propter Christum damna esse duxi. Non solum damna, sed etiam stercora existimaui esse, ut Christum lucrifaciam et inueniar in illo non habens meam iustitiam quae ex lege est, sed iustitiam quae est ex fide Christi Iesu. (l. 9-15)

He formulates the difficulties generated by the apostolic lecture in the form of a series of rhetorical questions, demonstrating that the major problem again seems to be that the apostle describes himself as being without reproach before the law given by God, but at the same time estimates this to be worthless. The rhetorical questions and the lines that follow these questions already indicate the structure of the sermon:

1. *Quomodo enim stercora existimat et damna, secundum iustitiam quae ex lege est conuersari sine querela?* (l. 15-16)

- introduction (§1)

2. *Quis enim legem dedit? Nonne ipse legem praemisit qui postea reis legis cum indulgentia uenit?* (l. 16-17)

- part 1 (§2)

(- part 2 [§§3-4])

- part 4 (§§7-9)

3. *Numquid autem lex reos tenebat eos qui secundum iustitiam quae ex lege est conuersati sunt sine querela? Si ergo indulgentiam et ueniam peccatorum reis legis attulit Dominus, non attulit Paulo apostolo, qui dicit sine querela se in lege conuersatum?* (l. 19-23)

- part 3 (§§5-6)

As part 5 (§10) shows how the Gospel affirms everything that has been said by the other lectures, part 5 corresponds with all questions. To indicate this use of rhetorical questions to give a preview of the structure of the sermon with the term

divisio or *partitio* would be too strong, but the structure of the sermon certainly reminds one of a classical *quaestio*: Augustine presents a problem (in the form of rhetorical questions) and tries to solve every element of the problem in his sermon.

The introduction as a whole suggests a different kind of audience than the one present at the delivery of s. 169. Augustine does not use any term of address at all. He does not invoke a scientific discussion here. The public must have been much more heterogeneous than the one attending sermon 169. This could be expected as sermon 170 was probably preached during the Eucharist on a Sunday or a feast day, while sermon 169 probably has been delivered during some sort of a seminar.⁵⁸ The choice to formulate the problem in the form of rhetorical questions, can be motivated by the fact that those questions are ideal to provoke reactions from such a heterogeneous audience.⁵⁹ One can quite easily imagine a church filled with mumbles, screams, head-nodding, etc., demonstrating the feelings that the crowd experiences with every question Augustine asks. Finally, in sermon 170⁶⁰ Augustine seems to assume that there will be people among the audience having problems with the interpretation of the apostle's words, while in sermon 169, Augustine does not seem to start preaching in the assumption that the audience present at the time of preaching might have experienced some confusion during the lecture and, therefore, needs more explanation. Sermon 169 seems to have been delivered to engage in a careful study of the verses, while the preaching of sermon 170 seems to have been necessary for the audience to deduce the right message and advice from the apostolic lecture. All these elements can lead us to the conclusion that the audience Augustine was addressing in s. 169 must have been more intellectual, i.e. more schooled in the treatment of theological or exegetical questions (as we could already deduce from some indications in s. 169, cf. *supra*), than the one listening to s. 170.

⁵⁸ See G. PARTOENS (2009), pp. 69-70.

⁵⁹ As opposed to the form of the verse by verse commentary, which would certainly not be adequate to use in front of a heterogeneous audience.

⁶⁰ S. 170, l. 8-9: *Audiuimus apostolicam lectionem et forte aliquem moueat quod ibi scriptum est...*

b. *Body* (§§2-10) – Part 1: the nature of the law (§2)

Augustine begins the actual demonstration of his solution to the problem sketched in the introduction with a remark on the nature of the law. He explicitly reacts against the Manichean interpretation of Paul's words as if he pretends that the law and the Gospels would have been given by different persons.⁶¹ This reaction against Manichean ideas⁶² was also present in *s.* 169, but only implicitly.⁶³

After having refuted the Manichean interpretation of the apparent two different sides of the law, Augustine explains this ambiguity by describing the role of the law: it displays sins. Before the law existed, men sinned as well, but they did not recognize their sins. However, as soon as the law prohibited sins, men became aware of their sinning. At this point, Augustine tries to demonstrate his explanations more

⁶¹ *S.* 170, l. 35-38: ...*ne subintrent cogitationes noxiae hoc ideo dixisse apostolum Paulum, quod alius dederit legem, alius euangelium, sicut manichaeus mente peruersa sentit, et reliqui haeretici, qui...*

⁶² For more information on Augustine's attacks on Manichaeism, see A. KUNZELMANN (1931) and G. PARTOENS, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in epistolas apostolicas*. I. Recensuit G. PARTOENS. Secundum praefationis caput conscripsit J. LÖSSL, *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 41Ba*, Turnhout, 2008, p. lvi, n. 4. Cf. also D. MARAFIOTI (2004).

⁶³ This difference between the implicit and explicit refutation of the Manichean ideas can be provoked by several reasons. First of all, it is possible that *s.* 170 was delivered at a moment when Augustine was more occupied with the fight against the Manichean ideas and, thus, wanted to refute these ideas openly and explicitly. It is also possible, however, that we can explain the difference just by assuming the presence of a different type of audience. If we accept the hypothesis that *s.* 169 was attended by a group of intellectuals at a seminar and that *s.* 170 was pronounced during the Eucharist before a heterogeneous public, then it is easy to understand that Augustine assumed the intellectuals would certainly know who he was talking about, while he could not be sure that everyone in the heterogeneous crowd would understand an implicit reference to these heretics. (Cf. also G. PARTOENS (2009), esp. pp. 77-78.) Furthermore, we have to take into account that Augustine, since the Pelagians reproached him to have not completely broken with his Manichean past, often openly refuted Manichean ideas in his dispute with the Pelagians. (Cf. M. LAMBERIGTS, "Was Augustine a Manichaean? The Assessment of Julian of Aeclanum", in *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West. Proceedings of the Fribourg-Utrecht Symposium of the International Association of Manichean Studies (IAMS)*, ed. by J. VAN OORT, O. WERMELINGER, G. WURST, Leiden, 2001), pp. 113-136.

clearly by using a medical metaphor:⁶⁴ a patient has to realize that he is ill before he calls the doctor. In the metaphor, the patient refers to the sinner, the illness to sin and the doctor to Christ. It is the law that permits the patient to see his illness, but only Christ, the doctor, is able to heal the patient.

This reflection on the nature of the law finally gives Augustine the opportunity to introduce a first argument that might be used against Pelagian ideas:⁶⁵ the law will make men discover their sins, which are inherent to man's nature as he descends from Adam. Children too have a sin, which they did not commit personally, but have been burdened with since birth.⁶⁶

Body (§§2-10) – Part 2: Christ versus men (§§3-4)

Talking about sins, Augustine arrives at the differences between Christ and man. He refers⁶⁷ to the words of Psalm 50, 6:⁶⁸ *Tibi soli peccaui et malum coram te feci, ut iustificeris in sermonibus tuis et uincas cum iudicaris* (l. 66-71). These words, says Augustine, are not only pronounced (or should not only be pronounced) by David, but also by Adam and,

⁶⁴ Images borrowed from the medical world are very frequent in Augustine's works. See M.-F. BERROUARD, "Le Christ Médecin", in *Homélies sur l'évangile de saint Jean*, Paris, 1993, pp. 854-855; P. C. J. EIJKENBOOM, *Het Christus-Medicusmotief in de preken van sint Augustinus*, Assen, 1960, and Th. F. MARTIN, "Paul the Patient. Christus Medicus and the 'Stimulus Carnis' (2 Cor. 12:7). A Consideration of Augustine's Medicinal Christology", *Augustinian Studies*, 32, 2 (2001), pp. 219-256. For further information on symbolic language in general, used by Augustine, see S. POQUE, *Le langage symbolique dans la prédication d'Augustin d'Hippone: images héroïques*, Paris, 1984.

⁶⁵ The idea that we all inherited a sin from Adam is typically Augustinian. Therefore, Augustine does not necessarily fight the Pelagians here, but the argument could certainly be used against Pelagian ideas.

⁶⁶ Thus, there are two types of sin one is burdened with: original sin and individual sin. See also J. WETZEL, "Sin", in *Augustine through the Ages. An Encyclopedia*, ed. by A. D. FITZGERALD, Michigan/Cambridge, 1999, pp. 800-802.

⁶⁷ Augustine abruptly introduces the reference to the psalm verse with the imperative *audi* (l. 64). In the following lines, this imperative structures the interpretation of the psalm verse, since it introduces little by little the different parts of the verse, of which every part is paraphrased separately.

⁶⁸ This psalm was probably not sung shortly before the preaching of the sermon. Cf. MARGONI-KÖGLER (2010), pp. 348-350.

through Adam, by all mankind. Augustine now tries to define the particularity of Christ in several steps, starting from the elements present in the psalm verse he just mentioned: *et uincas, cum iudicaris* (l. 71).

In the first place, Augustine indicates that these words refer to Christ and not to the Father or to the Holy Spirit. Only Christ in His human appearance has been judged.⁶⁹ In this human appearance, however, Christ must be distinguished from ordinary men: He was not born from the desire of a man and a woman, for His mother always remained a virgin.⁷⁰ Secondly, Augustine explains that Christ prevailed even when He was judged, because He was judged without having any sin at all. Men can be judged as being innocent with regard to one particular crime/sin, but they are never perfectly without sins, because before God, not only acts, but thoughts as well count as sins. Furthermore, we are all burdened with original sin. Being the only one perfectly without sins and, thus, being judged innocently, Christ defeated not only Ponce Pilate and the Jews, but even the devil. To show more clearly that only Christ was without sins, Augustine continues by giving a definition of the devil. According to Christ, he was the *princeps mundi huius*.⁷¹ With this definition – and especially the element “*mundi huius*” – in mind, Augustine explicitly refers to the knowledge which he assumes his public possesses, regarding the definition of sinners: *Iam saepe dictum est caritati uestrae, mundum istum appellari peccatores* (l. 88-89). He explains why one can call sinners “the world”: one calls them “the world” because they love the world. The term “the world” can be considered as a metonymy (habitat for inhabitant). Just like Paul said in his letter to the Philippians that the ones who love God, live in heaven (*Nostra conuersatio in caelis est* [l. 92; Phil. 3, 20]), those who love the world, live in that world.⁷² Augustine tries to make this metonymy more clear by giving an example from everyday life: when good

⁶⁹ *Non est iudicatus Deus Pater, non est iudicatus Spiritus sanctus.* (l. 71-72)

⁷⁰ *uirgo credidit, uirgo concepit, uirgo peperit, uirgo permansit* (l. 75-76).

⁷¹ l. 87-88: *Ecce uenit princeps mundi huius.* (Ioh. 14, 30)

⁷² This love is nuanced in that it is the soul that loves and not the flesh.

people are living in a particular house, you can call that house a good house, meaning a house inhabited by good people. These definitions of the devil (*princeps huius mundi*) and of sinners (*mundum istum*) having been given, Augustine can continue showing that there was absolutely no sin in Christ (*Ergo* [l. 106]). He does so by referring to the evangelic verse of which he used the first part to define the devil: *ecce, uenit princeps mundi et in me nihil inuenit* (l. 106-107; Joh. 14, 30).⁷³ This verse is followed by a verse concluding that it was, thus, not because of sin that Christ suffered, but only to satisfy the will of His Father (Joh. 14, 31). Augustine presents this verse as an answer of Christ himself to the question: *Quare ergo moreris?* (l. 108). The “definition” of Christ has now been completed and this is indicated by the repetition the psalm verse that made him engage in these explanations in the first place, namely Psalm 50, 6.

At the end of this part, Augustine refers to man with a lot of pathos: *Quare autem in te inuenit, o genus humanum?* (l. 114) He tries to define, thus, the difference between man and Christ, a difference on the basis of which the devil finds sin in man and not in Christ. According to Augustine, the difference is indicated in the next verse of the psalm: *Ego enim in iniquitate conceptus sum et in peccatis peperit me mater mea* (Ps. 50, 7; l. 115-116). One cannot say that David uttered these words because he was born out of adultery: he was born in sin because of the way he was born, i.e., just as any other human being, out of the union of a man and a woman.⁷⁴

Body (§§2-10) – Part 3: being without reproach versus being without reproach (§§5-6)

Augustine has shown⁷⁵ in the two previous parts that men cannot be without sin and that they discover their sins because of the forbidding law. Having recognized their own sins, all

⁷³ Augustine does not explicitly mention his interpretation from “nihil” as “no sins/nothing the Devil wants”. He does, however, add explicitly that it was only in Christ that the Devil did not find anything.

⁷⁴ l. 119-121: *...nisi quia est ibi quiddam de mortis propagine, quod secum trahit omnis qui ex coniunctione uiri et feminae nascitur?*

⁷⁵ l. 122: *Habens ergo...*

men can speak, according to Augustine, the words of Paul in Rom. 7, 22-25:

*Condelector legi Dei secundum interiorem hominem; uideo autem aliam legem repugnantem legi mentis meae et captiuantem me in lege peccati, quae est in membris meis. Cognouit se aegrotum, imploret medicum: Infelix homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius? Respondeat medicus: Gratia Dei per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Gratia Dei, non merita tua. (l. 125-131)*⁷⁶

Realizing that all men have sins and that Paul also said that he felt the two fighting laws competing within himself, one can wonder how Paul could say that he was without reproach before the law.⁷⁷ At this point, Augustine finally returns to (or, actually, starts with) the explanation of the verses of the letter to the Philippians, namely Phil. 3, 6-9. He solves the question by distinguishing between being without reproach before men and being without reproach before God. One can be without reproach before men (and thus respect *iustitia* in a limited way) and not before God. Augustine gives the example of stealing: if you do not steal, men think you are without reproach. That does not mean, however, that you do not long for someone's property and this longing by itself makes you guilty in God's eyes. After the presentation of this solution, Augustine once more acknowledges the difficulty of the matter and, remarkably, indicates that he is convinced that it will be solved (though he just solved it).⁷⁸ Augustine apparently wants to introduce a nuance in his solution.

It seems necessary to take a closer look at the term *iustitia* so as to be able to solve the matter in a more satisfying way.

⁷⁶ We can see how Augustine here again uses the medical metaphor. Furthermore, he already briefly stresses the fact that the grace of God and not human merit is the basis of salvation. This element will be elaborated on later on in the sermon (l. 142-171).

⁷⁷ Here, Augustine is talking about the law given to Moses, the first law of God, the law that is not able to make sins go away.

⁷⁸ Augustine remarks that he is not the only one deserving an answer. The audience deserves an answer too because of their attention. This remark can be seen as an exhortation to the crowd to remain attentive. l. 140-142: *Hoc autem non ego solus pia subiectione, sed omnes pia intentione mereamur.*

Augustine uses the Jews as an example. These people only took into account their being without reproach in the eyes of men and thought that they could respect the law and, thus, the *iustitia* because of their own efforts. They did not realize that their *iustitia* was only a limited one and that they could not comply with the law in a pious way when attributing the *iustitia* to their own powers. Augustine here refers to the psalm verses which were sung. It seems that in those verses the Jewish attitude is refuted. Augustine stresses that everyone in the church sang *Exaudi me, Domine in tua iustitia* (l. 149; Ps. 142, 1), and did not speak of *mea iustitia*, indicating that the *iustitia* comes from God and does not follow our merits.⁷⁹ The second verse of the same Psalm (*et non intres in iudicium cum seruo tuo quia non iustificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis uiuens* [l. 156-163]) provides Augustine with the opportunity to stress that, according to God, nobody will be justified in this life: *Quid dixit? Quamdiu uiuitur in hac uita, nemo iustificatus est, sed in conspectu Dei* (l. 165-167). Referring to Ps. 142, 1-2, Augustine, thus, does not only stress the given character of the *iustitia*, but he also introduces a clear opposition between this life (in which nobody will be justified) and the following. This opposition will prove to be important to elaborate further on the definition of *iustitia* in the next part of the sermon.

⁷⁹ Augustine often uses the responsive verse in his argumentation. The audience has repeated that verse so often that they cannot deny the content afterwards. For more information on the selection and the use of the responsive verse in Augustine's sermons as well as for bibliographical references on the same subject, see G. PARTOENS, "Prédication, orthodoxie et liturgie. Les sermons d'Augustin prononcés à Carthage en septembre-octobre 417", in *Prédication et liturgie au Moyen Âge. Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge* 5, ed. by N. BÉRIOU, F. MORENZONI, Turnhout, 2008, pp. 23-51, esp. 39-43. Augustine contrasts this option for *tua iustitia* with situations in which the bible text is more ambiguous: *Vocat quidem nonnullis locis et suam iustitiam, sed hic melius discernit, quia et suam quando dicit, datam dicit; quomodo dicimus: Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Quomodo nostrum? Quomodo "da"? Ergo hic distinctius loquens ait.* (l. 151-155). The clear option for *tua* makes it even more impossible to deny that the *iustitia* comes from God.

Body (§§2-10) – Part 4: *iustitia*⁸⁰ (§§7-9)

Augustine realizes that, knowing there is a difference between justice according to men and justice according to God, one may wonder what to do.⁸¹ He has found the answer to this question in the words of Paul's letter to the Romans and in the psalm that has been sung:⁸² one has to recognize that it is God's mercy that brings real justice.

Talking about Paul and the psalm, Augustine characterizes this *iustitia* of God's more clearly. First of all, he mentions it is the justice as it is known by the angels. Secondly, when one compares human justice to this justice, one will consider human justice as being worthless.⁸³ Thirdly, one will not obtain this justice when estimating human justice too highly. That is why one has to be keen on having *iustitia*, but not one's own. And finally, the perfect justice can be found in the resurrection, according to Paul.⁸⁴

Compared to the *iustitia* that Paul has defined more clearly, *stercus est tota uita quam gerimus* (l. 190-191). Augustine here introduces an important nuance with regard to his answer to the question why Paul says: *Quae mihi lucra fuerunt, haec propter Christum damna esse duxi. Non solum damna, sed etiam stercora existimaui esse...* (cf. l. 10-12). Whereas in s. 169, Augustine presented the *stercora* as being Paul's life as a Jew (*sub lege*), he expands the *signifié* of *stercora* to the whole life on earth (*sub lege* and *sub gratia*) in s. 170. The same nuance is stressed by referring to verses 12-14:

Attendite quomodo hoc impleat: *Fratres, ego me non arbitror apprehendisse. Vnum autem. Quid unum, nisi ex fide uiuere*

⁸⁰ While in sermon 169, Augustine started with remarks on the *iustitia*, he now treats it more towards the end, as if the abstract concept has to be introduced softly for the audience to understand it.

⁸¹ Augustine formulates this wonder in the form of a rhetorical question.

⁸² Augustine cites the two bible texts and reminds the public of the fact that this is what they heard from the Psalm and the apostle.

⁸³ Here, Augustine gives the final answer to the question why Paul says: *Quae mihi lucra fuerunt, haec propter Christum damna esse duxi [...] Non solum damna, sed etiam stercora existimaui esse...* (Phil. 3, 7-8 as it has been cited by Augustine in l. 10-12)

⁸⁴ Augustine here, thus, uses Phil. 3, 9-10 to explain Phil. 3, 6-9.

spe salutis aeternae, ubi erit plena et perfecta iustitia, in cuius comparatione damna sunt quae transitura sunt, et stercora quae reprobanda sunt? Quid ergo? *Vnum autem: quae retro oblitus, in ea autem quae inante sunt extensus, secundum intentionem sequor ad palmam supernae uocationis Dei in Christo Iesu.* (l. 196-203)⁸⁵

Paul acknowledges in Phil. 3, 12-14 that he is not perfect (actually, he cannot be in this life). There is, however, one thing that he does know, namely that he does live by faith, hoping of eternal salvation.

The next verse (*Quotquot ergo perfecti sumus, hoc sapiamus. Et si quid forte aliter sapitis, id quoque uobis Deus reuelabit.* [Phil. 3, 15]) is, in Augustine's opinion, addressed to those who rely too much on their own perfection.⁸⁶ The beginning of this verse could create a confusion similar to the one caused by Paul saying that he was without reproach before the law but that he estimated this to be worthless. Augustine immediately avoids interpretative problems by underlining that it is human perfection to know that one is not perfect. The last part of the verse shows that men have to accept they do not yet have what they will have in the future and what they are, thus, hoping for. This future is the view of God's face. When men will see His face, they will not sin because beholding His face is so satisfactory that they cannot long for anything else anymore.⁸⁷

Talking about this future that will be but that we cannot see yet, Augustine assures his audience that it will not take very long anymore for that future to become real. He says that since Adam, more centuries have already passed than there are left to come.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ For more information on Augustine's interpretation of the word "*unum*" in Phil. 3, 13-14, see G. PARTOENS (2009), pp. 85-92.

⁸⁶ As we know, Augustine does not only refer to the Jews here, but to the Pelagians as well.

⁸⁷ Augustine sustains this idea with references to the bible: l. 227-230: *Audi ipsas duas sententias de scriptura: Qui bibit me, dicit Sapientia, adhuc sitiet; et qui edit me, adhuc esuriet. Sed ne putes quia ibi erit indigentia et fames, audi Dominum: Qui biberit de hac aqua, non sitiet in aeternum* (l. 227-230).

⁸⁸ cf. P. FREDRIKSEN (1991).

Body (§§2-10) – Part 5: the Gospel affirms everything said about and by the two other lectures (§10)

Augustine now comes to the final lecture of the day. He has already talked about the apostolic lecture and about the psalm that was sung. Dealing with the Gospel provides Augustine with the opportunity to repeat the most important points.⁸⁹

Augustine treats a part of John's Gospel, namely Joh. 6, 39-40:

Voluntas Patris est ut omnia quae mihi dedit, non pereant, sed habeant uitam aeternam; et ego resuscitabo eos in nouissimo die.

The newest day Christ is talking about in John's Gospel, is, according to Augustine, the last day of this world. Christ, who arose on the first day, will make the believers arise on that last day.⁹⁰ One should not ask how long it takes before that day will be there: for an individual it starts when he dies, for mankind in general, it will still take a while. On that day, we will receive what we deserve according to our merits, which are *dona* from God. We have to look forward to this moment, all our desire has to be focussed on eternal life, for, as Paul has shown by indicating that he was not perfect, we cannot achieve complete perfection in this life. We can only participate partly⁹¹ in this perfection by longing for heaven and for eternal life. Perfection will be attained at the moment when we will see God's face.

⁸⁹ According to Augustine, the Gospel says the same as the other lectures. This equality of the content of different bible books has already been mentioned in the introduction and is one of Augustine's exegetical principles, namely that of the harmony of the bible.

⁹⁰ Augustine uses the same image as he has used in s. 169 (Christ's resurrection, first day, eighth day) but here he does not explain it, probably to avoid confusion amongst the audience.

⁹¹ Augustine uses the term *pignus*, as if we get some sort of a guarantee for what we will receive in the future.

Cf. s. 23, 8-9; s. 156, 16; s. 378. In these sermons, Augustine remarks that it is perhaps better to speak of *arra* instead of using the term *pignus*.

c. *Conclusion* (§11)⁹²

Augustine concludes his sermon by giving some advice to the faithful. They should not despair on their road to God because Christ has given the right example. They should not get off the road or stay in one place or look back.⁹³ All believers should keep on going and not be jealous of those who are already further or angry with those who fall behind. At the end of the road, the promise of the Gospel will be fulfilled.

3. *Sermon 169 and sermon 170: a comparison*

As we have seen, s. 169 and s. 170 deal with almost the same bible fragment, namely Phil. 3, 3 (or 6)-16. Nevertheless, Augustine's treatment of his subject differs in both sermons: s. 169 is a verse by verse commentary of the bible fragment, while s. 170 resembles a *quaestio*, explaining verses 6-9 as a whole. When we look at the introductions to the sermons, we can see an indication of this difference. In the introduction to s. 170, Augustine repeats the fragment (Phil. 3, 6-9) which will be the subject of his sermon and formulates, in the form of rhetorical questions, the problems caused by this fragment. In the introduction to s. 169, we find no such thing. Augustine does indicate he will be talking about the apostolic lecture, but he does not formulate questions yet, which gives him the opportunity to ask questions when necessary while treating the verses one by one.

Secondly, while Augustine seems to consider it absolutely crucial to mention the Greek codices and the textual discussion about the third verse of the letter to the Philippians in

⁹² Augustine uses an elevated style in his conclusion, using parallel constructions, repetitions, *homoioioteleuta*, etc. Some examples:

[...] *nec pluuiā, nec diluuiis, nec a latronibus obsideri. Ambula securus in Christo, ambula, ne offendas et cadas, ne retro respicias, ne in uia remaneas, ne a uia recedas.* (l. 269-271)

[...] *ut non inuideamus proficientibus, non insultemus deficientibus* (l. 280-281)

⁹³ Augustine illustrates the consequences of getting off the road or turning back by referring to a fire and to light: if you get away from the fire, you will get cold due to your own fault since the fire remains warm; if you get away from the light, you will be in the dark while the light still shines.

s. 169, he does not refer to such a scientific discussion at any moment in s. 170. He does not even cite the third verse here, perhaps because of the possible difficulties linked with its comprehension.

Looking at the body of both sermons, we can detect some differences as well. Studying Augustine's treatment of verses 6-9, which are the main subject of sermon 170 and which constitute the most extensive part in sermon 169, we can see that in s. 169, Augustine first describes twice the problem caused by these verses and then solves it by distinguishing between respecting the law out of fear and respecting the law out of love. He then establishes an equality between these two kinds of respect and the *iustitia sua* versus *iustitia Dei*, to, finally, stress that this justice as well as the love that causes this justice, come from God. In s. 170, Augustine first indicates that Paul does not agree with the Manichees when he says that he estimates his respect for the law to be worthless. Subsequently, he gives information about the nature of the law and about the difference between men and Christ and, thus, interrupts for a while his explanation of verses 6-9. Finally, he does solve the question by distinguishing between being without reproach according to men and being without reproach according to God, a slightly other distinction than in s. 169. After having treated these different attitudes towards the law, Augustine makes the transition to the more abstract term of *iustitia*. In s. 169, this term was the starting point of the reflection. The structure of the treatment of these verses in s. 170 resembles, consequently, that of the treatment of the same verses in 169, apart from the fact that Augustine does not start from an abstract term (*iustitia*) in 170, and prefers to start with something more tangible, namely the law and its nature or the difference between Christ and ordinary men.

We can also discover different accents in both sermons. In s. 169, Augustine repeats several times that the *iustitia* is given by God and is not the result of our own merits.⁹⁴ He does

⁹⁴ For example:

§2: *ab illo accepta, non a nobis assumpta; impertita, non usurpata; donata, non raptata.*

not seem to consider it necessary to prove that all men are sinners and, thus, desperately need that *iustitia*. In *s.* 170, however, Augustine does start by proving that all men are sinners. He repeats this idea several times, then continues with the idea that justice – crucial due to that sinfulness – derives from God and does not come from our own merits.⁹⁵ Both sermons stress the given character of the *iustitia*. In each of the sermons, however, *iustitia* seems to be defined by two elements: her given character and her evolution. With regard to this evolution, we can also discern an important difference between *s.* 169 and *s.* 170. Whereas, in *s.* 169, *iustitia* seems to be identified with the life *sub gratia* and, as such, seems to be opposed to the life *sub lege* (identified with the *stercora* in Phil. 3, 8), Augustine opposes in *s.* 170 *iustitia* to the earthly life in general (as a whole identified with the *stercora*). In *s.* 169, Augustine, thus, establishes a possible evolution from a life *sub lege*, through a life *sub gratia* (and disposing of *iustitia* already), to a perfect life at the end of times (when one disposes of perfect *iustitia*). In *s.* 170, this evolution rather seems to consist of two steps: life on this earth (without the actual *iustitia*; one can only dispose of what humans think to be *iustitia*) versus life after this life (when one disposes of *iustitia*). When we look at the description of Christ, we can observe that Augustine talks in both sermons about Christ's resurrection as an example to all of us. In *s.* 170, however,

§3: *Non putes te promerendo accepisse, qui non promerereris, nisi accepisses. Gratia praecessit meritum tuum: non gratia ex merito, sed meritum ex gratia.*

§9: *Quid est 'de tumore superbiae'? Quasi de iustitia sua. Ex lege quidem, sed sua. Quid est 'ex lege'? Quia in mandatis legis. Quid est 'sua'? Tamquam uiribus suis.*

⁹⁵ For example:

§2: *Inde est quod nec unius diei infantem mundum dicit a peccato; non ex eo quod commisit, sed ex eo quod traxit.*

§4: *Secundum quam ergo propaginem dicit: In iniquitate conceptus sum, nisi quia est ibi quidam de mortis propagine, quod secum trahit omnis qui ex coniunctione uiri et feminae nascitur?*

§5: *Gratia Dei, non merita tua.*

§6: *Exaudi me, Domine, in tua iustitia, hoc est, non in mea. Si diceret: "Exaudi me in iustitia mea", tamquam meritum uocaret.*

§10: *Tunc Deus coronauit, non tam merita tua, quam dona sua.*

he also stresses another characteristic of Christ as a human being: He was without sins. Christ, when He was in the flesh, was the only human being who was not born out of the union of a man and a woman and, consequently, He was the only one who was genuinely innocent. Thus, Augustine stresses man's sinfulness in his description of Christ in *s.* 170. Another difference in accent concerns the presence/absence of information about the will and the end of times. Obviously, Augustine explicitly introduces a section dealing with the role of will in *s.* 169. Human beings still have a will, even if justification derives from God. In *s.* 170, Augustine does not talk about the will, as if he does not want his audience to pay any attention to it. On the other hand, in *s.* 170 Augustine feels the need to talk about the end of times and about the question when this moment will come. In *s.* 169, he just refers to the end of times as the moment of resurrection. He does not elaborate on the subject.

Finally, we can observe a difference in the amount of biblical knowledge Augustine assumes his audience disposes of. He uses more bible citations in *s.* 169 than in *s.* 170, and, more important perhaps, the number of bible citations which are not explicitly indicated as being citations⁹⁶, is higher in *s.* 169 than in *s.* 170. Sentences such as *Nouit caritas uestra dictos esse sine querela ambulasse in omnibus iustificationibus Domini Zachariam et Elisabeth (s. 169, §6)*⁹⁷ or *Mementote uxoris Loth (s. 169, §18)*, also indicate that Augustine supposes that the audience attending sermon 169 has an extensive biblical knowledge. The public listening to this sermon must have possessed this knowledge to be able to avoid confusion when Augustine talks through Paul⁹⁸ or Christ (and he does this several times in *s.* 169). Contrarily, in *s.* 170, Augustine does not seem to presume the presence of a thorough biblical knowledge with his audience.

⁹⁶ We consider as explicit indications, constructions like "as the apostle says", "as we can find in the Scripture", etc.

⁹⁷ This biblical citation is often used in the theological discussion against the Pelagians.

⁹⁸ Cf. Th. F. MARTIN (2000).

At the end, both sermons use the same image: our life is a road on which we have to walk until the end, where we will receive what has been promised to us. Christ will be our guide on the road. We have to watch out so as not to get off the road, not to stay in one place and not to return on our own steps.

The differences between *s.* 169 and *s.* 170 could be explained by the presence of a different type of audience. *S.* 169 has probably been delivered before an audience consisting of people whom Augustine believed to possess great spiritual quality, who were attending a seminar.⁹⁹ Augustine aims at a careful bible study, which should give his listeners a strong basis for answering any question someone else could possibly ask them in the future. The public of *s.* 170 must have been much more heterogeneous. It consisted of the people present in church during the Eucharist. Augustine addresses this heterogeneous public differently, this time rather aiming at a general and correct comprehension of the bible verses than at a careful exegetical study.

Summary

The present article provides a comparative study of Augustine's *sermones ad populum* 169 and 170. Both sermons treat more or less the same bible fragment, namely verses 3 (or 6)-16 of the third chapter of Paul's letter to the Philippians. The argumentative structure of the two sermons will be examined on the basis of mainly content-related indications and certain explicit markers of structure. It will become clear that *s.* 169's structure is that of a line-by-line commentary on these bible verses, while the structure of *s.* 170 resembles that of a *quaestio*. By comparing these different structures, it will become clear that the sermons treat the bible fragment differently. This divergence will be explained by the presence of a different type of audience (namely, people whom Augustine believed to possess great spiritual quality for *s.* 169, a heterogeneous public for *s.* 170).

⁹⁹ Cf. G. PARTOENS (2009), pp. 69-70.

El prólogo hagiográfico de la Carta de Severo de Menorca (418), primer testimonio de la llegada de los Hechos Apócrifos de San Juan a Occidente y las transformaciones del priscilianismo en la Tarraconense y Mediodía de las Galias

por

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1. *La ep. 237 de San Agustín al obispo Cerecio de ¿Gratianapolis (Grenoble)? Los priscilianistas son acusados de mentirosos*

Hacia el año 429, San Agustín respondió a la consulta que le había expuesto el obispo Cerecio. La misiva que salió de Hipona es la *ep. 237*¹. Se trata de uno de los escritos más citados de entre los que implicaron a San Agustín en el combate del priscilianismo. La intitulación del escrito, así como los tratamientos de que es objeto Cerecio, dejan bien claro que éste era obispo. Los títulos con los que el obispo Agustín, se dirige a Cerecio son los de *frater*, *coepiscopus*, *pater*. Los calificativos usuales en el lenguaje epistolar, cuando se trataba a los obispos,

¹ San Agustín, *ep. 237*, *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis episcopi Epistulae*, ed. Al. GOLDBACHER, Viena, 1911 (*CSEL*, 57), 526-532; *PL* 33, col. 1034-1038. *Obras completas de San Agustín*. Xlb. *Cartas* (3º) 188-270; 1*-29*, ed., trad. L. CILLERUELO, P. DE LUIS. Rev., not. P. DE LUIS. Índ. M.ª. CAMPELO, Madrid, 1991 (*BAC*, 99b), pp. 412-421.

eran los que, entre otros, empleó Agustín: *beatissimus, uenerabilis, sanctitas*. Cerecio podría haber tenido la sede episcopal en la Vienesa, en la ciudad de *Gratianopolis* (Grenoble), si bien este extremo no es seguro, como lo expondremos más adelante, al tratar de la geografía del priscilianismo del s. v.

En cuanto a la carta, todavía podemos añadir que no fue publicada hasta el año 1576, después de que los editores jesuitas, teólogos de Lovaina, la habían copiado de los manuscritos 495 y 499 del Vaticano². Los monjes de San Mauro (Maurinos)³, entre 1679 y 1700, rehicieron esta edición de Lovaina, procediendo a una nueva colación de los códices, y establecieron un nuevo orden entre las cartas. La *ep.* 237 quedó englobada en la sección de las misivas que fueron escritas entre los años 411-430, cuando ya hacía tiempo que Agustín era obispo. Forman la cuarta clase de cartas⁴. Por lo tanto, la que nos ocupa, pertenece a los últimos 20 años de la vida de San Agustín.

Observemos que Cerecio envió dos códices, uno de los cuales lo extravió San Agustín⁵. En el que conservaba leyó el Himno de Jesús, que forma parte de los Hechos apócrifos de San Juan apóstol.

² Véase *Tomus Secundus Operum D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi, complectens Epistulas*. Per Theologos Lovanienses non mediocri cura innumeris locis castigatus. Ex Officina Christophori Plantini Architypographi Regii. Amberges 1576. Interesa el comentario que hallamos en *S. Aurelii Augustini hippo-niensis episcopi Epistulae*, ed. Al. GOLDBACHER (CSEL, 58/V), Viena - Leipzig, 1933, p. LXXXIII.

³ *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi Opera Omnia*, T. II. Pars prior. *Epistularum classes quatuor. Post Lovaniensium Theologorum Recensionem castigata denuo ad manuscriptos codices gallicanos, vaticanos, belgicos, etc. necnon ad ediciones antiquiores et castigatiores*. Opera et studio Monachorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti e Congregatione Sancti Mauri, Editione Parisina Altera. Apud Gaume Fratres Bibliopolas. París, 1836, p. xxxvii. La *ep.* 237 está en las pp. 1290-1295.

⁴ Ed. Al. GOLDBACHER (CSEL, 58/V), pp. LXXXVII-LXXXVIII, cf. p. 62, donde indica que las *ep.* 232 a 270 son posteriores a la ordenación episcopal de Agustín. Véase la observación de los Teólogos de Lovaina, en *PL* 33, col. 1025: *Quarta Classis. Epistolae a S. Augustino episcopo scriptae, quarum tempus minus compertum est*. La *ep.* 237 se lee en las col. 1034-1036.

⁵ San Agustín, *ep.* 237, 1 (CSEL, 57), p. 526; *Obras completas de San Agustín*. Xlb. *Cartas* (3º), p. 412.

Es precisamente en esta epístola donde por primera vez San Agustín aduce el adagio priscilianista, *iura, periura, secretum noli prodere*, al tiempo que vincula los Hechos Apócrifos de San Juan a la praxis adoptada por los seguidores de Prisciliano, de mentir y simular con el objeto de defender sus doctrinas. Esta conducta queda más explicitada como una aplicación que hacían los priscilianistas de Tb 12, 7, según el cual es bueno esconder los secretos del rey, mientras que se deben publicar las maravillas de Dios.

Planteamiento de las consecuencias de la acusación de falsedad a los priscilianistas

Cualquier observador podrá percatarse de cómo, a partir del segundo decenio del s. v, las acusaciones al priscilianismo se acumulan. Lo que no queda claro es si realmente todas tienen unas causas que ya se podían descubrir en Prisciliano.

Efectivamente, muchos autores pierden de vista que la opinión de San Agustín evolucionó debido a que, con el tiempo y en las nuevas circunstancias, los adversarios atribuyeron nuevos errores a Prisciliano. Entonces, los hay que, cogidos por las descripciones del priscilianismo realizadas por San Agustín, en sus obras tardías, proceden de forma anacrónica, atribuyen a Prisciliano lo que sólo apareció un cuarto de siglo después. La heresiología agustiniana llegó a su final, acumulando las acusaciones. Pero en los escritos del segundo decenio del s. v no aparece el mismo panorama. Hay un progreso en el conocimiento del priscilianismo.

De aquí que, tomar como punto de partida las obras tardías de San Agustín produce un desenfoque de los problemas. Para salir de esta trampa, seguiremos más bien el proceso genético de su heresiología, aplicada a Prisciliano y al priscilianismo. Entonces, con la intención de proyectar algún rayo de claridad, empezamos por dejar claro que no nos ocuparemos propiamente de Prisciliano, sino del priscilianismo del primer cuarto del s. v. Con tal objetivo nos proponemos dilucidar las cuestiones siguientes:

Como punto previo, dejaremos expuesto cómo ni de la doctrina de Prisciliano en general, ni de su defensa de la lectura

de los libros apócrifos en particular, se deduce que él practicara la mentira ni la simulación.

En segundo lugar, propondremos un recorrido esquemático de las doctrinas que, hacia los años 413-415, Consencio, con formas veladas, atribuía a los priscilianistas. Se valió de unos billetes escritos, que envió a San Agustín, el cual contestó con la *ep.* 205. Posteriormente, cuando Consencio, invitado por San Agustín, se trasladó a Hipona, no pudo encontrar el obispo en su sede, por lo cual volvió a consultar, le por escrito, enviándole la *ep.* 119, misiva que obtuvo como respuesta la *ep.* 120.

En tercer lugar, por los años 410-421, asistimos a un cambio de escenario, que aparece bastante más complejo, el cual incluye Tarragona, la Tarraconense y muchas regiones del Mediterráneo occidental, dónde parece que los priscilianistas se habían hecho presentes. Asistimos igualmente a la aparición de nuevos contenidos doctrinales, que brotan de los libros apócrifos, y nos sorprende un nuevo método para esconder estos códigos emponzoñados, que se plasma en la simulación y la mentira. El priscilianismo, descrito por Consencio en las *ep.* 11* y 12*, así como el que resulta de la respuesta de San Agustín, contenida en el tratado *Contra mendacium*, nos sorprende por la falta de impronta reformadora, y por la propensión a acceder al poder eclesiástico y político, puesto que sus protagonistas pertenecen a los sectores opulentos y poderosos de la Tarraconense, de dónde salen los obispos de la época teodosiana.

El pueblo menudo aparece como ajeno a la movida que caracteriza a los altos estamentos, pese a que no es hasta que se destapa el contenido de los códigos priscilianistas, cuando los cristianos se sorprenden y se apacigua su furia contra el monje Frontón.

Una cuarta etapa empezaría pasado el año 425. Sería un detector de los nuevos hechos la mencionada consulta de Cerecio, en la cual denunciaba la herejía que descubría en los fragmentos del Himno de Jesús, que contienen los Hechos apócrifos de San Juan. La *ep.* 237 de San Agustín comenta algunos pasajes de este poema. Además, subraya cómo los priscilianistas se amparaban en un pasaje bíblico, para jus-

tificar su sistema de la mentira, para ocultar sus herejías. Se trata de Tb 12, 7.

Nosotros compararemos los pasajes del Himno de Jesús, que transcribió y comentó San Agustín, con los que se corresponden en la edición crítica actual. De esta manera podremos cotejar algún rasgo del temprano priscilianismo, que dependía de Prisciliano, con el que denunciaba San Agustín, ya muy retocado por sus posteriores adeptos.

Seguiremos, así, intentando establecer una cronología en las informaciones sobre el priscilianismo que recibió este obispo.

Como quinto paso de nuestro estudio incluiremos un razonamiento sobre la originalidad del obispo Severo de Menorca, cuando inspira el objetivo del prólogo a su carta (Seu. Min., *ep.*), dirigida a todo el orbe cristiano, en Tb 12, 7. Esta opción aparece como un claro rechazo del secretismo de los priscilianistas. Además, tiene repercusiones en la exaltación de las maravillas obradas por Cristo, no precisamente por las reliquias del protomártir San Esteban, recién depositadas en Menorca por Orosio. La pasión por la narración verídica, expuesta con un lenguaje sencillo, y con una trabazón ordenada en la sucesión de los acontecimientos, según un calendario irrepetible. En semejante reacción antipriscilianista y en la composición literaria de esta epístola tuvo una clara intervención el teólogo laico, natural de la Tarraconense, y corresponsal de San Agustín, Consencio, residente en Menorca. Este prólogo fue posteriormente imitado por la literatura hagiográfica, que desconoció su origen antiprisciliano.

Finalmente, antes de unas breves conclusiones, trazaremos unas líneas para valorar la expansión del priscilianismo ávido de la lectura de los susodichos apócrifos, en el Mediterráneo occidental.

2. *¿Desde cuando el priscilianismo va unido a la mentira?*

De los tiempos anteriores a los años 415-418, no tenemos constancia de que la mentira fuera una práctica priscilianista⁶.

⁶ S. FERNÁNDEZ ARDANAZ, «Religiosidad cósmica y simbología pagana en Prisciliano», en *Cristianismo y aculturación en tiempos del Imperio Romano*, en

Probablemente las doctrinas priscilianistas no habían adoptado matices heréticos. Notemos que Z. García Villada, cuando alude a la práctica de la mentira, por parte de los priscilianistas, no conoció más testigo que San Agustín, con su *ep.* 237, probablemente muy tardía (ca. 428) y su *Contra mendacium*⁷, que ya se databa hacia el año 420, y ahora ya sabemos por qué lo redactó. Fue para refutar la práctica de la simulación y de la mentira que, para combatir a quienes la practicaban, los priscilianistas, la había adoptado el mismo Consencio, en su *ep.* 11* (419).

En efecto, desde el descubrimiento de las nuevas cartas de Consencio, conocemos la demostración que este autor nos da del hábito de mentir, por la manera cómo compuso el tercer libro contra los priscilianistas, para lo cual se camufló de hereje, *in persona haeretici*⁸, es decir, se presentó “como si fuera un hereje” priscilianista. Lo que simuló literariamente Consencio, como polemista, fue interpretado en la realidad de la vida por su amigo, el monje tarraconense, Frontón. Bien instruido, éste se infiltró en las madrigueras de los priscilianistas, gracias a lo cual pudo identificar a los principales promotores del movimiento, y, bien asegurado de poseer las pruebas acusatorias, los sentó ante la *episcopalis audientia* de Tarragona, presidida por el obispo metropolitano, Ticiano. El relato de esta conducta perversa provocó que, hacia el año 420, San Agustín compusiera el tratado *Contra mendacium [ad Consentium]*⁹.

Con estas informaciones comprobamos cómo, por primera vez, los priscilianistas son acusados de mentirosos y simula-

Antigüedad y cristianismo, Murcia, VII, 1990, p. 210.

⁷ Z. GARCÍA VILLADA, *Historia Eclesiástica de España*, I/II, Madrid, 1929, pp. 110-111.

⁸ Consentius, *ep.* 11*, 1, 5, *Epistolae ex duobus codicibus nuper in lucem prolatae* ed. J. DIVJAK, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Opera sect. II, pars VI* (CSEL, 88), Viena, 1981, p. 52; ID., *Œuvres de saint Augustin*, 46B, *Lettres 1*-29**, Paris, 1987, p. 186; J. AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears i el seu desenvolupament fins a l'època musulmana*, II, Mallorca, 1992 (Els Treballs i els Dies, 37), p. 84; *Obras completas de San Agustín*. Xlb. *Cartas* (3º) 188-270; 1*-29*, ed., trad. L. CILLERUELO, P. DE LUIS. Rev., not. P. DE LUIS. Índ. M. M^a. CAMPELO, Madrid, 1991 (BAC, 99b), p. 622.

⁹ Ed. J. ZYCHA, Viena, 1900 (CSEL, 41), pp. 469-528.

dores, puesto que, en los concilios hispánicos, en momento alguno aparece que se comportaran como falaces. Entonces, deberemos suponer que la práctica del engaño se introdujera con posterioridad al I concilio de Toledo (ca. 400), y que dependiera de unas manipulaciones de los Hechos Apócrifos de San Juan, difundidos en la Tarraconense oriental y meridional, y, tal vez también, en la Narbonesa y Vienesa.

La verificación de esta hipótesis parece muy difícil, sino imposible, desde el momento que la lectura de los apócrifos fue justificada por el mismo Prisciliano. Villada ya observó que el obispo de Ávila jamás renegó de su teoría, que repite en el *Liber Apologeticus*, en el *Liber ad Damasum*, y en el *Liber de fide et Apocryphis*¹⁰. En este tratado, después de haber extraído innumerables pasajes de las Escrituras, que contienen frases atribuidas a los profetas o a otros personajes bíblicos, de los cuales no tenemos el texto, como acontece con el *agraphon*, que leemos en Hech, 20, 35: "Vale más dar que recibir", atribuido a Jesús, etc., concluye:

Pues, si creemos en aras de la palabra del evangelista, del apóstol, del profeta, en estos hechos, dichos y escritos, he aquí que ha llegado el tiempo en el que se promueve la controversia sobre las cosas superfluas y se llena el pueblo de estupor. En manera alguna podemos negar que Dios dijo aquello que el apóstol dice que dijo, o que no fue profetizado lo que la Escritura dice que el profeta dijo. Porque, si creemos esto, y no lo comprobamos en el Canon, y debemos condenar todo lo que está fuera de él, deben decirnos cómo debemos recibir el testimonio de lo condenado, para salvar la autoridad del que escribe esto¹¹.

En cuanto al debate sobre las intenciones que movían a Prisciliano¹², diremos que simplemente consideramos verifica-

¹⁰ Ed. J. ZYCHA, Viena, 1900 (*CSEL*, 41), pp. 469-528.

¹¹ Ed. J. ZYCHA, Viena, 1900 (*CSEL*, 41), pp. 469-528.

¹² M. MENÉNDEZ PELAYO, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, I (*BAC* 150), Madrid, ²1965, p. 180. El autor recoge la opinión de Paret, que seguidamente mencionamos. Cita abundantemente la obra que acabamos de indicar GARCÍA VILLADA, *Historia Eclesiástica de España*, I/2, pp. 120-122. Sobre los autores que trabajaron a partir de las supuestas intenciones de Prisciliano, cf. B. VÖLLMANN, "Priszillianismus", en *PW Suppl.*, 14 (1974), p. 524.

ble lo que leemos en sus escritos, mientras que deslindar las intenciones se presta a los más dispares subjetivismos, si no se trata de una circunstancia en que hechos concomitantes las interpreten. Pero no es éste el caso. Tampoco pretendemos interpretarlo como si fuera un precursor de la Reforma del s. XVI¹³, puesto que no parece que la libertad en la interpretación de las Escrituras sea una característica exclusiva de los reformadores modernos. Mucho antes, el problema ya se había planteado. Más vivo estaba todavía en tiempos de Prisciliano, cuando proliferaban los libros apócrifos de muchas tendencias. Diríamos que lo más probable es que esta literatura estuviera al alcance de las iglesias hispánicas, al tiempo que también se debía de seguir la marcha general del Iglesia, con la cual clarificaba cuáles eran los libros vinculantes para los creyentes. Una muestra la tenemos en Hidacio de Mérida, cuando se pronunció en el concilio de Zaragoza sobre el rechazo de los apócrifos, sin referirse a una decisión conciliar anterior. Fue el mismo Prisciliano quien lo recogió en estos términos: *Hydatius in Concilio Caesaraugustano sic ait: "damnanda damnentur, superflua non legantur"*¹⁴. Hemos visto que, en el *Liber apologeticus*, hay un rechazo a esta manera de pensar, que, según el autor, perturba el pueblo cristiano. Lo que el obispo de Mérida consideraba superfluo, para Prisciliano era palabra de Dios, por esto él consideraba que sus discípulos lo debían leer.

Lo que podemos comprobar es que el texto conocido de los Hechos Apócrifos de San Juan no contiene las interpolaciones que manejó San Agustín. En segundo lugar, la acusación de la simulación, la mentira y el perjurio de que eran objeto los priscilianistas no aparece hasta el año 419. Estos dos hechos podrían inducirnos a suponer que los apócrifos aceptados claramente por Prisciliano todavía no contenían los mencionados Hechos de Juan. Su llegada a Hispania sería más tardía. Prisciliano había justificado abiertamente la lectura de los apócrifos

¹³ FR. PARET, *Priscillianus. Ein Reformator des vierten Jahrhunderts. Eine kirchengeschichtliche Studie zugleich ein Kommentar zu den erhaltenen Schriften Priscillians*, Würzburg, 1891.

¹⁴ Este pasaje recuerda lo que escribió el mismo Prisciliano, *Liber ad Damasum*, ed. G. SCHEPSS, Praga - Viena - Leipzig, 1888 (CSEL, 18), p. 47.

de la Biblia¹⁵, precisamente porque nada debía quedar fuera del conocimiento del creyente, para que estuviera motivado cuando quería glorificar a Dios. Lo recordaba a partir del IV Esdras, que no entró en el canon¹⁶. Prefería correr el riesgo de

¹⁵ V. BURRUS, "Canonical References to Extra-Canonical 'Texts': Priscillian's Defense of the Apocrypha" en *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*, Atlanta, 1990, pp. 60-67; A. S. JACOBS, "The Disorder of Books: Priscillian's Canonical Defense of Apocrypha", *The Harvard Theological Review*, 93/2 (2000), pp. 135-159.

¹⁶ Priscilliani, *Liber de fide et de apocryphis, Tractatus III, Priscilliani quae supersunt*, ed. G. SCHEPSS, Praga - Viena - Leipzig, 1889 (CSEL, 18), pp. 52-54: "recte illi libro fidem damus, qui Hesdra auctore prolatus (uid. IV. Esd 14 (inprimis u. 22. 25. 40. 43); cf. IV Esd 14, 43; Ps 21, 3), etsi in canone non ponitur, ad elogium redditu diuini testamenti digna rerum ueneratione retinetur; in quo tamen legimus scriptum spiritum sanctum ab initio saeculi et hominum et rerum gesta retinentem cor electi hominis intrasse et, quod uix ad humanam memoriam scribiti forma retineret, ordine numero ratione repetita, cum per diem loquens et nocte non tacens (cf. IV Esd 14, 43; Ps 21, 3) scriberet, omnia quae gesta uidentur esse uel legimus scribta ad humanam memoriam condidisse. In quo libet exclamare: est! liceat! qualiter, rogo, pauca ex his legentes culpabiles sumus, cum magis ob hoc rei sumus, quod omnia quae de deo sunt profetata non legimus? Non dubito autem quemquam ex his qui calumniis potius quam fidem diligunt esse dicturum: ultra nihil quaeras! sufficit legere quod in canone scribta est. Cuius quidem uerbis facile ingenio humanae naturae quae otium potius quam laborem requirit adsurgerem, nisi me Lucae euangelistae testimonium perurgeret dicentis in actibus apostolorum: addiscipuli pariter conferebant inter se scribituras (cf. Act 17), si ita esset, quemadmodum locutus fuerat ad eos Paulus (cf. Rom 1, 14), et ea quorum cognitionem uolo testimonium prophetiae in canone accepisse cognosco. Quamuis enim crimen sit apostolicis non credidisse sermonibus, non est tamen damnabilis culpa firmamentum fidei scriptorum probatione construere et nihil in quo nos infirmes redarguitio diaboli faciat reseruare. Potuit enim sermo diuinus, quoniam ipsius erat omne quod dixerat, tamquam ab se loquens non scribta ab alio dicere, sed ex se ipse proferre; dicens autem scribta esse, necessario proponens nobis legendi sollicitudinem, et suam de quo profetatum fuerat gloriam et illius qui profetauerat debitam posteritati gratiam non omisit. Ego certe inter utrosque utrisque debitor sum, ut et illum qui ad memoriam diuinam profetauerit legam et deo credam. Quis enim non delectetur Christum ante saecula non a paucis, sed ab omnibus profetatum? aut quis diuinae magnitudinis et tam incredibilis miraculi deum nasci habere et uirginalem metram in ministerium diuini uerbi ad concipiendum uel parituriendum habitaculum corporis patuisse tam sterilis aestimator est, ut putet non in omnem terram adque in omnem hominem diuini sensus secreta clamassee, cum scribta sit: omnis lingua confiteatur quoniam dominus Iesus in gloriam dei patris? (Philipp 2, 11) Et ideo, quilibet ille sit qui haec neget, ego certe scio quod eius pharisaei recipiet mercedem qui adueniente domino,

las lecturas peligrosas, a quedar privado de los diversos mensajes de Dios. Se impone, por lo tanto, desatar el secretismo y la mentira de Prisciliano y del priscilianismo del s. iv, y también es necesario buscar otros orígenes de estos sistemas, que, al menos en la Tarraconense oriental, se impusieron en el priscilianismo del s. v. La práctica de ocultar la doctrina tampoco proviene de la enseñanza de los Hechos apócrifos de San Juan. Entonces, creeríamos que los priscilianistas, con su avidez de leer los apócrifos, toparon con estos códices, y debieron de descubrir que muchos pasajes eran heréticos, especialmente en el Himno de Jesús, claramente gnóstico, y ajeno a la enseñanza de la realidad de la encarnación. Es precisamente en la versión de aquellos apócrifos, que llegó a San Agustín, donde un priscilianista manipulador del texto introdujo el versículo de Tb 12, 7. Con este pasaje del Antiguo Testamento, puesto como introducción al Himno, esta pieza poética pudo ser impunemente interpolada por sus expresiones fuertemente gnósticas, y con otras con las cuales se reclama la disciplina del secreto, que se ha de aplicar a los no elegidos. Una repetición de Tb 12, 7, remacha esta tendencia.

En el fragmento, que acabamos de tomar de Prisciliano, queda claro que el parto virginal de Maria dio a luz un cuerpo humano, enseñanza que queda bien lejos del himno gnóstico.

En definitiva, consideramos que no hemos de leer a Prisciliano con los ojos de unos escritos que no pudo conocer, lo cual nos lleva a no atribuirle unas prácticas dolosas, que sólo se introdujeron en los círculos de sus seguidores en torno a los años 415-420. Ello nos conduce a pensar que todavía el estudio del priscilianismo procede demasiado lastrado por la acumulación de las acusaciones, a lo largo del tiempo, cuando precisaríamos un método que estableciera el momento y la

cum omnis turba cum apostolis iuncta clamaret: osanna, osanna in caelis, benedictus qui uenit in nomine domini (cf. Luc 19, 37-39; Matth 21, 9) corripere eos dixit qui tam indubitanter praesentis dei glorias non tacebant. Sed uideat qui huiusmodi est dixisse dominum: etiamsi isti tacuerint, lapides clamabunt (Luc 19, 40) et intellegat quoniam, si duritia petrarum naturaliter praemortua ad dandum testimonium deo in usum humani sermonis animatur, quomodo sanctorum lingua praecluditur quae ad confitendum et suapte natura et diuina gratia perurgetur?"

causa de por qué se añade una nueva imputación a los seguidores de Prisciliano. Seguidamente pretendemos que tomen relieve algunas de las doctrinas que inquietaban a los círculos próximos a los priscilianistas del segundo decenio del s. v.

3. *El priscilianismo según Consencio, Orosio y San Agustín, antes del año 415*

Consencio y Orosio habían informado a San Agustín, ya hacía años, sobre ciertas características del priscilianismo. Consencio le consultó mediante el envío de unos billetes, que fueran respondidos con la *ep.* 205¹⁷, por la cual conocemos que las preocupaciones del residente menorquín venían desde el horizonte antropológico, tanto con respecto al cuerpo de Jesús como al de los hombres y al origen del alma. Señalemos las cuatro principales cuestiones, según las formuló en su respuesta el obispo de Hipona:

(1) “Si el cuerpo del Señor tiene huesos y sangre y otras formas de la carne¹⁸”.

(2) “Si cada uno de los rasgos físicos de los cuerpos son formados por el Dios Creador¹⁹”.

(3) “Si todos los bautizados que salen del cuerpo atados por varios crímenes, sin haber hecho penitencia, algún día lograrán el perdón²⁰”.

(4) “Si aquel aliento de Dios sobre Adán es él mismo el alma²¹”.

¹⁷ *Consenci. Correspondència amb Sant Agustí*, II, ed. y trad. J. AMENGUAL I BATLE (Fundació Bernat Metge, 268 [Escriptors cristians]), Barcelona, 1991, pp. 11-12. Véanse los comentarios a los respectivos pasajes, que citamos a continuación.

¹⁸ San Agustín, *ep.* 205, 1, 2 (*CSEL*, 57), p. 324. *Consenci*, II, pp. 55-56, n. 7.

¹⁹ San Agustín, *ep.* 205, 3, 17 (*CSEL*, 57), p. 337. *Consenci*, II, p. 70, n. 33-34.

²⁰ San Agustín, *ep.* 205, 4, 18 (*CSEL*, 57), pp. 338-339. *Consenci*, II, p. 72, n. 37.

²¹ San Agustín, *ep.* 205, 4, 19 (*CSEL*, 57), p. 339. *Consenci*, II, pp. 72-73, n. 38-40, en las cuales se recalca el tono antipriscilianista de la consulta de Consencio.

Probablemente éstos fueron los contactos indirectos más conocidos de San Agustín con el priscilianismo, que aparecen hacia los años 413-414. Sanchez cree que con anterioridad a esta fecha San Agustín estaba al corriente del priscilianismo²². Alude a la *ep.* 36, a *Casulanus*²³. Sin embargo, todavía no vemos una razón convincente para adelantar esta carta a *Casulanus* a la fecha de los primeros escritos de Consencio. Que Agustín podía haber conocido el priscilianismo, a través de Filastrio, San Jerónimo, está claro; pero no aparece abiertamente. Ni siquiera en la misiva a Casulanus menciona el priscilianismo, sino el maniqueísmo, a causa del ayuno sabático, condenado en el concilio de Zaragoza, can. 2; pero ni siquiera esto puede significar que Agustín estuviera al corriente de que se tratara de una costumbre de los priscilianistas. Cabe, por tanto, que revise la opinión que he expresado varias veces, lo cual, en la presente situación, no deja sin valor la cronología que afecta a la aparición de los escritos agustinianos que atribuyen a Prisciliano. Esta cronología nos permite observar cómo sus seguidores adoptan progresivamente el sistema de la mentira, como recurso para esconder sus doctrinas. Antes, no hemos observado esta práctica del engaño. Poco después, fue Orosio quien propuso al mismo obispo de Hipona una consulta un poco más detenida, y en plan acusatorio contra el priscilianismo, insistiendo en el maniqueísmo que lo caracterizaba, según el cual las almas recluidas en un almacén estarían en pugna contra Dios, y, siguiendo unos círculos, descenderían y

²² S. J. G. SANCHEZ, *Priscillien, un chrétien non conformiste. Doctrine et pratique du Priscillianisme du IV^e au V^e siècle*, Paris, 2009 (Théologie historique, 120), p. 109.

²³ (CSEL, 34/2), pp. 31-62 – PL 33, cols. 136-151; ed. CILLERUELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, VIII: *Cartas* (I^o), pp. 203-235, véase el n.º. 12, 28, pp. 229-231. Efectivamente, el autor considera que la carta fue enviada por los años 410-412. La suposición que personalmente teníamos, desde hace tiempo, era que San Agustín la habría cursado después del año 414, siguiendo a B. VOLL-MANN, *Studien zum Priscillianismus. Die Forschungen, die Quellen, der fünfzehnte Brief Papst Leos des Großen*, Sankt Ottilien, 1965 (Kirchengeschichtliche Quelle und Studien, 7), p. 58, opinión que asumió H. CHADWICK, *Priscillian of Avila. The Occult and the Charismatic in the Early Church*, Oxford, 1976, p. 207, n. 1. = *Prisciliano de Ávila. Ocultismo y poderes carismáticos en la Iglesia primitiva*. trad. J. L. LÓPEZ MUÑOZ Madrid, 1978 (Colección Boreal, 13), p. 271, n. 107.

serían asignadas y condenadas a cada cuerpo, del cual serían liberadas por Cristo. Esta condena la confirman a partir del apócrifo *Memoria apostolorum*, en el cual consta que los discípulos pidieran en secreto a Jesús el sentido de la parábola del sembrador. Si éste hubiera sido un buen sembrador no habría habido almas que fueran esparcidas en terrenos llenos de piedras y zarzas²⁴.

Además, los priscilianistas, bajo el influjo de Orígenes, habrían sostenido que había una salvación final de todos los hombres. San Agustín no se extendió mucho en la respuesta, porque consideró que ya había luchado contra los maniqueos, y observaba, además, que sus obras sobre el origen del alma eran abundantes²⁵. Recordaba a Orosio que posiblemente habría leído algunos de estos escritos, o podría hacerlo. Acabó con una crítica a la apocatástasis origeniana, apelando a la eternidad de las penas, en lo cual comenta con mucho detalle el alcance del término eterno y eternidad. En resumen, por lo que nos atañe, dejamos constancia de que ni Orosio ni San Agustín fueron, en este caso, más detallados que Consencio, y ninguno de los tres menciona la mentira o la simulación como prácticas de los priscilianistas y solamente Orosio recuerda que éstos se inspiraban en el apócrifo, *Memoria apostolorum*, no para mentir, sino para confirmar el dualismo maniqueo en la asignación de las almas²⁶. Pero, por estas fechas, ni Consencio ni San Agustín mencionan para nada los libros apó-

²⁴ Orosius, *Consultatio sive Commonitorium Orosii ad Augustinum de errore priscillianistarum et origenistarum*, 2, ed. Kl. D. DAUR, Turnhout, 1985 (CCL, 49), pp. 159-160: "hoc ipsum confirmans ex libro quodam, qui inscribitur 'memoria apostolorum', ubi saluator interrogari a discipulis uidetur secreto et ostendere de parabola euangelica quae habet: *Exiit seminans seminare* (Matth. 13, 3), quia non fuerit seminator bonus, asserens quia, si bonus fuisset, non fuisset negligens, non uel secus uiam uel in petrosis uel in incultis iaceret semen, uolens intellegi hunc esse seminantem, qui animas captas spargeret in corpora diuersa quae uellet."

²⁵ *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi, Ad Orosium contra priscilianistas et origenistas*, ed. Kl. D. DAUR, Turnhout 1985 (CCL, 49), pp. 165-178. Por cuanto atañe a la cuestión sobre el origen de las almas, cf. 1-2, pp. 165-166.

²⁶ VOLLMANN, "Priscillianismus", en *PW Suppl.*, 14 (1974), pp. 531-532, remarca que, de este apócrifo, no sabemos otra cosa más allá de lo que dice Orosio.

crifos. Éstos aparecen en una fase posterior, que intentaremos estudiar.

4. *La simulación y la mentira en el priscilianismo, a partir del año 419*

Conocemos una segunda remesa de documentos y de informaciones sobre los manejos de los priscilianistas, hecha por Consencio, y recordada en la *ep.* 11^{*27}, dirigida a San Agustín hacia el año 419. Es aquí donde consta por primera vez la denuncia de la simulación y del engaño, como métodos de los priscilianistas. Todo se había urdido para encubrir el consumo de unos códigos ingentes, *immanes*, tildados de mágicos, los cuales, pero, más bien debían de contener, entre otros escritos, los Hechos apócrifos de San Juan. Consencio no sólo denunció la posesión y la lectura de aquellos códigos, antes también, para llegar a la inculpación canónica e incluso política de los priscilianistas, él mismo había compuesto un tercer tratado, simulando que era hereje, *tertium librum [...] quam ob causam ex persona haeretici scripserim*²⁸. Más todavía, para entrar en las intimidades del movimiento, Consencio instruyó al monje Frontón, el cual arriesgó la vida para infiltrarse en el núcleo fuerte de los priscilianistas tarraconenses, es decir, en el episcopado y en el seno de las grandes familias, como la del *comes Hispaniarum Asterius*, engañando a su parienta Severa, delatora de todo lo que pasaba²⁹.

Esta práctica de la mentira por parte de los católicos mereció la crítica más radical y la severa condena de San Agustín, plasmada en su tratado *Contra mendacium*, del año 420. En el Cáp. XIII, 27-29³⁰, analiza los casos en los cuales, según

²⁷ J. AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears i el seu desenvolupament fins a l'època musulmana*, I, Mallorca, 1991 (Els Treballs i els Dies, 36), pp. 186-187; 191-247.

²⁸ Consentius, *ep.* 11*, 1, 5, *Epistolae ex duobus codicibus nuper in lucem prolatae* ed. J. DIVJAK, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Opera sect. II, pars VI* (CSEL, 88), Viena, 1981, p. 52; ID., *Œuvres de saint Augustin*, 46B, *Lettres 1*-29**, Paris, 1987, p. 186.

²⁹ AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, I, pp. 260-262.

³⁰ *Consenci*, II, pp. 151-154, con las notas.

los priscilianistas, Jesús habría mentido. En ningún pasaje da a entender que entonces conociera el Himno gnóstico de los Hechos apócrifos de San Juan, aun cuando debía de haber ya llegado a la Tarraconense. San Agustín, en el capítulo III, 5, recordaba el nombre de Dictinio de Astorga, obispo antiguamente priscilianista, hijo del obispo Simfosio, reconciliado en el I concilio de Toledo (ca. 400). Era el autor de un libro intitulado la *Libra*, que debía de constar de doce capítulos, como si fueran las doce onzas de una libra, unidad de peso romana, que se ha perpetuado hasta los nuestros días. No sabemos cómo esta obra llegó a manos del obispo de Hipona, que leyó en él *horrendas blasphemias*; pero, en ningún momento da a entender que Dictinio practicara el sistema de la mentira³¹. Más bien debía de jugar con la astrología y con los doce signos de zodiaco³². De hecho, comprobamos que la acusación de perjurios, dirigida a los priscilianistas, se difumina cuando declina el s. v, mientras que la *Libra* de Dictinio seguía atrayendo a muchos lectores³³. Es una observación que creemos importante, puesto que a menudo se atribuye a Dictinio la justificación del uso de la mentira. Nosotros pensamos que esta acusación proviene de una lectura ligera del texto de San Agustín.

Leemos otra mención de Dictinio en la carta 15 de León I, dirigida a Toribio, sucesor lejano de Dictinio en la sede episcopal de Astorga. El papa ordena en dieciséis capítulos los errores de los priscilianistas³⁴. Es en el último de estos apar-

³¹ SANCHEZ, *Priscillien, un chrétien non conformiste*, pp. 354-357, estudia esta cuestión, a partir de las opiniones de autores conocidos. JUNOD-KAESTLI, "L'histoire des Actes apocryphes des apôtres du III^e au IX^e siècle: le cas des Actes de Jean", p. 90, creen que el obispo hacía apología de la mentira, extremo que no consideramos probado.

³² San Agustín, *Contra mendacium*, III, 5, *Consenci*, II, p. 116, con las notas, y las pp. 25-30, de la introducción. Añadamos las notas sobre este pasaje, en pp. 115-116.

³³ K. KÜNSTLE, *Antipriscilliana. Dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchungen und Texte aus dem Streit gegen Priscillians Irrlehre*, Freiburg/B., 1905, pp. 161-162, adelanta en exceso la correspondencia de Consencio, y ve referencias a Dictinio en la *ep.* 120, de San Agustín, que no sabríamos identificar. Las referencias a Cerecio, están tomadas de Gams.

³⁴ B. VOLLMANN, *Studien zum Priscillianismus*, pp. 122-138. ID., "Priscillianismus", en *PW Suppl.*, 14 (1974), 485-559.

tados donde León se queja de cómo los priscilianistas siguen leyendo los tratados de Dictinio obispo de Astorga, como hemos recordado, con lo cual se apartan de él, puesto que abjuró de sus errores en el concilio I de Toledo. Y, precisa, es al Dictinio convertido que deben seguir y no al priscilianista. Ahora bien, la carta permite que sepamos que los priscilianistas simulan y mienten, porque quieren leer a Dictinio y los libros apócrifos. Pero no precisa que de este comportamiento hagan una doctrina. En los anatemas del I concilio de Braga (561) hay reminiscencias de la carta de León, pero sin que la mentira aparezca como una de las cuestiones a condenar. En concreto, no aparece en el n° XVII, en el cual se condena la lectura de Prisciliano y los tratados priscilianistas de Dictinio³⁵.

Entonces, no vemos claro que haya un fundamento en la obra de Dictinio, que nos autorice a considerarlo como el padre o una de las fuentes de la práctica de la simulación y de la mentira de los priscilianistas. El origen de este comportamiento parece posterior, y coyuntural. Cuando desaparece el imperio represor, mengua la necesidad de disimular y, a causa de ello, ya no hay motivos para acusar de mentira a los priscilianistas.

5. El conocimiento de San Agustín de la manipulación de los Hechos apócrifos hacia el año 425

Junod y Kaestli aseguran que en ningún momento San Agustín atribuyó a Dictinio un recurso a los apócrifos³⁶. Los indicios con los cuales hemos de orientarnos conducen por otros senderos. Como es de suponer, los hispanos que visitaron a San Agustín serían más de los que conocemos³⁷. Fueron

³⁵ *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, (Eds.) J. VIVES - T. MARÍN MARTÍNEZ - G. MARTÍNEZ DÍEZ (España Cristiana. Textos, 1), Barcelona - Madrid, 1963, p. 5. Observamos una lejana alusión a la carta de Toribio de Astorga al papa León I, en la p. 49.

³⁶ E. JUNOD - J.-D. KAESTLI, *L'histoire des Actes apocryphes des apôtres du III^e au IX^e siècle: le cas des Actes de Jean*, Genève, 1982 (Cahiers de la Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie, 7), p. 91.

³⁷ J. AMENGUAL I BATLE, "Teòlegs i bisbes de la Hispània dels inicis del segle v i sant Agustí. El context priscil·lianista de la controvèrsia sobre l'origen de l'ànima", *Revista Catalana de Teologia*, 20/1 (1999), pp. 73-107.

algunos de éstos, conversos del priscilianismo, que debieron de llevar con ellos algunos códices de los mencionados apócrifos, con lo que el obispo hiponense dispuso de materiales de primera mano, para poder completar su información sobre el priscilianismo. Ahora bien, que el obispo africano en sus sucesivas obras acumulara los reproches contra los seguidores de Prisciliano no nos autoriza a atribuir a este obispo de Ávila ni la manipulación de los susodichos apócrifos, ni la justificación de la mentira, ni la defensa de la simulación y del perjurio. Sanchez, por referirnos a un autor que acaba de pronunciarse sobre temas próximos al nuestro, deja probado que Prisciliano y Mani rechazan la mentira y el secreto³⁸. Lo hemos apuntado ya en este trabajo.

Con posterioridad al año 425, Cerecio recibió de *Argyrius* unos códices claramente priscilianistas. Este personaje nos es completamente desconocido. No sabemos si este priscilianista de hecho era consciente de los libros que manejaba, y que Cerecio puso en manos de Agustín³⁹. Además de este obispo, hubo algunos hispanos que informaron al de Hipona sobre el método de la mentira y de la simulación de los priscilianistas, como lo deja escrito este último:

Algunos que los trataron, que fueron priscilianistas y después, por la misericordia de Dios, se libraron de ellos, recuerdan este precepto con estas palabras: “Jura, perjura, pero no reveles el secreto”⁴⁰.

³⁸ SANCHEZ, *Priscillien, un chrétien non conformiste*, p. 353.

³⁹ San Agustín, *ep.* 237, 1 (*CSEL* 57), p. 526 – *PL* 33, col. 1034; ed., trad., L. CILLERUELO, rev., not., P. DE LUIS, ind., M. M^a. CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3^o). Madrid, 1991 (*BAC*, 99b), p. 414: “Lectis his, quae misit sanctitas tua, uidetur mihi Argyrius in Priscillianistas aut nesciens inruisse, ita ut omnino, utrum ipsi essent Priscilianistae, ignoraret, aut iam eiusdem haeresis retribus implicatus. Nam scripturas illas Priscillianistarum esse non dubito”.

⁴⁰ San Agustín, *ep.* 237, 3 (*CSEL*, 57), pp. 527-528 – *PL* 33, cols. 1035; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3^o), pp. 414-415: “*isti autem in ipsa nefaria doctrina haeresis suae praeceptum habere perhibentur, ut occultandorum dogmatum suorum causa etiam cum falsa iuratione mentiantur. Hi qui eos experti sunt et ipsorum fuerant atque ab eis dei misericordia liberati sunt, etiam uerba ipsa praecepti huius ista commemorant: ‘Iura, periura, secretum prodere noli’*”.

Diríamos que este dato llega al obispo de Hipona en unas circunstancias muy tardías, puesto que en su catálogo de herejías, ensamblado poco antes de su muerte, cuando describe a los priscilianistas, por segunda y última vez, vuelve a repetir este adagio sobre el perjurio, mezclado con otras características de su doctrina⁴¹, alguna de las cuales se asemeja a las que mostró en su respuesta a Cerecio. Si damos una mirada a la redacción de la misiva a este obispo, diríamos que es anterior al *De Haeresibus*, puesto que transmite la impresión de que tanto el axioma sobre el perjurio, así como el uso de los Hechos Apócrifos de San Juan por parte de los priscilianistas, eran noticias recientes para él. Müller, en su estudio de las fuentes de este catálogo agustiniano, señala como única fuente de la práctica de la falacia la *ep.* 237⁴². Observamos que la descripción de los priscilianistas se introduce con las conocidas acusaciones de maniqueísmo, etc. e, inmediatamente, Agustín introdujo la acusación sobre la mentira, dado que, en realidad, se trataba de un sistema defensivo general del priscilianismo. En este sentido, las acusaciones no eran acumuladas indiscriminadamente, a medida que eran conocidas las doctrinas priscilianistas sino que, en este caso, hay una lógica. Una vez puesto en claro que el priscilianismo era como la suma de todas las herejías, es obvio que en los tiempos teodosianos los priscilianistas consideraran que era imprescindible tener una protección. Es lo que habían descubierto Consencio y

⁴¹ San Agustín, *De haeresibus, ad Quoduultdeus*, I, 70, 1 ed. R. VANDER PLAETSE - C. BEUKERS, Turnhout, 1969 (CCL, 46), p. 333 - PL 42, col. 44; ed. J. M^a. OZAETA LEÓN, en *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XXXVIII: *Escritos contra los arrianos y otros herejes*. Intr., trad., notas e índices T. CALVO MADRID, J. M^a. OZAETA LEÓN, *Las herejías. Sermón de los arrianos. Réplica al Sermón de los arrianos. Debate con Maximino, obispo arriano. Réplica al mismo Maximino. A Orosio, contra los priscilianistas y origenistas. Réplica al adversario de la Ley los Profetas. Tratado contra los judíos*, Madrid, 1990 (BAC, 512), p. 94: "Priscillianistae, quos in Hispania Priscillianus instituit, maxime Gnosticorum et Manichaeorum dogmata permixta sectantur, quamvis et ex aliis haeresibus in eos sordes tamquam in sentinam quandam horribili confusione confluerint. Propter occultandas autem contaminationes et turpitudines suas habent in suis dogmatibus et haec uerba: 'Iura, peiera, secretum prodere noli'." Véase L. G. MÜLLER, *The de Haeresibus of Saint Augustine. A Translation with an Introduction ad Commentary*, Washington, 1956, pp. 198-202, donde indica las fuentes de San Agustín.

⁴² MÜLLER, *The de Haeresibus of Saint Augustine*, pp. 200-201.

Cerecio, y, finalmente, San Agustín. Las desviaciones más particularizadas se las consigna después.

No consta que, cuando hacia el año 422⁴³ San Agustín compuso el *Tractatus in Ioannem*, 124⁴⁴, conociera la vinculación de los susodichos apócrifos con los priscilianistas, aun cuando parece que el Himno de Jesús ya había sido manipulado por ellos. Es una razón más para no aceptar la cronología más temprana para la carta a Cericio, que Müller adelanta hacia el año 415⁴⁵.

a. El Himno gnóstico de Jesús⁴⁶

Lo que ahora nos ocupará será el Himno de Jesús que contienen los Hechos Apócrifos de San Juan⁴⁷. Se trata de una pieza empotrada en estos escritos, proveniente de un conjunto antiguo de carácter gnóstico, de tono litúrgico⁴⁸. Con este cántico, Jesús llegaría a su glorificación, rodeado de los discípulos, que responderían a sus invitaciones. Él habría ocupado

⁴³ A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, *Recherches de chronologie augustinienne*, Paris, 1965, especialmente las pp. 140-141.

⁴⁴ JUNOD-KAESTLI, *L'histoire des Actes apocryphes des apôtres du III^e au IX^e siècle: le cas des Actes de Jean*, pp. 81-86.

⁴⁵ MÜLLER, *The de Haeresibus of Saint Augustine*, p. 198, sin ampararse en razón alguna, la adelanta hasta esta fecha, y hace lo mismo con el *Contra mendacium*. Creemos que en este punto no es posible seguir al autor, dado que no encaja con la cronología de las cartas de Consencio, especialmente las ep. 11* y 12*, que hemos citado.

⁴⁶ Creemos que, después de los estudios más recientes, no hay lugar para discutir las interpretaciones de E.-Ch. BABUT, *Priscillien et le priscillianisme*, Paris, 1909, pp. 231-240, esp. pp. 235-240, ni las de J. A. DAVIDS, J. A. *De Orosio et S. Augustino priscillianistarum adversariis*, La Haya, 1930, pp. 278-284, ya que si hubieran conocido los nuevos datos distinguirían los apócrifos que conoció Prisciliano, de los que llegaron posteriormente a Occidente, tales como los Hechos apócrifos de Juan.

⁴⁷ Este himno es muy distinto, tanto en lo que mira al contenido como a lo que atañe al estilo, del otro que leemos en CLEMENTE DE ALEJANDRÍA, *Paedagogus*, III, 12, 101, en *Le Pédagogue*, III, trads., Cl. MONDÉSERT-Ch. MATRAY, not., H. I. MARROU, Paris, 1970 (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 158), pp. 188-191.

⁴⁸ M. BRIOSE SÁNCHEZ, "Sobre el 'Tanzhymnus' de *Acta Ioannis* 94-96", *Emerita: Revista de lingüística y filología clásica*, 40/1 (1972), 31-46, estudia sobre todo su estilo poético. E. JUNOD - J. D. KAESTLI, "Le dossier des 'Actes de Jean'", en W. HAASE, ed., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, 11.25.6, Berlin - New York, 1988, p. 4242.

el centro del círculo apostólico, formado por los doce apóstoles, que se darían la mano, mientras con danzas entonaban y escenificaban el himno. Como podemos observar, la carencia de Judas no se tuvo en cuenta.

Unos pocos pasajes de este himno fueron reproducidos por San Agustín, en la *ep.* 237. Los comentó y consideró algunas de sus estrofas como heréticas y las que le parecían ortodoxas las encontraba superfluas, puesto que en las Escrituras se expresan los mismos elogios en forma equivalente. Observemos de nuevo que la cita de Tb 12, 7, así como algunas estrofas que incitan al secreto, no pertenecen al texto original del Himno, sino que son una interpolación priscilianista.

Que el autor del himno fuera Jesucristo ya había sorprendido a Cerecio, probablemente porque no lo había leído en sus códices de las Escrituras, fueran para uso litúrgico o para la lectura y el estudio. También la estupefacción debió de venirle por la clara expresión de unas doctrinas cristológicas ajenas a las que confesaban los católicos. Era un caso bastante diverso de las cartas del cielo, que siglos después se presentaban como escritas y enviadas por Jesús. Liciniano de Cartagena ya advirtió que una creencia en que Jesús hubiera escrito alguna carta iba contra todo lo que sabemos por los evangelios canónicos, en los cuales no consta que nunca Jesús escribiera carta alguna⁴⁹.

Más adelante veremos cómo son muchas las estrofas que de ninguna forma pueden encontrar un equivalente en los evangelios canónicos.

San Agustín, desde el principio, considera esta pieza poética como una composición que se integraba dentro los que podemos identificar como Hechos apócrifos de San Juan, de los cuales, al menos, conoció otro pasaje, comentado en *In Ioannem Tractatus*, 124, 2⁵⁰, posterior a el año 416⁵¹, fuera

⁴⁹ J. AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears i el seu desenvolupament fins a l'època musulmana*, I, Mallorca, 1991 (Els Treballs i els Dies, 36), pp. 400-412.

⁵⁰ Ed. R. WILLEMS, Turnhout, 1954 (CCL, 36), pp. 681-682. *Obras de San Agustín*, XIV: *Tratados sobre el Evangelio de San Juan* (36-124). ed. V. RABANAL (BAC, 165), Madrid, 1957, pp. 754-755. Lo había notado, en cuanto a lo que se refiere al contexto priscilianista, CHADWICK, *Priscillian of Avila*,

o no predicado⁵². Para precisar más la cronología, digamos que la comparación temática de este tratado con los sermones sobre el Sal 118, en los cuales apreciamos la importancia que cobró la espiritualidad del martirio en África, podría inducirnos a creer que este tratado 124 fuera pronunciado hacia el año 422⁵³.

Por lo tanto, no hay constancia de que San Agustín tuviera noción de los Hechos Apócrifos de San Juan antes del año 420, data que es muy próxima a la de la ruptura de su amistad con Consencio. Efectivamente, parece que el *Contra mendacium* agustiniano cayó muy mal al naturalizado menorquín, como lo demostró en su réplica, que conocemos en la *ep.* 12*, del año 420-421⁵⁴.

Atendidos estos antecedentes, claro está que nos será bien útil tomar nota de la identificación de estos apócrifos, muy anteriores a los priscilianistas, los cuales, hicieron uso de los mismos sólo poco antes del año 418, para establecer un término *ante quem* fácil de justificar, como lo señalaremos más adelante.

p. 105 = *Prisciliano de Ávila*, p. 144. El apóstol, según las versiones que llegaron a San Agustín, para siempre jamás permaneció vivo en el sepulcro, como lo mostraban las vibraciones que se sentían sobre ella. *Hechos apócrifos de Juan*, 111-115 (*Hechos apócrifos de los Apóstoles*, ed. A. PIÑERO, y G. DEL CERRO, Madrid, 2004 (BAC, 646), pp. 446-455). Agustín manifestó, en el tratado citado, que renunciaba a comprobar esta leyenda. Véase, J.-D. KAESTLI, "Le rôle des textes bibliques dans la genèse et le développement des légendes apocryphes: le cas du sort final de l'apôtre Jean", *Augustinianum*, 23 (1983), pp. 319-336, concretamente p. 325.

⁵¹ LA BONNARDIÈRE, *Recherches de chronologie augustiniennne*, p. 65. El año 416, Orosio había llegado a Hipona, con parte de los restos de San Esteban, a los cuales se refiere el obispo en el tratado 120. En la p. 179, concluye que los tratados sobre el evangelio de San Juan, a partir del n° XVII, son posteriores al año 418.

⁵² Según LA BONNARDIÈRE, *Recherches de chronologie augustiniennne*, pp. 122-125, los tratados 55 a 124, habrían sido predicados.

⁵³ LA BONNARDIÈRE, *Recherches de chronologie augustiniennne*, especialmente las pp. 140-141.

⁵⁴ *Sancti Aureli Augustini Opera. Epistolae ex duobus codicibus nuper in lucem prolatae*, (ed.) J. DIVJAK, Viena, 1981 (CSEL, 88), pp. 70-80. *Saint Augustin*, 46B, pp. 230-254; AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, pp. 108-122, con el estudio en pp. 187-190; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), pp. 643-655.

No sabemos si, entre los años 418 y 430, los priscilianistas llegaron a conocer todo el conjunto de los Hechos apócrifos de San Juan, o si solamente se inspiraban en el Himno de Jesús, bien claramente gnóstico y, por lo tanto, entonces ya tenido por herético, como lo deducimos de la reacción de San Agustín, expresada en la *ep.* 237. El obispo de Hipona observó que aquellos libros no eran exclusivamente destinados a los priscilianistas, sino que servían a otros grupos. Con todo, debemos recoger que los priscilianistas disponían de libros apócrifos exclusivamente suyos. En cuanto a los Hechos apócrifos de San Juan, al menos en los fragmentos citados por el obispo africano, había interpolaciones que, a nuestro entender, eran específicamente priscilianistas. San Agustín no se percató de ello, puesto que no debía de disponer de otras versiones, para poder establecer una comparación. El presupuesto que tenían los priscilianistas, para nutrirse de esta literatura, era el mismo que servía a las diversas corrientes del gnosticismo, las cuales, con una concepción espiritualista y selectiva de sus iniciados, distinguían unas personas carnales, que leían las Escrituras canónicas, como eran los católicos, de otras, espirituales, que eran los gnósticos, los cuales, en nuestro caso, eran los gnósticos priscilianistas, capaces de leer estos libros secretos. Incluso Menéndez Pelayo propuso que este himno formaba parte de la liturgia priscilianista⁵⁵, lo cual no se podría creer, para antes del año 410.

Esta es la interpretación que nos brinda San Agustín. Por lo tanto, ya deducimos que consideraba heréticos estos libros y calificaba como herejes a los priscilianistas, que los leían y, con toda probabilidad, los habían manipulado, para que sirvieran a sus objetivos. Efectivamente, el vocabulario que empleaba el obispo de Hipona era bien preciso, en la *ep.* 237, 1: *iam in eiusdem haeresis*. De aquí que los seguidores de esta corriente, sin ningún paliativo, son designados como herejes, parecidos a otros que utilizaban los libros apócrifos, *ep.* 237, 2: *Alii quoque haeretici. Sectarum impietate*. Además, precisaba que algunos de estos apócrifos eran maniqueos, *ep.*

⁵⁵ MENÉNDEZ PELAYO, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, I, pp. 160-161. Acertadamente el autor dio más importancia a este himno, de la que le concedieron otros estudiosos posteriores.

237, 2. Entramos, por lo tanto, en una época posterior a la obra de Orosio, *Commonitorium, de errore priscillianistarum et origenistarum*⁵⁶, donde parece que este hispano fue el primero que tipificó el priscilianismo como herejía⁵⁷, en lo cual, hacia el año 419⁵⁸, lo siguió claramente Consencio.

b. El secretismo y la mentira de los priscilianistas

San Agustín, en la *ep.* 237, 3, que estudiamos, muestra cómo algunos que se liberaron del priscilianismo recordaban la máxima que guiaba la conducta de los priscilianistas: *iura, periura, secretum prodere noli*⁵⁹. La *ep.* 11* de Consencio es una muestra de ello, con la historia de la fuerza que adquirió esta norma de simular y esconder la pertenencia al priscilianismo.

A este propósito, aducimos unas muestras de esta práctica, que Consencio adoptó sistemáticamente, cuando compuso su prólogo al tercer libro contra los priscilianistas, simulando que era uno de ellos, lo hizo *ex persona haeretici*⁶⁰. Por su parte, los priscilianistas recurrían a la simulación⁶¹, al perjurio⁶². La

⁵⁶ Orosio, *Consultatio siue Commonitorium Orosii ad Augustinum de errore priscillianistarum et origenistarum*, ed. Kl. D. DAUR, Turnhout, 1985 (CCL, 49), pp. 157-178.

⁵⁷ R. VAN DAM, "Sheep in Wolves' Clothing: the Letters of Consentius to Augustine", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 37/4 (1986), p. 522.

⁵⁸ J. AMENGUAL I BATLE, "Consentius/Seuerus de Menorca. Vint-i-cinc anys d'estudis. 1975-2000", *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, 20 (2001), pp. 632-633.

⁵⁹ San Agustín, *ep.* 237, 3 (CSEL, 57), p. 528; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), p. 414.

⁶⁰ Consentius, *ep.* 11*, 1, 5, ed. DIVJAK (CSEL, 88), p. 52; ID., *Œuvres de saint Augustin*, 46B, p. 186; AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 84; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), p. 622.

⁶¹ Consentius, *ep.* 11*, 2, 7: "dissimulatione iam contegi res omnibus propalata non posset", ed. DIVJAK (CSEL, 88), p. 53; ID., *Œuvres de saint Augustin*, 46B, pp. 188-189; AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 84; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), p. 623.

⁶² Consentius, *ep.* 11*, 3, 2: "periuriis contegenti ita credidit"; 4, 3: "confessiones suas adhibitis in praesidium periuriis negaret"; 19, 3: "Animam tuam tantis non metuis iugulare periuriis?", ed. DIVJAK (CSEL, 88), p. 54, 55, 65; ID., *Œuvres de saint Augustin*, 46B, p. 190, 192, 218; AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els*

simulación y la mentira se unían⁶³, de modo que el obispo priscilianista Sagiccio de *Hilerda* (Lérida) no dudó en recortar fraudulentamente los códices de los apócrifos⁶⁴. En consecuencia, el cruce de la correspondencia entre los obispos tarraconenses y el presbítero Severo, para proteger sus maniobras, era secreto y el paso de los códices de las manos de Sagiccio a Severo⁶⁵, su propietario originario, se realizaba ocultamente,

origens del Cristianisme a les Balears, II, p. 86, 86, 100; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), p. 624, 625, 638.

⁶³ Consentius, *ep.* 11*, 7, 2: "Verum Seuerus eodem tempore mendacii insuimulatione contexta, 19, 2: astantibusque in iudicio cunctis populis, cum uidissem simila aut forte maiora praedictos mendaciorum folles spirare periuria", ed. DIVJAK (*CSEL*, 88), p. 56, 65; ID., *Ceuvres de saint Augustin*, 46B, pp. 217-218; AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 88, 100; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), p. 627, 638.

⁶⁴ Consentius, *ep.* 11*, 3, 3: "Seuerum presbyterum prodidit [...] iam fraudulentem dimidiatos codices a Sagittio episcopo recepisset", ed. DIVJAK (*CSEL*, 88), p. 54; ID., *Ceuvres de saint Augustin*, 46B, pp. 190-191; AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 86; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), p. 624.

⁶⁵ Consentius, *ep.* 11*, 14, 2-4: "Ita enim dispensatione mirabili gestum est ut, cum Seuerus litteras procul dubio occultas, quibus quid gestum fuisset instruxerat, ad Sagittium ilico destinasset, portitor prius ad castellum Seueri quod spatio itineris longiore distabat omni pernicitate contenderet, ut Vrsitio-nem quendam monachum, amicum Seueri, codices qui a Sagittio poscebantur a Seueri penetralibus proferre et ad Sagittium occulte deferre compelleret. [3] Verum Sagittius qui acceptis occulte muneribus a Seuerio codices se eidem reddidisse meminisset, cum intimis malae conscientiae ignibus ureretur, stupensque quod nullas Seueri sub hac re litteras accepisset, credidit Syagrium Oscensem episcopum quem similiter Seuerio codicem suum reddidisse cognouerat simili hoc auaritiae conscientia commisisse, scribit occultas ad eum litteras, in quibus ait se minime dubitare, quod etiam ipse ad redhibitionem unius codicis similibus metropolitani episcopi litteris cogeretur. [4] Vnde quoniam duos quos apud se habuerat codices dudum ad ipsum Syagrium cui discussio presbyteri sui fuerat delegata per Paulinum quendam diaconum destinasset, Paulinus uero, quia ipsum Syagrium episcopum in castello minime repperisset, Seuerio eos presbytero tradidisset, idcirco se nunc impendio deprecari ut, quia hoc factum cunctis penitus esset incognitum, ne qua forsitan suspicio nasceretur, Seueri presbyteri sui penetralia reserare et prolatis occulte secum deferre codices dignaretur, ut ipse in iudicio possit astruere se codices Seuerio minime tradidisse. 15, 1-2: Dum istae ad Syagrium Oscensem episcopum litterae deferuntur, Vrsitio ille Seueri domesticus libros occulte ad Sagittium pertulit: [...] iamque praesumptum animo periurium gerens Tarraconam statim profectus est. [2] Syagrius autem cum et Titiani episcopi conuentorias

al margen del metropolitano de Tarragona, Ticiano, que debió intervenir canónicamente en estos asuntos. La preocupación de Consencio provenía de la expansión oculta del cáncer de la herejía, por lo cual instaba a San Agustín, para que interviniera en combatirla⁶⁶.

Por su parte, el obispo africano presenta una justificación suficientemente clara de esta praxis priscilianista, que coincide en el fondo de la explicación del silencio del apóstol Juan, sobre las obras de Jesús, que leemos al final del n.º. 93, de los Hechos Apócrifos de San Juan⁶⁷. En este pasaje, Juan expresaría una reflexión sobre los hechos maravillosos de Jesús, pese a que su corporeidad fuera aparente, puesto que no dejaba la huella por donde pasaba, ni siquiera en los lugares desde dónde a veces se levantaba. “Era cómo si no hubiera existido”. Que la humanidad de Jesús fuera aparente pertenece a la doctrina atribuida a Prisciliano, que los concilios habían condenado⁶⁸.

En estos Hechos, el discípulo amado de Jesús advierte que ha contado algunos hechos maravillosos para animar a otros a creer en Él, mientras “sus grandes y maravillosas obras, por ahora, deben permanecer silenciadas, porque son inenarrables y no pueden ser ni contadas ni escuchadas” (93)⁶⁹. Seguidamente, la obra incorpora el Himno, en el cual no solamente

et Sagittii occultas litteras percepisset, uidens se qui presbytero suo Seuero susceptum codicem inconsulta simplicitate reddiderat reatu maximae suspitionis inuolui, cum aliquamdiu anxius aestuaret, illo potius statuerat declinare, ut etiam ipse susceptam mendacii formulam tenens et Seuerum presbyterum et Sagittium coepiscopum suum a uinculis tantae suspitionis euolueret”, ed. DIVJAK (*CSEL*, 88), pp. 61-62; ID., *Œuvres de saint Augustin*, 46B, pp. 208-210; AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, pp. 94-96; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), pp. 633-634.

⁶⁶ Consentius, *ep.* 11*, 24, 3: “quoniam per uniuersum iam orbem huius dogmatis cancer occulte serpendo protentus est”, ed. DIVJAK (*CSEL*, 88), p. 68; ID., *Œuvres de saint Augustin*, 46B, p. 224; AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 104; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), p. 641.

⁶⁷ Puede verse el texto al principio del recuadro y en la p. 293.

⁶⁸ M. SIMONETTI, “Prisciliano-Priscillianismo”, en *Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane*, II, Casale Monferrato, 1984, col. 2906.

⁶⁹ *Hechos apócrifos de los Apóstoles*, I, *Hechos de Andrés, Juan y Pedro*, ed. A. PIÑERO, y G. DEL CERRO, Madrid, 2004 (*BAC*, 646), pp. 338-341.

no se habla del silencio pedido antes, sino que esta pieza se abre con una exaltación de Jesús, que proviene de sus propios labios. El poema (94-98) muestra cómo Jesús, antes de su pasión, reunió a los discípulos y los hizo poner en un círculo, y los invitó a danzar, para escenificar un himno, que es de tendencia claramente gnóstica, pese a que muchas estrofas puedan ser entendidas según las Escrituras, como lo observó San Agustín⁷⁰. Un rechazo contundente de la cristología de los priscilianistas ya lo manifestó este obispo en el *Contra mendacium*, VI, 10⁷¹.

Observemos dos hechos, que podrán contribuir a afinar la cronología. El primero es que, por el año 419, Consencio, como lo hemos señalado, según su *ep.* 11*, conocía la práctica de la mentira y de la simulación, y la adoptó, por lo cual fue detalladamente criticado por San Agustín, como lo acabamos de decir. Pero, ninguno de los dos todavía menciona la máxima priscilianista, que recordará el obispo hiponense, *iura, periura*, etc. En esta misiva explica cómo todo el asunto, que conmovió la sociedad de Tarragona, giraba detrás de tres códices grandísimos, *immanes*⁷², que él consideraba mágicos, y que, entre otras piezas, contenían el Himno de Jesús, según suponemos. Atendida su mole, podrían haber dado cabida a todos los Hechos Apócrifos de San Juan. Dejamos de lado si incluían o no otra literatura. Volvemos a repetir que la teorización de la mentira, de la simulación y del perjurio aparece en el contexto de la literatura apócrifa, pero no refiriéndose a cualquier apócrifo, sino precisamente tratando de los Hechos Apócrifos de San Juan, y todavía con más concreción, refiriéndose a la pieza gnóstica que constituye el Himno de Jesús, a continuación de la primera interpolación de Tb 12, 7.

Contra esta interpretación reaccionó el obispo Severo de Menorca, el año 418. Al año siguiente, la imitó y atacó Con-

⁷⁰ San Agustín, *ep.* 237, 4 (CSEL, 57), p. 528. CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), pp. 415-416.

⁷¹ *Consenci*, II, p. 122, con la n. 53.

⁷² Consentius, *ep.* 11*, 2, 5 (CSEL, 88) p. 53. Id., *Saint Augustin*, 46B, p. 188; AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 84; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), p. 623.

sencio, según la narración de la *ep.* 11*. Hacia el año 420 la condenó San Agustín, en el *Contra mendacium*, y pasado el año 425, en la *ep.* 237, él mismo atribuye a los priscilianistas el adagio *iura, periura*, etc.

Se vincula el mencionado axioma a Prisciliano por la pretensión que tenían él y sus seguidores de encubrir prácticas mágicas, o de esconder literatura esotérica⁷³. Ahora bien, tampoco creemos suficientemente fundamentada esta interpretación, sobre todo si aplicamos la terminología actual. Es cierto que Consencio califica los códices priscilianistas de mágicos. Pero parece que más bien eran volúmenes de literatura apócrifa, en la cual se debía de leer el Himno de Jesús. Mencionemos el hecho de que en ningún momento se nos explica cómo habría sido aquella magia. Además, si los obispos priscilianistas de la Tarraconense hubieran sido acusados de magia, quien hubiera juzgado los hechos hubiera sido el autoridad imperial y el monje Frontón no hubiera acudido a la *audientia episcopalis*, ni el metropolitano Ticiano hubiera apelado al principio canónico, según el cual solamente los obispos pueden juzgar a otros obispos⁷⁴.

Independientemente de lo que se haya atribuido a Prisciliano, en la cuestión de las artes mágicas, ya comprobamos cómo es impreciso lo que nos propone Consencio sobre la afición a la magia de los obispos tarraconenses⁷⁵. Ahora todavía adelantaríamos diciendo que la literatura que preferían aquellos obispos era la de los libros apócrifos, de tendencia gnóstica, como los Hechos de San Juan. Efectivamente, sobre la literatura esotérica consumida por los priscilianistas tenemos pocos conocimientos; pero es bien clara su adicción

⁷³ B. VOLLMANN, "Priszillianismus", en *PW Suppl.*, 14 (1974), p. 523. Enumera una serie de autores que consideran los tratados de Prisciliano como una cobertura de su doctrina herética. La herejía se ha habría tapado con el mencionado axioma, que solamente conocemos en el contexto de los Hechos Apócrifos de San Juan, que son muy posteriores.

⁷⁴ Consentius, *ep.* 11*, 20, 2, *Sancti Aureli Augustini Opera*, (ed.) J. DIVJAK (CSEL, 88) p. 66. Id., *Saint Augustin*, 46B, p. 218; AMENGUAL I BATLE, *El origen del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 100; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), p. 638.

⁷⁵ J. AMENGUAL I BATLE, "Informacions sobre el priscilianisme a la Tarraconense segons l'Ep. 11 de Consenci", *Pyrenae*, 15-16 (1979-1980), p. 335.

a los libros apócrifos, defendidos por el mismo Prisciliano, conocidos por el obispo Cerecio, y poseídos también por San Agustín, según la repetidamente mencionada *ep.* 327. En consecuencia, a la hora de atribuir la práctica de la mentira a los priscilianistas, parece que debemos distinguir esmeradamente lo que se podía confundir en el vocabulario del s. v, como era la asimilación de los términos apócrifo, mágico, esotérico. Creemos que la acusación, en realidad, tenía como objeto denunciar que encubrieran la posesión y la lectura de los libros apócrifos de las Escrituras, y, en nuestro caso, de los Hechos de San Juan. Fuera de este ámbito, no creemos que los priscilianistas admitieran la mentira.

c. Un principio de los gnósticos, la apariencia corporal de Jesús, fue transformado en máxima para una ética, es decir, aparentar la verdad con la mentira

Antes de seguir, hará falta comparar brevemente los pasajes de los apócrifos, citados por San Agustín, con sus correspondientes en el texto crítico que hoy conocemos. De ninguna forma pretendemos entrar en el contenido general de estos libros, ni sabríamos averiguar los complicados problemas de su redacción y de su transmisión literaria⁷⁶. Lo que han mostrado los estudiosos de los Hechos Apócrifos de Juan y del Himno de Jesús que leemos, ns. 94-102, es que se trata de dos obras diferentes, ensambladas muy pronto. El Himno se caracteriza por un gnosticismo más crudo, que no aparece con tanta claridad en el resto de los Hechos. Por la fuerza debemos prescindir del estudio de la teología de este poema⁷⁷, puesto que rebasa las posibilidades de este trabajo, que pretende centrarse sobre las transformaciones que podemos descubrir en el priscilianismo, a partir de la carta agustiniana, dirigida al obispo Cerecio.

⁷⁶ Sólo por lo que se refiere a los problemas que suscita la interpolación del Himno de Jesús, cf., por ejemplo, ed. PIÑERO i DEL CERRO *Hechos apócrifos de los Apóstoles*, I, p. 17, 29.

⁷⁷ Ed. PIÑERO i DEL CERRO *Hechos apócrifos de los Apóstoles*, I, sobre todo en la pp. 260-295, abren muchas posibilidades para poder acercarse a la teología y a la espiritualidad de los priscilianistas del s. v, que va mucho más allá de la mentira y del perjurio. Haría falta no deslumbrarse por las acusaciones que recibieron. No eran unos depravados.

Texto de los Hechos apócrifos de San Juan ⁷⁸	Texto de la <i>ep.</i> 237 de San Agustín a Cereci ⁷⁹
93, 3 “Os cuento todas estas cosas, hermanos, para exhortaros a tener fe en él. Mas ahora guardamos silencio sobre sus grandezas y maravillas, que son inefables y ciertamente imposibles de expresar y oír”.	4. “Himno del Señor, que dijo secretamente a los santos apóstoles, discípulos suyos, pues escrito está en el Evangelio: ‘Dicho el himno, ascendió al monte’” (Mt 26, 30).
94, 2 Comenzó a entonar el himno siguiente: “Gloria a ti, Padre”.	[...] y no está puesto en el canon por razón de aquellos que piensan según sus entendederas y no según el espíritu y verdad de Dios, pues está escrito: Bueno es esconder el secreto del Rey, pero es honorífico revelar las obras de Dios. (Tb 12, 7).
95, 1, 4-5 “Deseo ser liberado y deseo liberar. Amén”.	5 y 6. “Quiero desatar y ser desatado”.
95, 1, 2-3 “Deseo ser salvado y deseo salvar. Amén”.	7. “Quiero salvar y ser salvado”
95, 1, 8-9 “Deseo ser engendrado y deseo engendrar. Amén”.	8. “Quiero ser engendrado” “Quiero cantar”
95, 2, 3 “Danzad todos”.	“Saltad todos”
95, 2, 5 “Lamentaos todos”.	“Quiero llorar, golpearos a todos el pecho”
95, 3, 13-14 “Soy una lámpara para ti que me contemplas. Amén”.	“Quiero adornar y ser adornado” “Soy lámpara para ti, tú que me ves”
95, 3, 17-18 “Soy una puerta para ti que me llamas. Amén”.	“Soy puerta para ti, quienquiera que seas tú que me llamas a mí” “Tú que ves lo que hago, calla mis obras”
	“Y ellos dicen que eso significa lo que está escrito en el libro de Tobías: <i>Bueno es ocultar el secreto del rey</i> ” (Tb 12, 6).
	¿Por qué dicen:
	“El himno no está en el canon porque hay que esconder el secreto del rey a los carnales” ⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Ed. PIÑERO i DEL CERRO *Hechos apócrifos de los Apóstoles*, I, pp. 338-355.

⁷⁹ San Agustín, *ep.* 237, 4-8 (CSEL, 57), pp. 528-531; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), pp. 415-420; GARCÍA VILLADA, *Historia Eclesiástica de España*, I/II, p. 140, extrajo los pasajes que leemos a partir del n. 5. No aludió a la referencia de Tb.

⁸⁰ Véase, antes, San Agustín, *ep.* 237, 4 (CSEL, 57), p. 528 – PL 33, col. 1035; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), p. 415.

96, 3, 5-6 “En cuanto a mí, si deseas conocer lo que yo era, me burlé con mi Palabra de todo y no experimenté ninguna vergüenza”.

9. El presunto autor de ese himno finge que Cristo dijo : “Con la palma engañé siempre y no fui engañado nunca”.

Si ahora volvemos la mirada a los dos textos que hemos confrontado, observamos, en los Hechos de Juan, cómo la justificación del silencio sobre las maravillas y obras de Jesús se fundamenta en la comprobación real de que la persona humana no puede entenderlas. A los presupuestos de los gnósticos, que piden una comprensión espiritual y no carnal, se junta una realidad, que consiste en la inadecuación de la comprensión humana con el misterio de la Encarnación. De hecho, también Jn 16, 12 (cf. 14, 25) recuerda cómo Jesús conocía esta carencia de la capacidad humana.

Ahora bien, como lo hemos señalado antes, el Himno fue empotrado muy presto en los Hechos de Juan ; pero los gnósticos que amañaron esta sección no se percataron de lo que dice el evangelio de Juan, ni en el hecho de que el n.º. 93 pide el secreto sobre las maravillas de Jesús, puesto que esta exigencia contradice todo el que expresan los números siguientes⁸¹, que no son otra cosa que su exaltación. Si pasamos a la comparación que hemos establecido, debemos remarcar que su manipulación todavía hizo más extraña la conjunción de las dos obras. Los priscilianistas añadieron un nuevo inciso, al n.º. 93, que sería el 93, 4, todo él destinado a justificar el secreto, puesto que Jesús habría transmitido ocultamente el himno a los apóstoles, pretensión que se remachaba con la referencia a Tb 12, 7, el primer inciso del cual recomienda preservar el secreto del rey, pero el segundo invita a proclamar las maravillas de Dios.

La citación que se reitera, pero solamente en el segundo inciso, en el texto paralelo de 95, 3, 17-18, junto a otra recomendación del silencio. En cambio, en el texto que conocemos de los Hechos Apócrifos de San Juan, no consta la citación de Tb 12, 7. Esta carencia, por ella misma, nos pone sobre otra pista, que conviene, de antemano, dejarla por ahora abierta, siguiendo la cual toparíamos con una posible transmi-

⁸¹ JUNOD-KAESTLI, “Le dossier des ‘Actes de Jean’”, pp. 4336-4337.

sión de los mencionados Hechos apócrifos, diversa de la que ha llegado a las ediciones modernas, y que habría sido manipulada por los priscilianistas. Si bien en la *ep.* 237 hay unas expresiones que no encuentran una clara correspondencia en el apócrifo, no vemos que se trate de mucho más que de una manera de alargar el texto con expresiones poco relevantes. Claro está que, de esta suerte, el ritmo del poema podía haber quedado desvirtuado, degradación que no podemos verificar. Solamente vemos importancia en la estrofa: “Tú que ves lo que hago, calla mis obras”, que, como lo hemos indicado, se justifica apelando a Tobías. Esta es la transformación más radical del himno atribuido a Jesús.

La *ep.* 237 muestra una redacción bien coherente con la máxima que promovía el engaño y la simulación entre los priscilianistas, *iura, periura*, etc. Es un planteamiento moral, según el cual Jesús justificaría la mentira. En cambio, en el texto de los Hechos Apócrifos de San Juan, la presentación mira el sentido del plan de la Encarnación, que habría consistido en mostrar una apariencia humana, detrás de la cual no había una realidad física, corporal. El hombre Jesús era una pantalla. No hace falta añadir más explicaciones sobre una tendencia bastante conocida y generalizada en el gnosticismo. Es otro punto en el cual este priscilianismo diverge de la fuerza con la que Prisciliano había afirmado el realismo de la Encarnación⁸².

Del docetismo se habría pasado a una perversión de la ética de las relaciones humanas, destruyendo la confianza que se fundamenta sobre la verdad. Ahora bien, esta evolución no depende de Prisciliano.

d. Un doble proceso en la confesionalización del catolicismo de la época teodosiana

Si el recurso a la mentira no deriva de Prisciliano, ni tampoco de los Hechos apócrifos de San Juan, y si no aparece denunciado por los confidentes de San Agustín, Consencio y Orosio, antes de los años 419-420, parece adecuado que sal-

⁸² VOLLMANN, “Priszillianismus”, en *PW Suppl.*, 14 (1974), p. 543, con referencias a los tratados de Prisciliano.

gamos del estudio de la dinámica interna del priscilianismo, y recurramos a los cambios estructurales externos, que se imponen en el Imperio romano y en el Iglesia de aquellos tiempos. Así, podemos observar cómo, de una parte, la opción política de Constantino de favorecer el pujante cristianismo de principios del s. iv, hasta entonces perseguido por los emperadores conservadores y restauradores, debía desembocar necesariamente en la imposición de esta nueva religión como aglutinante del Imperio. En efecto, entonces era inviable una neutralidad religiosa en un mundo, en el cual la permanencia y la prosperidad del Imperio eran consideradas como dones de los dioses, y, a partir de entonces, Constantino consideraba que el Imperio estaba en las manos del Dios de los cristianos.

Las libertades personales no incluían la expresión religiosa. De aquí que, pese a las sinuosidades políticas propias de las transformaciones del s. iv, el cristianismo se iba imponiendo por todas partes, hasta que pocos años después de la ejecución de Prisciliano, ordenada por el emperador usurpador Máximo, y una vez que Teodosio hubo promulgado el edicto *Cunctos populos* (380), el catolicismo era la única interpretación cristiana admitida por el Imperio. Lo que se había entronizado ya no era, por lo tanto, una forma entre otras de entender el cristianismo, sino que hacía falta tener presente lo que confesaba el obispo de Roma. Ya no eran los tiempos de Prisciliano, como observamos en el comentario al *Contra mendacium*, VI, 11⁸³.

Por otro lado, las iglesias entraron en un proceso de clarificación dogmática, al final del cual eran rechazadas varias

⁸³ *Consenci*, II, p. 122, con la n. 54. El escepticismo acerca de los rasgos históricos, que se descubren en la narración de la *ep.* 11*, vuelve a repetirse en J.-P. WEISS, "Consentius, un écrivain espagnol témoin de son temps", en *Mots chiffrés et déchiffrés. Mélanges offerts à Étienne Brunei*, eds. S. MELLET et M. GUILLAUME, pref. Ch. MÜLLER, París, 1998, pp. 707-732. Tal vez sea su pobre bibliografía lo que le hace simplificar las motivaciones que impelían a los priscilianistas a mentir, cf. p. 731. En cambio, tiene presente la nueva situación política F. DECRET, "Du bon usage du mensonge et du parjure: Manichéens et priscillianistes face à la persécution dans l'Empire chrétien: (iv-v^e siècles)", en *Mélanges P. Lévêque*, IV, eds., M. M. MACTOUX - E. GENY, París 1990, 141-149.

interpretaciones, consideradas como herejías, con lo cual se llegaba a una fijación de los contenidos de la fe cristiana.

Aun cuando no hubo ninguna toma de postura programada, para establecer un listado o canon de los libros fundantes del cristianismo, la misma dinámica de los acontecimientos y de la expansión de esta religión en las diversas culturas, sobre todo orientales, se encaminaba hacia la codificación de los libros obligatorios para los cristianos, lo cual pedía que también hubiera un catálogo de los que no lo eran, y de los otros que debían ser rechazados. El resultado de esta catalogación se plasmaría en el mal denominado decreto *De recipiendis et non recipiendis libris*, o *Decretum Gelasianum*, o Canon Gelasiano, atribuido al papa Gelasio I (440-461). En este documento queda establecido qué libros debían ser reconocidos como canónicos, y cuáles eran declarados apócrifos. En realidad, se trata de una obra de un autor anónimo, de los inicios del s. VI, que habría compuesto sus catálogos en el norte de Italia o en el mediodía de las Galias⁸⁴, extensa región que, como vemos, precisaba algo parecido, si se quería frenar la difusión de los apócrifos. Lo que nos interesa es que la sección del mencionado *Decretum Gelasianum*, que establece qué libros debían ser reconocidos como canónicos, y qué otros eran declarados apócrifos, podría provenir del mismo Dámaso⁸⁵, el que no quiso recibir Prisciliano.

Por estas sazones se reunieran concilios en Nîmes, Turín, etc., para atajar el priscilianismo temprano⁸⁶. Ahora bien, la lectura de los apócrifos no quedó interrumpida por la política del papa Dámaso y por la de sus sucesores. Santo Toribio de Astorga, a mediados de s. V, en la carta que dirigió a Idacio y a Ceponio, menciona otros libros que leían los priscilianistas, además de los Hechos Apócrifos de Juan. Añadían los Hechos

⁸⁴ B. ALTANER, *Patrología*, trads. E. CUEVAS - U. DOMÍNGUEZ DEL VAL, Madrid, 1962, p. 396.

⁸⁵ De entre las obras citadas en la n. 79, véase, más concretamente, ed. H. DENZINGER - P. HÜNERMANN, *El magisterio de la Iglesia. Enchiridion Symbolorum, Definitionum et Declarationum de rebus fidei et moribus*, reed., A. SCHONMETZER, trads. B. DALMAU, C. RUÍZ GARRIDO, E. MARTÍN, coord. D. GUIMERÀ, Barcelona ³⁸1999, nota a los ns. 350-354, p. 180.

⁸⁶ GARCÍA VILLADA, *Historia Eclesiástica de España*, I/II, p. 134.

de Tomás, de Andrés, y la Memoria de los Apóstoles, que Orosio ya mencionó como obra leída por los priscilianistas, según hemos visto. El trasfondo común de estos escritos era el gnosticismo⁸⁷. Pese a esto, el problema era mucho más complejo, puesto que muchos apócrifos pretendían completar la memoria de Jesús, inventando escenas maravillosas, pero no eran de tendencia considerada herética. Una prueba de estas invenciones es la aparición de los animales en la cueva de Belén, etc., universalmente aceptada.

Entonces, más que aplicar las listas de un canon bíblico establecido de una manera bien poco sistemática y formal⁸⁸, que no siempre contiene todos los libros reconocidos como canónicos, ni descarta a todos los excluidos como apócrifos, lo que podía tener más fuerza eran los criterios que proponía San Agustín⁸⁹, cuando rechazaba el Himno atribuido a Jesús, para lo cual recurría a la coherencia de su contenido con el resto de Escrituras aceptadas en general. Es decir, la coherencia entre los libros canónicos.

e. La paradoja del expresivo Prisciliano y el secretismo de los priscilianistas del s. v. La manipulación de Tb 12, 7

La diferencia que debemos ver entre Prisciliano, lector y defensor del consumo de los apócrifos, para que resplandezca más la gloria de Dios, y el priscilianismo del s. v, consiste en el hecho que, cuando él escribía, todavía el catolicismo no se había impuesto como doctrina única amparada por el estado

⁸⁷ *Epistola ad Idatium et Ceponium*, PL 54, col. 694, cf. GARCÍA VILLADA, *Historia Eclesiástica de España*, I/II, pp. 138-139.

⁸⁸ Ed. E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ, *Das Decretum Gelasianum De libris recipiendis et non recipiendis in kritische Text*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 49-50: "Notitia librorum apocryphorum: Cetera, quae ab haereticis sive schismaticis conscripta vel praedicata sunt, nullatenus recipit catholica et apostolica Romana Ecclesia". Pero no constan en las listas los Actos de Juan. Tampoco los menciona en las p. 52, 72, 83, donde tocaría hacerlo, en el supuesto de que constaran en los códices. J. GRIBOMONT, "Scrittura (Sacra)", en *Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane*, II, Casale Monferrato, 1984, col. 3119. Un resumen del *Decretum* en H. DENZINGER-P. HÜNNERMANN, *El magisterio de la Iglesia*, n. 354, p. 183.

⁸⁹ Véase, más en general, A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, "14. Le canon des divines Écritures", en dir. A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, *Saint Augustin et la Bible*, Paris, 1986 (Bible de tous les temps), pp. 287-301.

romano, ni aún era tan clara la clasificación de los libros canónicos y el rechazo de muchos apócrifos, que el papa Dámaso (366-384) promocionaba. Es a partir de la confluencia de estos dos hechos, inmediatamente posteriores a la ejecución de Prisciliano, que surge el dilema de renunciar a los apócrifos, o verse sometido al proceso eclesiástico y político, con el riesgo de la condena a penas diversas.

Si los acontecimientos se desencadenaron de esta manera, es bien lógico que la manipulación de los Hechos Apócrifos de San Juan fuera contemporánea de estas medidas políticas, con las cuales la autoridad política tutelaba el catolicismo, puesto que la llegada de este apócrifo a Occidente es tardía, como lo señaló K. Schäferdieck⁹⁰, el cual no cree que hasta el s. vi fuera conocido⁹¹.

San Agustín explica aquel secretismo, observando que la versión priscilianista del Himno de Jesús muestra cómo éste se habría inspirado en Tb 12, 7: “Es bueno guardar el secreto de un rey, pero es honroso descubrir las obras de Dios”. El primer inciso justificaría que se reservara a los espirituales el conocimiento de su misterio. Agustín añade que, en este texto, estriba la gran razón por la cual, según los priscilianistas, el Himno de Jesús no conste en el Canon de las Escrituras. En efecto, este poema debe ser escondido a los que sienten según la carne y no según el Espíritu y la verdad de Dios⁹², puesto que pertenece al secreto del rey, reservado a los que son espirituales.

Llegados aquí, debemos dejar constancia de que un fondo del secretismo existe en el texto de los Hechos apócrifos, como lo hemos observado en los fragmentos que hemos transcrito, especialmente en el final del n. 93, 3⁹³.

⁹⁰ K. SCHÄFERDIECK, “XIII. Apostelgeschichten des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts. 1 Johannesakten”, en ed. E. HENNECKE - W. SCHNEEMELCHER, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, II, *Apostolisches Apokaplypsen und Verwandtes*, Tübingen, 1971, p. 128.

⁹¹ Pese a esta opinión, pensamos que, al menos, el Himno de Jesús había llegado a Hispania, a comienzos del s. v.

⁹² San Agustín, *ep.* 237, 4 (CSEL, 57), p. 528. CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), pp. 415-416.

⁹³ Ed. PIÑERO I DEL CERRO *Hechos apócrifos de los Apóstoles*, I, pp. 340-341.

Esta opción por el secreto y la simulación se acentúa en la versión manipulada que dan los priscilianistas, según consta en la *ep.* 237, a Cerecio. Los Hechos apócrifos lo atribuyen a una prevención del apóstol Juan, mientras San Agustín, en esta epístola, observa que, en los pasajes que él conoció de los susodichos Apócrifos, el secretismo se justificaba con palabras del Antiguo Testamento, tomadas del libro de Tb 12, 7⁹⁴.

Los priscilianistas, por lo tanto, cambiaron las causas y los objetivos del secreto. Ya no se fundamentaba en la incapacidad humana para captar los misterios del Cristo, como leemos a los evangelios canónicos, y, con un alcance muy diverso, lo anotamos en estos apócrifos. Los seguidores de Prisciliano, según su versión de los apócrifos, que es la que llegó a manos de San Agustín, introdujeron una motivación muy diversa a la que proviene de la antropología teológica. Ellos, para justificar la simulación y el engaño, como es la de mantener el secreto de unas doctrinas reservadas a los espirituales, hasta el punto que a la exigencia del hermetismo, introdujeron un axioma que pervertía la ética, fundada en el valor social de la verdad, con el cual fomentaban el perjurio y la mentira. Que esta excepción en decir la verdad afectara sólo al encubrimiento de sus doctrinas, es lo más probable. Pero toda alteración de

⁹⁴ VOLLMANN, "Priszillianismus", en *PW Suppl.*, 14 (1974), pp. 538-539, recuerda cómo, también en la Gran Iglesia, hubo una cierta disciplina del arcano. Veremos que la intención del obispo de Poitiers era diversa de la que emerge en los Apócrifos que citamos. Véase la citación de San Hilario, *Tractatus super Psalmos*, Psalm 118, 2, 6, ed. A. ZINGERLE, Viena, 1891 (*CSEL*, 22), p. 373: V. 11: "Tertius iste secundae litterae versus est: In corde meo abscondi eloquia tua, ut non peccarem tibi. Meminimus simile huic dicto legi solere ubi dicitur, *Mysterium regis bonum est abscondere* (Tb XII, 7). Meminimus et Paulum ad Corinthios adhuc in fide parvulos scribentem, quaedam Dei eloquia occuluisse, cum dicit: *Lacte vos potavi, non cibo; nondum enim poteratis, sed neque adhuc potestis* (1 Co III, 2). Legimus et in Evangelio (Mt XIII, 44) in agro uberi atque fecundo repertum thesaurum, eundemque empto agro occultari. Novimus neque margaritas ante porcos projiciendas esse (Mt VII, 6), neque sanctum canibus dare oportere. Ergo intelligimus quaedam nos cordis nostri secreto continere, quae divulgata inexpressibilis peccati culpam comparabunt. Ita enim dixit: *In corde meo abscondi eloquia tua, ut non peccarem tibi: quia cum caetera peccata secundum differentias rerum aut in nos ipsos aut in alios exsererentur; tamen tum fierent in Deum propria, cum quae occultorum cordium essent condenda secreto, haec in profanae cognitionis scientiam proderentur.*"

los principios éticos es un grave atentado a la convivencia, y así lo denunció San Agustín, en el *Contra mendacium*.

6. *Severo de Menorca (418) creador de un estilo de prólogo hagiográfico antipriscilianista, inspirado en Tb 12, 7*

Un autor vinculado a Consencio y a Orosio, el obispo Severo de Menorca, entre los dos sábados, días 2 y 9 de febrero del año 418⁹⁵, protagonizó unos acontecimientos prodigiosos, que culminaron en una campaña contra los judíos de *Magona* (Maó- Menorca), con la cual los integró en el Iglesia. El obispo justifica la narración de estos acontecimientos, en una carta dirigida a toda la fraternidad del orbe, precisamente en el riesgo que correría si no daba publicidad a aquellas obras maravillosas, fundándose en el pasaje de Tb 12, 7, que es una invitación a contar las maravillas de Dios y una advertencia, bien antipriscilianista, a los que las esconden⁹⁶.

Este pasaje ha sido el inspirador de numerosos prólogos de escritos hagiográficos, como la Carta del obispo Severo de Menorca⁹⁷, que fue el introductor de esta motivación bíblica en la literatura hagiográfica, como resaltó J. Fontaine.

⁹⁵ AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, I, p. 65. Recientemente, ID., “*Consentius/Severus* de Menorca. Vint-i-cinc anys d’estudis. 1975-2000”, *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, 20 (2001), pp. 663-665.

⁹⁶ Seu. Min. ep., 1, 1-3, ed. J. AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*. II, p. 12: 1 *Cum* “opera Dei reuelare et confiteri honorificum esse” (Tb 12, 7) Raphael archangelus moneat, profecto silere uel celare miracula Christi periculosum est, in quibus tamen annuntiandis maior gratia est si communi ac simplici sermone referantur. 2 Celatur, enim, quodammodo speciosissima pulchritudo uirtutis, si abundantiori eloquio circumlita fuerit ac fucata. 3 Quapropter, ego quoque magnalia quae apud nos Christus operatus est, beatitudini uestrae non compto sed ueridico sermone referre aggrediar”. J. WANKENNE - B. HAMBENNE, “La Lettre-encyclique de Severus évêque de Minorque au début du v^e siècle. Authenticité de l’écrit et présentation de l’auteur”, *Revue Bénédictine*, 97 (1987), p. 17, observa cómo también en la obra de Evodio de Uzala, *De miraculis sancti Sthephani*, cuya edición crítica se encuentra en *Les miracles de saint Étienne*, I, prologus, p. 266, menciona el texto de Tobías, pero sin sacar ulteriores consecuencias. Indudablemente, Evodio se inspiró en Seu. Min., ep., 1, 1, AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 12. Véase la comparación entre ambos escritos, en ID., *Ibid.*, I, pp. 174-177.

⁹⁷ AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 13. ID., “*Consentius/Severus* de Menorca. Vint-i-cinc anys d’estudis. 1975-2000”,

Con todo, cabe completar las observaciones de este ilustre investigador. El prólogo de Severo es programático, por cuanto, a lo largo de la narración se atenderá con esmero a las cualidades que han de caracterizar su relato. De entre éstas, destacaríamos cuatro: la primordial consiste en manifestar la gloria de Dios⁹⁸, lo que de por sí le pone en las antípodas del interpolado Himno a Cristo. En segundo lugar, el autor se impone mantener una redacción sencilla y tejida con lenguaje sobrio, manera de evitar que las grandezas de Dios queden ahogadas en una literatura ampulosa⁹⁹.

La sorpresa viene con el tercer requisito que se exige. Pareciera una prevención de una acusación de falsedad y mentira¹⁰⁰, lo cual nos parece que queda fuera de lugar, teniendo presente el contexto en que esta excusa se profiere. La prevención contra la veracidad de una narración la declararía vana de antemano. La de Severo era una reacción contra el método de la mentira, que conocían tanto Consencio como Severo. La tercera intención de Severo sorprende, puesto que aparece como una excusa fuera lugar.

Finalmente, observamos no sólo un orden riguroso en la narración¹⁰¹ y en la fidelidad al calendario extraordinariamente trabado¹⁰².

pp. 665-666; ID., *Judíos, católicos y herejes: el microcosmos balear y tarraconense de Severus de Menorca, Consentius y Orosius (413-421)*, Granada, 2008 (Biblioteca Monogràfica de Humanidades/Chronica Nova de estudios históricos, 112 – Universidad de Granada. Universitat de les Illes Balears. Institut Menorquí d'Estudis), p. 8, 271, 432.

⁹⁸ Seu. Min. *ep.*, 16, 5, ed. J. AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*. II, p. 32: "Mira indulgentissimi Domini misericordia, adhuc parua petebantur, et iam maiora concesserat".

⁹⁹ Seu. Min. *ep.*, 1, 1, cf. n. 96.

¹⁰⁰ Seu. Min. *ep.*, 13, 8, ed. J. AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*. II, p. 30: "Sane, quoniam omnimodis debemus uitare mendacium, unus ex omni christianorum numero inuentus est, qui Achar illi similis esse uellet, qui sub Iesu Naue quaedam de anathemate spolia concupiuit".

¹⁰¹ Seu. Min. *ep.*, 12, 1, ed. J. AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*. II, p. 26: "Nunc autem, ut coeptae rei ordinem prosequar, maior ex Iamonensi ciuitate ad profectionem parata famulorum Christi multitudo conuenit".

¹⁰² AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, pp. 132-137.

Un rápido recorrido por las cartas de Consencio nos detectará cómo incidió en recalcar la importancia de algunas de estas características de la narración, que pudieran ser repercusiones del pasaje de Tb 12, 7. En primer lugar destacaríamos cómo Cristo conoce todos los secretos¹⁰³. Gracias a Él todos los manejos de los priscilianistas salieron a la luz, y Severo tuvo que confesar toda la trama que había urdido para esconder los libros apócrifos¹⁰⁴. Los perjurios fueron manifiestos¹⁰⁵. Según La Bonnardière, Frontón utiliza el sustantivo *periurium* hasta nueve veces en su relato¹⁰⁶. Gracias a Cristo los hechos fueron propagados¹⁰⁷, a pesar de la resistencia de Severo¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰³ Consentius, *ep.*, 11*, 2, 4: "Iesus Christus omnium secretorum inspector", ed. DIVJAK (*CSEL*, 88), p. 53; ID., *Œuvres de saint Augustin*, 46B, p. 188; AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 84; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), p. 623.

¹⁰⁴ Consentius, *ep.*, 11*, 15, 3: "cum subito eadem nocte domini nostri Iesu Christi mirabili uisione perterritus uidit se ante tribunal metuendi iudicis constitutum tristem pro tanto conscientiae crimine suscepisse sententiam moxque trepidus consurrexit tantaque animi consternatione percussus est, ut non solum Sagitti litteras publicaret et Vrsitionem illum Seueri monachum qui librorum gerulus fuerat apud acta ecclesiastica uniuersa compelleret confiteri", ed. DIVJAK (*CSEL*, 88), p. 63; ID., *Œuvres de saint Augustin*, 46B, pp. 210-212; AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 96; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), p. 634.

¹⁰⁵ Consentius, *ep.*, 11*, 2, 6: "Ille autem cuncta percurrens cum probatus in conspectu dei esset malus, data est occasio, per quam fieret etiam hominibus manifestus", ed. DIVJAK (*CSEL*, 88), p. 53; ID., *Œuvres de saint Augustin*, 46B, p. 188; AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 84; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), p. 623.

¹⁰⁶ A.-M. LA BONNARDIERE, "De nouveau sur le priscillianisme (Ep. 11*)", en *Les Lettres de Saint Augustin découvertes par Johannes Divjak. Communications présentées au colloque des 20 et 21 Septembre 1982*, Paris, 1983, p. 212.

¹⁰⁷ Consentius, *ep.*, 11*, 17, 2: "omnium manifesta periuria Christus auctor incorruptissimae ueritatis modis quibus uellet in crastinum propalaret", ed. DIVJAK (*CSEL*, 88), p. 64; ID., *Œuvres de saint Augustin*, 46B, p. 214; AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 98; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), p. 636.

¹⁰⁸ Consentius, *ep.*, 11*, 18, 3: "nec dissimulans se inuitum, ut omnia propalaret, domini terrore compulsus rettulit etiam mihi simplicibus uerbis omnem illum ordinem suae mirificae atque terribilis uisionis", ed. DIVJAK (*CSEL*, 88), p. 65; ID., *Œuvres de saint Augustin*, 46B, p. 216; AMENGUAL I

Por esto, Consencio consideró que la narración que le hizo el monje Frontón de los acontecimientos anteriores era motivo de gozo y de maravilla¹⁰⁹.

No sólo la pasión por manifestar las obras de Cristo, común con el obispo Severo, sino también, como lo acabamos de recoger, Consencio muestra su pasión por el orden de la narración de los acontecimientos¹¹⁰. Precisamente esta organización de la presentación de los hechos fue lo que el obispo Severo le propuso a Consencio, cuando le rogó que le preparara el esquema para redactar su carta: “cuando el beato prelado, hermano de tu paternidad, el obispo Severo, junto con los otros que los habían presenciado, me contó lo que había pasado y, con las supremas fuerzas de la caridad, invadió mi propósito,¹¹¹ de modo que él mismo escribió una carta, que contuviera la sucesión de todo que había acontecido; de mí solamente asumió la redacción”¹¹².

BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 98; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), p. 637.

¹⁰⁹ Consentius, *ep.* 11*, 1, 3: “multa mihi non solum gaudenda uerum etiam stupenda narrauit”, ed. DIVJAK (*CSEL* 88), p. 52; ID., *Œuvres de saint Augustin*, 46B, p. 184; AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 82; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), p. 621.

¹¹⁰ Consentius, *ep.* 11*, 18, 3: “rettulit etiam mihi simplicibus uerbis omnem illum ordinem suae mirificae atque terribilis uisionis”, *ep.* 12*, 12, 1: “Recolamus per ordinem ceteros quamuis magnos, quamuis catholicos tractatores!”, ed. DIVJAK (*CSEL* 88), p. 77; ID., *Œuvres de saint Augustin*, 46B, p. 246; AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 116; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), p. 651.

¹¹¹ El sentido de *propositum* hemos de vincularlo al objetivo que se había establecido viniendo a Menorca: vivir un receso ocioso, cf. 6, 2; 13, 2-3; cf. Seu. Min., *ep.*, 10, 1, donde la expresión *religione propositi* indica una situación de la vida estable, que puede significar un estilo de vida, cf. AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, I, p. 163; 211-215 y 277. cf. II, para el texto de Severo, p. 22.

¹¹² Consentius, *ep.* 12*, 13, 6: “Quae cum mihi beatus antistes, frater paternitatis tuae Seuerus episcopus cum ceteris qui affuerant rettulisset, irrupit propositum meum summis uiribus caritatis et, ut epistolam quae rei gestae ordinem contineret ipse conscriberet, sola a me uerba mutuatus est”, ed. DIVJAK (*CSEL* 88), p. 78; ID., *Œuvres de saint Augustin*, 46B, pp. 248-250; AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, pp. 118-120; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas*

Bien pronto el obispo menorquín, y de alguna manera también Consencio, tuvo un imitador en el informe sobre los milagros, elaborado por el obispo Evodio de Uzala, hacia el año 419¹¹³. Poco antes, Evodio había hecho leer desde el ambón de su basílica la narración que le había llegado desde Menorca¹¹⁴. Es una comprobación de lo que escribió Jacques Fontaine, cuando presentó el proemio de la Carta de Severo de Menorca como un modelo en la inspiración bíblica y un referente estilístico para otros escritores que le imitaron, incluso en la Edad Media¹¹⁵. Creemos que debemos completar esta observación con otra, que consiste en notar que esta inspiración bíblica, que reorienta el estilo literario, proviene de una reacción contra la producción de apócrifos, retocados por los priscilianistas. Por lo tanto, el tema de confesar y revelar las maravillas de Dios, como bien remarcaba Fontaine, no entró inocentemente y sin intención polémica en la producción hagiográfica¹¹⁶. Es evidente que en la obra de Evodio de Uzala esta voluntad ya no existió. Probablemente este obispo no se implicó en las tensiones del priscilianismo.

Sin embargo, como ya lo mostramos años atrás, Severo no es el primer autor en recurrir al segundo miembro de Tb 12, 7, *opera Dei reuelare et confiteri honorificum esse*, como sugiere Fontaine, siguiendo a J. Gamberoni¹¹⁷. En efecto, por

(3º), p. 652. La traducción la he tomado de AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Judíos, católicos y herejes*, p. 531.

¹¹³ *De miraculis sancti Stephani*, cuya edición crítica se encuentra en *Les miracles de saint Étienne. Recherches sur le recueil pseudo-augustinien* (BHL 7860-7861), ed., trad., coment. Groupe de Recherches sur l'Afrique Antique, dir. J. MEYERS, Turnhout, 2006 (Hagiologia, 5). Creemos que la obra podría haber sacado más provecho tanto recurriendo al estudio de Fontaine que citaremos seguidamente, como a las proximidades con la Seu. Min. ep.

¹¹⁴ AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, I, pp. 174-177.

¹¹⁵ J. FONTAINE, "Une polémique stylistique instructive dans la "lettre encyclique de Sévère de Minorque", en *Eulogia. Mélanges offerts à Antoon A. R. Bastiaensen à l'occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire*, eds. G. J. M. BARTELINK, A. HILHORST, C. H. KNEEPENS, Steenbrugge - La Haya, 1991, p. 121.

¹¹⁶ AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Judíos, católicos y herejes*, pp. 89-90.

¹¹⁷ FONTAINE, "Une polémique stylistique instructive dans la lettre encyclique de Sévère de Minorque", p. 122, n. 11, donde aduce a J. GAMBERONI, *Die Auslegung des Buches Tobias in der griechisch-lateinischen Kirche der Antike*

lo menos San Cipriano, *De dominica oratione*, 33¹¹⁸, y en *De mortalitate*, 10¹¹⁹, menciona esta expresión, en un contexto no hagiográfico, sino de oración.

Añadamos que, poco después del obispo menorquín, también recordamos cómo Posidio se inspiró en el mismo pasaje de Tb 12, 7, para justificar que San Agustín compusiera el libro de las *Confessiones*, como una muestra de humildad y de reconocimiento de la gloria de Dios¹²⁰.

Por nuestra parte, retornando a Severo, creemos que no depende de ningún autor anterior, cuando se inspira en el segundo miembro de Tb 12, 7, sino que podía haber reaccionado contra los priscilianistas, precisamente porque, según Tobías, las maravillas de Dios no pueden permanecer escondidas. El mismo texto que, en el primer miembro, inspiraba el secretismo de los priscilianistas, en el segundo incitaba a Severo a proclamar en todo el universo las maravillas divinas, experimentadas en un rinconcito del orbe, como era la isla de Menorca. Probablemente orna su narración con la retórica acerca de la real pequeñez de Menorca, inspirado en el texto bíblico manipulado por los priscilianistas.

En conclusión, creemos que la interpolación de los Hechos apócrifos de San Juan, con el pasaje de Tb 12, 7, y otras frases que atribuyen a Jesús la simulación, pertenece al tránsito entre los ss. iv y v. Esta hipótesis nos lleva a descartar que la mentira y la simulación fueran promovidas por Prisciliano.

und der Christenheit des Westens bis um 1600, Munich, 1969 (Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, 21). Añadamos que, en AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, I, p. 174, n. 2, mencionamos a Joannes A BOSCO (= DUBOIS) *Floriacensis vetus bibliotheca benedictina* (vol. b), Lugduni, 1605, *Commentarius de translatione S. Iacobi Apostolo*, p. 183, donde cita Tb 12, 7, inspirándose, con toda probabilidad, en Severo.

¹¹⁸ San Cipriano, *De dominica oratione*, ed. C. MORESCHINI (CCL 3A), Turnhout, 1976, p. 110.

¹¹⁹ San Cipriano, *De mortalitate*, 10, ed. W. HARTEL (CSEL 31), p. 303.

¹²⁰ AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, I, p. 174, n. 2, citando a Posidio, *Vita Sancti Augustini, proem.*, PL 32, col. 33: “[...] humilitatis sanctae more, utique (suo) nihilo fallens, sed laudem non suam, sed sui Domini propria liberatione ac munere quaerens, ex hic videlicet quae iam perceperat, et fraternas preces poscens de his quae accipere cupiebat. Sacramentum igitur regis, ut angelica auctoritate prolatum est, *bonum est abscondere: opera autem Domini revelare et confiteri, honorificum est* (Tb 12, 7)”.

El hecho que estos usos fueran suscitados por sus seguidores es una consecuencia lógica de la defensa de la lectura de los apócrifos que hizo el antiguo obispo de Ávila, puesto que de lo contrario habrían de haber renunciado a aquella lectura que les apasionaba. Aun así, la falacia no era la única alternativa, y, sobre todo, la práctica de esconder las glorias de Dios no parece que entrara en las previsiones de Prisciliano.

El priscilianismo había logrado una difusión que también le alejaba de los ideales ascéticos de su fundador, cuando los obispos y la aristocracia civil y militar de Hispania tarraconesa eran los exponentes de lo que ya se había convertido claramente en una herejía, que negaba la humanidad de Cristo. De hecho, Consencio califica a los priscilianistas de herejes, pero no precisamente porque hubieran adoptado el método de la simulación y de la mentira, sino por su docetismo. La mentira y el perjurio no eran más que recursos con los cuales protegían sus creencias heréticas. En efecto, Consencio, ultra ortodoxo, no tuvo ningún escrúpulo para simular que era priscilianista, con la pretensión de desenmascarar a los que lo eran y procesarlos en el *audientia episcopalis* de Tarragona (419).

La acusación de herejía tenía la misma inspiración que la de San Agustín, es decir, la ocultación de la humanidad de Cristo. Por esto, no vemos tan claro lo que dicen Junod y Kaestli, según los cuales no hay fundamento para suponer que los priscilianistas del s. v leyeran los Hechos apócrifos de Juan, a causa de su cristología heterodoxa¹²¹. No diríamos que buscaran la heterodoxia por ella misma; pero las preguntas que Consencio había dirigido a San Agustín, según la citada *ep.* 205 (ca. 413-414), muestran ya un clima enrarecido y confuso en la fe en el realismo de la Encarnación, o en la manifestación física del hombre Jesús.

Precisamente esta pasión enconada contra los priscilianistas y la colaboración de Consencio en la redacción de la *Carta* del obispo Severo, nos induce a creer que la citación de Tb 12, 7 no es ni casual, ni surgió sin una intención declaradamente

¹²¹ JUNOD-KAESTLI, "L'histoire des Actes apocryphes des apôtres du III^e au IX^e siècle: le cas des Actes de Jean", p. 94.

antipriscilianista. Creemos que, por el año 418, Consencio ya debía de conocer los códices priscilianistas. Efectivamente, la *ep.* 11* se ha datado como del año 419. Por lo tanto, muy próxima a la de Severo. En la *ep.* 12*, que sería posterior al *Contra mendacium*, en el párrafo 13, 6, leemos como Consencio confiesa haber intervenido en la redacción de la carta de Severo¹²².

Ya en la edición de esta carta¹²³ y en su estudio¹²⁴, quisimos precisar el alcance de estas expresiones. También J. Wankenne hizo aportaciones bastante interesantes¹²⁵. Los matices en la lectura divergen, especialmente en la diversa manera de interpretar el término *propositum*, que Wankenne entiende como si fuera el esquema o borrador de la carta que Consencio había establecido¹²⁶, mientras que, a mi ver, aquel término se ha de entender como su compromiso o estilo de vida en soledad. Sea lo que sea, aquí nos basta tener la seguridad de que Consencio fue un corredactor de la Carta de Severo de Menorca.

Entre las manifestaciones antipriscilianistas debemos contar la advertencia sobre la voluntad de evitar toda mentira en la

¹²² Consentius, *ep.* 12*, 13, 6 (CSEL 88), p. 78; ID., *Œuvres de saint Augustin*, 46B, pp. 248-250; CILLERUELO, DE LUIS, CAMPELO, *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XI, b: *Cartas* (3º), p. 652. Tomamos la traducción castellana que dimos en AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Judíos, católicos y herejes*, p. 525: «cuando el beato prelado, hermano de tu paternidad, el obispo Severo, junto con los otros que los habían presenciado, me contó lo que había pasado y, con las supremas fuerzas de la caridad, invadió mi propósito, de modo que él mismo escribió una carta, que contuviera la sucesión de todo que había acontecido; de mí solamente asumió la redacción». Citamos el texto latino en la n. 112.

¹²³ AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, pp. 118-121.

¹²⁴ AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, I, pp. 210-215. Más recientemente, ID., «Consentius/Severus de Menorca. Vint-i-cinc anys d'estudis. 1975-2000», pp. 657-663.

¹²⁵ J. WANKENNE, Recensión de Josep AMENGUAL I BATLE, «Els orígens del cristianisme», *Revue Bénédictine*, 102 (1992), pp. 386-387.

¹²⁶ J. WANKENNE, «La correspondance de Consentius avec saint Augustin», en *Les Lettres de Saint Augustin découvertes par Johannes Divjak. Communications présentées au colloque des 20 et 21 septembre 1982*, Paris, 1983, p. 229; ID., [Comentario a la *ep.* 12*] en *Œuvres de Saint Augustin* (BA, 46B). *Lettres* 1*-29, pp. 491-492.

narración¹²⁷. Hasta en el mismo prólogo, Severo se propone ofrecer una narración de lo que obró Cristo, plasmada en un estilo sencillo, evitando la exhuberancia, ya que de lo contrario se ofusca la verdad¹²⁸. Esta obsesión por la sencillez aparece en otros pasajes, como cuando quiere transcribir la escena de la interpelación del judío Rubén, dirigida al principal judío, Teodoro¹²⁹.

Hasta la narración de las maravillas de Dios requiere un esmero constante en entrelazarlas fiel y ordenadamente¹³⁰. Esto no obstante, Severo considera que si es imposible contar todas las proezas de Dios, sería ingratitud relegarlas¹³¹.

El prólogo, en definitiva, anuncia dos objetivos complementarios, y ambos con intencionalidad antipriscilianista. El primero, mostrar las grandezas de la acción de Dios en la historia, frente al secretismo, que se ampara en el primer extremo de Tb 12, 7. El segundo objetivo, en realidad lo propuso Severo para servir al primero, y atañe sobre todo a los recursos que elige para alcanzarlo. En efecto, para narrar las maravillas de Dios el lenguaje, el rechazo de la ampulosidad verbal, la renuncia a toda mentira, la veracidad del contenido y la narración ordenada forman un conjunto que refuerza de por sí el objetivo central, que es la manifestación de la gloria divina.

¹²⁷ Seu. Min. *ep.*, 13, 8, AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 30: “quoniam omnimodis debemus uitare mendacium”.

¹²⁸ Seu. Min. *ep.*, 1, 2-3, AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 12: “Celatur, enim, quodammodo speciosissima pulchritudo uirtutis, si abundantiori eloquio circumlita fuerit ac fucata. 3 Quapropter, ego quoque magnalia quae apud nos Christus operatus est, beatitudini uestrae non compto sed ueridico sermone referre aggrediar”.

¹²⁹ Seu. Min. *ep.*, 16, 13, AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 36: “Verumtamen, ut et nos uniuersa fideliter narremus et uos, qui non eloquii ornatum sed ueritatem quaeritis, libentius audiatis, ipsius Ruben uerba inserens, nihil ex simplicitate dictorum eius subtraham”.

¹³⁰ Seu. Min. *ep.*, 12, 1: “Nunc autem, ut caeptae rei ordinem proseguar”; 16, 13: “nos uniuersa fideliter narremus”; 18, 25: “Theodorus uniuersumque ordinem gestae rei (cognoscit)”, AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 26, 36, 46. Observemos cómo esta preocupación se repite en Consencio, cf. I, pp. 204-205. Véase la mención de esta narración hecha por Consencio, *ep.* 12*, 13, 6, en p. 304, nota 112.

¹³¹ Seu. Min. *ep.*, 18, 2, AMENGUAL I BATLE, *Els orígens del Cristianisme a les Balears*, II, p. 38: “Sicut itaque impossibile est nobis omnia dicere, sic ingratum cuncta praeterire”.

Basten estas muestras para que podamos comprobar que el prólogo antipriscilianista no solamente contiene una declaración de intenciones, sino que repercute a lo largo de toda la carta.

7. Alcance geográfico de la expansión de los apócrifos priscilianistas

Contando con las informaciones que nos han llegado a través de Consencio, vemos que el consumo de los apócrifos apasionaba los altos estamentos de la Tarraconense del primer cuarto del s. v. Estos *potentiores*, como ya era general en Hispania, iban entrando con fuerza en el cristianismo, y eran ellos los que ocupaban las sedes episcopales. La familia del *comes Hispaniarum Asterius* estaba infestada de priscilianistas, como nos lo muestra el caso de su hija y de su parienta Severa. Donde abundaban era en el *praetorium*, de tal manera que Frontón no quería acercarse, para no perecer aniquilado por ellos. Saliendo de este núcleo duro del priscilianismo, Consencio advertía que la herejía se había esparcido por todas partes, mencionando la patria de San Agustín, las Baleares y las Galias, aun cuando solamente da a entender que el único obispo que lo combatía era Patroclo de Arlés.

La otra serie de noticias sobre estos apócrifos manipulados por los priscilianistas nos llegó por la *ep.* 237, a Cerecio, epístola que nos deja con varios interrogantes. El primero, nos muestra una cronología abierta. Los editores del texto, como hemos indicado, la colocan en los años del episcopado del obispo de Hipona, sin más precisiones, y, por supuesto, nada concretan en lo que se refiere a la ciudad donde tenía su sede. Creemos que, como hemos dicho, debe ser posterior a las informaciones que llegaron a África sobre los priscilianistas, a través de Orosio, que es el primero que los califica expresamente como herejes. Creemos que, antes, Consencio ya había escrito a San Agustín sobre temas priscilianistas, sin mentar su nombre. Con todo, diríamos que debemos situarnos después del año 415. Querríamos todavía precisar más, a partir de las *ep.* 11* y 12*, y del *Contra mendacium*, redactados estos opúsculos por San Agustín entre los años 419-420.

Pius B. Gams ya propuso que Cerecio podría ser identificado con el obispo homónimo de Grenoble¹³². Éste fue mencionado por É. Griffe, aun cuando no tuvo presente la carta del obispo de Hipona sino que anotó que Cerecio, *Salonius* y *Veranus*, por el año 450, fueron destinatarios de una respuesta a la carta que habían enviado al papa León Magno¹³³, agradeciéndole el *tomus* que había enviado al patriarca de Constantinopla¹³⁴. En este caso, Cerecio, el primero de los tres signatarios, tenía la sede episcopal Grenoble, en la provincia Vienesa, en la cual Patroclo era lo suficientemente activo para extender su jurisdicción eclesiástica como metropolitano. Si tenemos presente que San Agustín murió el año 430, el periodo de tiempo que habría transcurrido entre ambas epístolas pasaría de los 20 años, duración que no es imposible en el período del ministerio de un obispo de la Antigüedad, aunque admito otras hipótesis. Babut considera la sede episcopal de Grenoble como exterior a la zona geográficamente prisciliana¹³⁵. Sin embargo, si atendemos a las informaciones de Consencio, esta observación ya no sería importante. Tampoco podemos asegurar su cronología, aun cuando la creemos bastante aproximada, puesto que el episcopado de Cerecio oscilaría entre los años 428-452. Habría suscrito el sínodo de Orange, del año 441, y el del año siguiente, reunido en

¹³² P. B. GAMS, *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien* II/I, Regensburg 1864 (reimpr. Graz, 1956), p. 403. SANCHEZ, *Priscillien, un chrétien non conformiste*, p. 113, por un lado le considera obispo de Uccula (Ain Dourat, en Tunisia), pero, según los textos, entre muchos otros autores, A. MANDOUZE, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*. 1. *Prosopographie de l'Afrique chrétienne (303-533)*, Paris, 1982, p. 207, distingue *Cericius, episcopus plebis Uculensis*, presente en la Conferencia de Cartago del año 411, de *Ceretius, episcopus*, destinatario de la ep. 237, de San Agustín, el cual, según el mismo SANCHEZ, *Priscillien*, en la p. 113, n. 167, podría ser obispo de Grenoble.

¹³³ León Magno, ep. 68, PL 54, col. 887-890. Cf. R. W. MATHISEN, "Epistolography, Literary Circles and Family Ties in Late Roman Gaul", en *Transaction of the American Philological Association*, (1981), pp. 95-109.

¹³⁴ León Magno, ep. 28, PL 54, col. 757-771; É. GRIFFE, *La Gaule chrétienne, à l'époque romaine*, II: *L'Église des Gaules au V^e siècle*, Paris, 1966, p. 172 i 195.

¹³⁵ E.-Ch. BABUT, *Priscillien et le priscillianisme*, Paris 1909, pp. 235-236, n. 4.

Vaison, y, por el orden de las firmas, parece que su antigüedad pueda recular hasta los años 428-429¹³⁶.

Todo este discurso no pasa de sustentarse en simples razones de conveniencia, frente a las cuales, por otra parte, no hemos encontrado otras de la misma solidez para proponer otra interpretación. Con todo, no debería quedar excluido que Cerecio fuera un obispo de la Tarraconense, más bien de Barcelona o de Girona, alejado de sus colegas implicados en el proceso que había incoado Frontón. No podemos desdeñar esta posibilidad, favorecida por la carencia de los nombres de los obispos de estas dos sedes. En Barcelona hay un vacío entre Sigesarío, impuesto por Gala Placidia, el año 415, y Nundinario, que fue obispo entre los años 450-463. En Girona, el vacío cronológico es mucho más largo, dado que se extiende desde Inondinado (ca. 400) a Frontiniano (515-517)¹³⁷.

Una breve conclusión

La correspondencia de San Agustín con Consencio y Cerecio nos ha conducido a establecer unas matizaciones en el tratamiento heresiológico del priscilianismo. En concreto, hemos observado cómo no podemos tomar las tipificaciones de esta corriente, que leemos en la última producción heresiológica

¹³⁶ L. DUCHESNE, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, I, Paris, ²1907, pp. 347-348. En Vaison, Teodoro de Frejus, era obispo desde el año 433, *Ibid.*, p. 276, firmó en el lugar 17, mientras Cerecio estampó su nombre en el 14. Antes de él subscribieron las actas unos sufragáneos de Arles, designados por Honorato (426) o Hilario (429). Para estos últimos, cf. P. B. GAMS, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae quotquot innotuerunt a Beato Petro Apostolo, a multis adjutus*, Ratisbona - Munich, 1873-1886 (reimpr. Graz 1957), p. 493, y para Teodoro de Frejus, desde el año 433, p. 551. Véase, además, BABUT, *Priscillien et le priscillianisme*, pp. 235-236, n. 4.

¹³⁷ J. M^a. MARTÍ BONET, "La iglesia de Barcelona" y J. M^a. MARQUÈS PLAN-GUMÀ, "La Iglesia de Gerona", en coord. J. M^a. MARTÍ BONET, *Barcelona, Terrassa, Sant Feliu de Llobregat, Gerona*, Madrid, 2006 (Historia de las diócesis españolas, 2, BAC), p. 400 y p. 667, respectivamente, en sus listas de las series episcopales. Aunque condicionado por una partícula concesiva, a favor del Cerecio de Grenoble, H. Chadwick, considera Cerecio, destinatario de la *ep.* 237, como natural de Hispania, CHADWICK, *Priscillian of Avila*. p. 156, n. 1 = *Prisciliano de Ávila*, p. 208, n. 150.

de San Agustín. Ni la *ep.* 237 se halla exenta de generalizaciones, ni el tratamiento que el obispo de Hipona da a esta doctrina se corresponde totalmente con la que enseñó Prisciliano. El númera acumula las acusaciones que algunos levantaban, a veces con motivos serios y preocupantes, incluso socialmente, como fue la de la práctica del engaño y del perjurio. Ahora bien, creemos que entre Prisciliano y sus seguidores que empezaron a mentir, debieron de transcurrir más de treinta años.

Sobre todo, el origen del hábito de la simulación y la falacia, a nuestro modo de ver, no depende tanto de la dinámica interna de las doctrinas del priscilianismo, como del sentido de autodefensa, a causa de que por sus rasgos crudamente gnósticos que caracterizan el Himno de Jesús, eran perseguidas como heréticos, tanto por la Iglesia, como por el Imperio teodosiano, que podía sancionar a los herejes. Entonces, parece siempre necesario proceder según criterios de discernimiento cronológico, para no concentrar en Prisciliano todos los errores atribuidos a los priscilianistas en el s. v.

Queda estudiado en otro lugar por qué Consencio, debedador de priscilianistas, hacia el año 419, compuso su libro simulando que era hereje priscilianista, en el cual defendía el uso de la mentira. No era ajeno a este procedimiento su rechazo al esfuerzo de la reflexión teológica, y a la lectura fundamentalista de las Escrituras, por lo cual fue corregido por San Agustín¹³⁸.

La *ep.* 15 de León I a Toribio de Astorga ya no incluye la doctrina sobre la mentira entre las propagadas por los priscilianistas, que siguen simulando para poder leer su literatura apócrifa o los tratados de Dictinio. De esta manera, tal vez podríamos decir que el axioma *iura, periura, secretum tuum noli prodere* tuvo una vigencia coyuntural, porque perdió utili-

¹³⁸ J. AMENGUAL I BATLE, "Terminologia trinitària de Consenci (415-420): tempteigs de teologia trinitària d'un autodidacte integrista", en *Fe i teologia en la història. Estudis en honor del Prof. Dr. Evangelista Vilanova*, eds. J. BUSQUETS - M. MARTINELL, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat 1997 (Scripta et Documenta, 56), pp. 303-309; ID., "Intellectum ualde ama. 'Estima intensament la intel·ligència'. Sant Agustí, *ep.* 120, III, 13, 4", *Homenatge al prof. Josep Rius Camps, Revista Catalana de Teologia*, 35 (2010), pp. 581-617.

dad, puesto que ya a mediados de s. v el poder del emperador desapareció y, con él, se esfumó la causa política que había hecho derivar a los priscilianistas hacia la falacia.

Otra aportación importante de las fuentes consiste en que nos han introducido en una reafirmación de los rasgos gnósticos de la cristología de los priscilianistas del comienzos del s. v, sin que conozcamos si este antecedente predispuso a algunos para poder convivir más suavemente con los visigodos y vándalos arrianos, que llegaron a Hispania pocos años después de los acontecimientos que comentamos.

Esta cristología más doceta llegó a las provincias hispanas antes de lo que se supone, con el Himno de Jesús del s. ii, proveniente de Siria, y tal vez el primer indicio que tenemos de ello sea el prólogo de la carta encíclica del obispo Severo de Menorca (418), que sería el primer autor cristiano que habría dado al pasaje de Tb 12, 7 un tono antipriscilianista, al proponerlo como incitación a magnificar las maravillas de Dios, con lo cual se convirtió en modelo para posteriores autores de la literatura hagiográfica. Evidentemente, los resabios antipriscilianistas se diluyeron tempranamente.

Más insegura es la geografía de la lectura de la versión manipulada por los priscilianistas del mencionado Himno de Jesús. De todas maneras, si hubiéramos de excluir que Cerecio hubiera sido obispo de Grenoble, en la Vienesa, al menos quedaría que Consencio consideraba que los priscilianistas se desperdigaban por Roma, África, la Narbonesa, la Tarraconesa y la Baleárica. En este círculo mediterráneo occidental había obispos, presbíteros, diáconos, monjes y laicos ávidos de la literatura apócrifa, con tintes de una cristología gnóstica, combatida por Consencio.

Summary

The prologue of the Letter by Severus of Minorca (Seu. Min. *ep.*) is regarded as exemplary in the late-ancient hagiography. Nevertheless, this document is not hagiographic. It narrates how the arrival of St Stephen's relics led to a campaign against the Jews of Magona, who had been incorporated into the Catholic Christian Church. According to Tb 12, 7, these wonderful events should be spread through Christendom. It is known that the lay theologian Consentius took part in the events and in the writing of the Minorcan document. The Seu. Min. *ep.* should raise a similar enthusiasm to the one in Minorca, so as to convert the Jews of the World. This fact contrasts with the priscilianists' excessive secrecy. They manipulated the Apocryphal Acts of St John, also inspired in Tb 12, 7, according to St Augustine, *ep.* 237, to bishop Ceretius of an unknown see (Grenoble?). The interrelation between these documents is the target of this essay.

The Confession of Faith Ascribed to Caelestius^{*}

by

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Writings that are not preserved to the present day, especially those by people branded as ‘heretics’, naturally appeal to the imagination of scholars. In the course of time, historians of theology have combed archives, manuscripts and the numerous columns of Migne to track down, if possible, parts of a lost text – and then to puzzle the remaining bits and pieces together.

The scholarly zeal to rediscover what is lost, runs the risk of over- and/or misinterpreting the limited evidence at hand. In this article, the quest for Caelestius’ *Libellus fidei*, a now lost confession of faith written 417 AD, serves as an example.¹

* The present article is part of a dissertation on Pelagius’ *Libellus fidei*, currently being prepared for the VU University in Amsterdam, under the supervision of Prof. P. J. J. van Geest and Prof. A. van de Beek. I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. M. Lamberigts of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven for encouraging me to write this article, and for his criticisms and suggestions.

¹ Caelestius, *Libellus fidei*; CPL 768. Some editions, reconstructions and discussions of the text: C. BARONIUS, *Annales ecclesiastici*, t. V, Antwerpen, 1596, pp. 410-411 (fragment 1-2, 3 partially); G. J. VOSSIUS, *Historiae de controversiis quae Pelagius eiusque reliquiae moverunt*, secunda editio, Amsterdam, 1655 (first ed. Leiden 1618), lib. II, pp. 193-194 (fragments 1-2); H. DE NORIS, *Historia Pelagiana*, Pisa, 1764 (first edition Padua, 1673), pp. 111-112 (fragment 2 and 3, both partially); J. GARNIER, *Iuliani Eclanensis episcopi libellus fidei missus ad sedem apostolicam in causa Pelagianorum*, Paris, 1673, pp. 232-233 (three fragments); J. GARNIER, *Dissertatio V*, in *Marii Mercatoris sancto Augustino aequalis opera quaecumque extant*, vol. I, Paris, 1673, pp. 312-317 = PL 48, cols. 497-505 (reconstruction of the full text); “Varia scripta & monumenta ad Pelagianam historiam pertinentia”, in: *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi operum [...] opera et studio monachorum Ordinis S. Bene-*

Up to the present day, widely divergent editions of this work confront scholars on the Pelagian controversy with uncertainties and questions. Much of the confusion was caused by the remarkable, lengthy reconstruction made by the Jesuit Jean Garnier (1612-1681).

The following starts with a sketch of the origins and purpose of Caelestius' *Libellus fidei*. Next, we will take a closer look at the reconstruction offered by Garnier: its character, its reception in later scholarship, and how it is to be evaluated. The article closes with a new edition of the remaining fragments of Caelestius' *libellus*.

1. *The Origin and Character of Caelestius' Libellus fidei*

In 417 bishop Innocent of Rome condemned Caelestius and Pelagius and a number of opinions ascribed to both of them. The condemnation was requested by the church of Latin Africa.² Pelagius answered by writing a letter of defence and a confession of faith, while Caelestius travelled to Rome to defend his case in person.³ In the meantime, Innocent had

dicti e congregatione S. Mauri, t. 10, appendicis pars secunda, Paris, 1696, cols. 97-98 = *PL* 45, cols. 1718-1719 (three fragments); W. WALL, *The History of Infant Baptism*, part I, London, 1705, § 31, p. 264 (fragments 1-2, with English translation); P. COUSTANT, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum*, Paris, 1721, pp. 985-987 = *PL* 20, cols. 685-686 (three fragments); J. D. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. IV, Florence, 1760, pp. 358-359 (three fragments); C. G. F. WALCH, *Bibliotheca Symbolica Vetus*, Lemgo, 1770, pp. 198-199 (three fragments); A. HAHN, G. L. HAHN, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der apostolisch-katholischen Kirche*, Breslau, 1897, § 210, pp. 292-293 (three fragments); A. BRUCKNER, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Pelagianischen Streites*, Tübingen, 1906 (Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften, II-7), pp. 78-79 (three fragments); G. HONNAY, "Caelestius, discipulus Pelagii", *Augustiniana*, 44 (1994), p. 287, nn. 94-95 (three fragments). A German translation of Coustant's text is offered in: S. WENZLOWSKY, *Die Briefe der Päpste und die an sie gerichteten Schreiben*, Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, 3, Kempten, 1877, pp. 231-233.

² Innocentius, *ep.* 29 and 30 = Augustine, *ep.* 181 and 182. Only the second letter condemns Pelagius and Caelestius by name. For the African request, see Augustine, *ep.* 175, 176, 177 (*cfr* also a third letter by Innocent: *ep.* 31 = Augustine, *ep.* 183.)

³ Pelagius, *Epistola ad Innocentium*; *CPL* 749a, best reconstructed by Coustant: *PL* 20, cols. 608-611, speculatively reconstructed and enlarged by Gar-

passed away and was succeeded by Zosimus. Under his direction, a clerical meeting convened in the Basilica of St Clement to discuss the appeals.

Part of the recourse taken by both Pelagius and Caelestius was to present a confession or creed. Zosimus seems to have been impressed by their defence: the bishop directed two severe letters to the African bishops, lecturing them for what he regarded as premature accusations, and referring to the faith professed by Caelestius and Pelagius as orthodox.⁴

The sources mostly refer to Caelestius' confession as a *libellus*. Zosimus writes that Caelestius' *libellus* was read aloud during the appeal, but also speaks of *libelli* (plural) and a *professio*.⁵ Augustine's account consistently speaks of the *libellus* presented by Caelestius in Rome, quoting three passages from

nier: *PL* 48, cols. 610-611. Pelagius, *Libellus fidei ad Innocentium*, *CPL* 731; see also my earlier study: "Haec fides est: Observations on the Textual Tradition of Pelagius's 'Libellus fidei'", *Augustiniana*, 57 (2007), pp. 345 n. 11, 377-385. Caelestius' appeal in Rome is described in Augustine, *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali* (*passim*) and *Contra duas epistolas pelagianorum*, II, 5, III; as well as in Zosimus, *ep.* 2 and 3 (*Coll. Avell.* 45 and 46) and Marius Mercator, *Commonitorium super nomine Caelestii*; E. SCHWARTZ (ed.), *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, I, V, 1, Berlin/Leipzig, 1924-1926, p. 66. For evaluations of Mercator's account, *cfr* J. FERGUSON, *Pelagius. A Historical and Theological Study*, Cambridge, 1956, p. 102 and HONNAY, "Caelestius", p. 286, n. 89.

⁴ Zosimus, *ep.* 3, 3 (*Coll. Avell.* 46): *tales etiam absolutae fidei*; *cfr* 15-16. It should be noted, however, that in his letter Zosimus mainly focussed on the juridical aspects of the case, not on theological issues.

⁵ Zosimus, *ep.* 2, 3 (*Coll. Avell.* 45): *...et intromisso Caelestio libellum eius, quem dederat, fecimus recitari*; and 8: *Quare, intra secundum mensem aut ueniant, qui praesentem redarguant aliter sentire quam libellis et professione contextuit...* The plural *libelli* is considered here to refer to the various written statements by Caelestius in the course of time, such as his *libellus* presented before the council of Carthage in 411 (which Zosimus indeed mentions briefly) and the *libellus* presented in Rome (with which the present article is concerned). The word *professione* may then refer to Caelestius' oral statements before the ecclesiastical assembly convened by Zosimus. Another possibility is that *libelli* refers to various written statements of juridical character and that *professione* refers to Caelestius' profession of faith, elsewhere called a *libellus*. Zosimus' use of language may have been inexact at this point. Moreover, we should take into account that our knowledge of Caelestius' trials is fragmentary. We do not know exactly what writings, or how many, he presented in 411 and 417.

it to which I will return below.⁶ An indirect reference is found in the confession of faith ascribed to Julian of Aeclanum, which refers to certain persons who had successfully defended themselves against false accusations by means of their *libelli*. This in all likelihood refers to the creeds presented to the Roman see by Pelagius and Caelestius.⁷ In present-day scholarship, the confession is usually called Caelestius' *Libellus fidei*.

Augustine notes with subtle sarcasm that Caelestius' confession dwelt long on subjects on which no one had ever questioned him, from the unity of the Trinity to the resurrection of the dead.⁸ Pelagius' *libellus* was criticized using similar words.⁹ Apparently, both writings resembled each other, but their resemblance should not be exaggerated: Augustine's words merely show that there is an identity of genre (that of the creeds), but they do not show that there is an identity of text.¹⁰ The parallel character of both *libelli* is also noted by Zosimus, who remarks that Pelagius had stated his belief in a manner parallel to that of Caelestius.¹¹ I will return to this question of similarity later.

⁶ Augustine, *De gratia Christi*, 36, XXXIII; *De peccato originali*, 2, II; 5, V – 7, VI; 13, XII; 26, XXXIII; paraphrases of Caelestius' confession are found in *Contra duas epistolas pelagianorum*, II, 5, III – 6, IV.

⁷ Julian of Aeclanum [?], *Libellus fidei*, IV, 1 (PL 48, col. 523): *Haec autem omnia [...] ipsi etiam de quibus ista iactantur, falso sibi obiecta testantes, libellis propriis damnauerunt. Cfr ibid.*, IV, 8.

⁸ Augustine, *De peccato originali*, 26, XXIII: *Item in libello, quem Romae dedit, cum fidem suam a trinitate unius deitatis usque ad resurrectionem qualis futura est mortuorum, de quibus eum nullus interrogauerat et unde nulla illi quaestio mouebatur, quantum dicere libuit, explicasset, ubi ad id quod agebatur eius sermo peruenit [...]*

⁹ Augustine, *De gratia Christi*, 35, XXXII: [...] *fidei suae librum [...] in quo ea de quibus non interrogabatur multa disseruit. [...] cum enim ab unitate trinitatis usque ad resurrectionem carnis, quod ab illo nemo quaerebat, disputationem quantam uoluit terminasset, [...]*

¹⁰ The expression 'from the unity of the Trinity to the resurrection of the dead' should not be taken as a summary of discussed *loci* but as a reference to the typical beginning and ending of creeds. See also the various symbols printed in HAHN's *Bibliothek* and L. H. WESTRA, *The Apostles' Creed. Origin, history, and some early commentaries*, Turnhout, 2002 (*Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia*, 43), pp. 540–562.

¹¹ Zosimus, *ep.* 3, 2–3 (Coll. Avell. 46): *Litteras quoque suas idem Pelagius purgationem tenentes abundantissimas misit, quibus et professionis suae fidem,*

By choosing the genre of creeds, Pelagius and Caelestius pointed to the whole of the faith as background for their own opinions and the controversial issues at stake. In spite of Augustine's sarcasm, this was not unusual. The creed was an accepted genre for those accused of heresy, either to attest their orthodoxy or to demonstrate their conversion.¹²

2. Garnier's Reconstruction of the Text

In the course of the centuries, scholarship has regularly referred to Caelestius' *Libellus fidei*, usually as typical proof text of 'Pelagian theology'. Early modern scholars assumed that the three quotations found in Augustine's work *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali* are all that was left of this confession. Only these fragments were quoted, printed and commented on.¹³

The first to search for a more complete text, was the French Jesuit scholar Jean Garnier (1612-1681). His work shows a rapid development at this point. In his 1673 study (devoted to ascribing yet another confession of faith to Julian of Aeclanum), Garnier printed the three quotations as usual.¹⁴ But not much later, in the very same year, he published yet a new text, which was substantially longer than all previous editions and contained not a collection of fragments but a complete confession.

In this second edition, Garnier tacitly passed over the great difference between this and the previous one. Instead, he printed Caelestius' creed synoptically with Pelagius', to make

quid sequeretur quidue damnaret, sine aliquo fuco, ut cessarent totius interpretationis insidiae, cumulauit. Harum recitatio publica fuit: omnia quidem paria et eodem sensu sentiisq; formata, quae Caelestius ante protulerat, continebant.

¹² Another example is Leporius' creed, which received the approval of the same Augustine; HAHN, *Bibliothek*, § 214.

¹³ BARONIUS, *Annales*; VOSSIUS, *Historiae*; DE NORIS, *Historia*; J. USSHER, *Britannicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates*, in *The Whole Works of the Most Rev. James Ussher*, vol. 5, Dublin, 1639, p. 310; C. JANSENIUS, *Augustinus seu doctrina sancti Augustini*, Rothomagi, 1652 (first ed. Lovanii, 1640), t. I, lib. I, p. 17, *cfr* pp. 23, 161.

¹⁴ GARNIER, *Iuliani Eclanensis*, pp. 232-233.

clear the differences and points of contact. Indeed, both texts resembled each other nearly to the point of being identical.

As the main source for his new reconstruction, Garnier had used a pseudo-Augustine sermon (*sermo de tempore* 191 = *sermo appendicis* 236).¹⁵ He recognized that the main part of this text was commonly considered to be a medieval redaction of Pelagius' confession (I will return to this below), but he proposed instead to accept Caelestius as author. This provided him with a whole body of text to identify as Caelestius' lost *Libellus fidei*.

To sum up his case, Garnier listed six characteristics of Caelestius' confession: (1) that it is similar in almost everything to that of Pelagius; (2) that it differs from it at a few points; (3) that it contains arguments on issues that were not directly at stake, ranging from the Trinity to the resurrection; (4) that it denies the existence of original sin; (5) that it admits that infants ought to be baptized for the forgiveness of sins; (6) that it promises to be subject to the apostolic see in everything.¹⁶

Indeed, the confession of faith reconstructed by Garnier answered to all these six points. It also included the three quotations offered by Augustine (from which nn. 4-6 were derived). His method and results will be discussed below, but first we will look at the effects it had on later scholarship.

3. *The Reception of Garnier's Work in Later Scholarship*

The new edition was remarkable and distinctive, but for some reason did not spark much debate. A number of authors seem to have overlooked or ignored Garnier's reconstruction

¹⁵ CPL 368 (*sermo* 236), CPPM IA, 1021; PL 39, cols. 2181-2183. Garnier in fact mentions *sermo* 190, which is clearly an error as his text shows that he really used *sermo de tempore* 191; GARNIER, *Dissertatio* V, p. 313 = PL 48, col. 498. COUSTANT has noted the mistake correctly: *Epistolae*, col. 986 = PL 20, col. 686.

¹⁶ GARNIER, *Dissertatio* V, p. 313 = PL 48, col. 498: *Sex ista; esse in omnibus fere similem Pelagii fidei; in paucis differre; quaestiones continere alienas de Trinitate, aliisque, ad resurrectionem usque carnis; negare aperte peccatum originale; admittere tamen infantes baptizari in remissionem peccatorum; suaque omnia sedi apostolicae subijcere.*

altogether,¹⁷ while others simply accepted and reprinted it without further discussion.¹⁸

In the eighteenth century, however, a few scholars put forward points of criticism. Coustant was the first. In a brief comment he pointed out that the differences between the pseudo-Augustinian sermon used by Garnier and Pelagius' confession are in fact so few and trivial that the more logical option would be to assume they are essentially the same. Coustant insisted on the traditional opinion that the sermon is nothing but a redacted (that is, towards a sermon), less 'pure' version derived from Pelagius' confession.¹⁹ Similar arguments were formulated, again briefly, by Wall²⁰ and Walch.²¹ The

¹⁷ The Benedictines tacitly ignored Garnier's reconstruction (*PL* 45, cols. 1718-1719), which seems to be a deliberate choice: they knew Garnier's work, as is clear from the fact that they relied on his edition of the *libellus* ascribed to Julian of Aeclanum (*PL* 45, cols. 1732-1738). Other examples of editors and authors ignoring Garnier: MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, cols. 358-359. BRUCKNER, *Quellen*, pp. 78-79; A. VON HARNACK, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, III, 4. Aufl., Tübingen, 1910, p. 182, nn. 1-2; G. DE PLINVAL, *Pélage. Ses écrits, sa vie et sa réforme*, Lausanne, 1943, pp. 313-314.

¹⁸ E.g. W. CAVE, *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria*, London, 1688, p. 295; P. ZORN, *Opuscula sacra, hoc est programmatum dissertationum, orationum, epistolarum et schediasmatum*, t. I, Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1723, pp. 193-194. Garnier's reconstruction was reprinted *verbatim* in the Antwerp reprint of the Benedictine edition of Augustine's works: J. CLERICUS (ed.), *Opera Augustini*, t. XII, Antwerpen, 1703 and in G. A. FICO, *Notizie storiche della patria di S. Zosimo pontefice Romano*, Roma, 1760, pp. 222-225.

¹⁹ COUSTANT, *Epistolae*, cols. 986-987 = *PL* 20, col. 686.

²⁰ WALL, *History*, pp. 430-431. His summary of Garnier's argument does not seem to be entirely correct. Garnier did not 'make Caelestius to have published two treatises at Rome at this time; one called *Confessio fidei Zosimo Papae oblata*: and the other, *Ad Zosimum Papam libellus*' (p. 430). Rather, it is my understanding that the Jesuit scholar tried to show that even though various works of Caelestius are called *libellus* by Augustine and others, they are rather different in character, ranging from juridical plea to confession, and that the text he sets out to reconstruct belongs to the latter category. It must be admitted, though, that Garnier's argument is not crystal clear at all points. On diverging meanings of the word *libellus*, see also W. HÜBNER, "Liber (libellus)", *Augustinus-Lexikon*, ed. by C. MAYER (et al.), vol. 3, Basel, 2008, col. 954.

²¹ WALCH, *Bibliotheca*, p. 199: *At superesse nobis formulam Caelestii, nemo adfirmare ausus est, praeter Joann. Garnierium, qui ita lapsus est, ut Pelagii symbolum, ab Augustino per partes enarratum & confutatum, pro Caelestii libello haberet hocque errore deceptus integrum fingeret Caelestii symbolum fictumque*

latter refers to Coustant and even speaks of *Garnerii fraudes*. All three authors return to the practice of printing only the fragments quoted by Augustine.

Today, the criticisms of Coustant, Wall and Walch seem to have been forgotten. To my knowledge, their work is not referred to even once. Instead, current reference tools offer confusing and even contradictory data.

The *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, for example, emphasizes Augustine's quotations, but refers to Garnier's text as well.²² No references are made to the authenticity debate. Gryson's *Répertoire général* (continuing Frede's *Kirchenschriftsteller*) points to Augustine's quotations as well, but states that the *Libellus fidei* is identical to that of Pelagius 'bis auf die Zusätze des Caelestius' – a remark that can only be understood in the light of Garnier's edition which presents both *libelli* as identical except for a minor variations. It must be admitted, though, that Gryson (and Frede) do not identify their sources explicitly.²³ Bonner is more explicit: as the source of Caelestius' *Libellus fidei*, he uses Garnier's edition, which must also have prompted his remark that Caelestius' confession of faith

in dissertationes septem [...] transferret [...], nobis vero satis fuit, exhibere vera symboli Caelestiani fragmenta, ut caveant alii a Garnerii fraudibus & certo iudicio vera a falsis, certa ab incertis discernant. Hahn reprints Walch's edition in a slightly corrected version, but without the refutation.

²² CPL 768. Cfr also PLS 1, 1679.

²³ R. GRYSON (ed.), *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques latins de l'Antiquité et du Haut Moyen Âge*, 5^e édition, Tome I, Freiburg, 2007, p. 364; the description is taken *verbatim* from the previous edition edited by H. J. FREDE: *Kirchenschriftsteller. Verzeichnis und Sigel*, Vetus Latina, 1/1, 4. Aufl., Freiburg, 1995, p. 351. The first edition of the *Kirchenschriftsteller* (B. FISCHER, 1949) does not mention Caelestius, while the second (FISCHER, 1963) speaks of Caelestius' 'Libellus fidei an ZO' without further comment. Frede is, thus, the first editor of this reference work to compare the *libelli* of Pelagius and Caelestius and to speak of the latter's 'additions' (from the third edition onwards; 1981, p. 231). Possibly, Frede's source is O. WERMELINGER, *Rom und Pelagius*, Stuttgart, 1975 (Päpste und Papsttum, 7), p. 138: 'einem Glaubensbekenntnis [...] das bis auf wenige Zusätze mit jenem des Pelagius übereinstimmt' (cfr also his n. 17). A similar remark, possibly dependant on those mentioned, is found in: W. J. COLLINGE, J. A. MOURANT (eds., transl.), *Four anti-Pelagian writings*, Washington, DC, 1992 (Fathers of the Church, 86), p. 101: '...a *libellus fidei*, very similar to that of Pelagius but adding some distinctively Caelestian points about infant baptism.'

was 'generally based upon the creed which Pelagius had earlier sent to Pope Innocent'.²⁴

An entirely different perspective is offered by Nuvolone, who states that Caelestius has presented both a *Libellus appellatio-nis* (no. 10 among his writings) and a *Libellus fidei* (no. 11) in Rome. For the first he refers to Zosimus' account, for the second to Augustine's quotations, without making clear, however, why these would be different writings.²⁵ For the present article it is important to note that Nuvolone rejects Garnier's text as merely «une reconstruction 'savante'». ²⁶ Instead he recommends Bruckner's edition, in which only the Augustinian quotations are printed without reference to Garnier. The *Prosopographie Chrétienne*, finally, notes that Caelestius' *libellus* is now lost except for the fragments quoted by Augustine. It simply ignores Garnier's edition.²⁷

It is clear that the data offered by reference works are quite confusing. From that perspective, it is no surprise that today's scholarship displays a similar lack of orientation. The most remarkable example of this is that Garnier's reconstruction receives both good and bad press within one and the same work: in the introduction and notes added to a French translation of Augustine's *De gratia Christi*.²⁸ To add a few more

²⁴ G. BONNER, "Caelestius", *Augustinus Lexicon*, ed. by C. MAYER (et al.), vol. I, Basel, 1986-1994, cols. 695-696, *cfr* n. 16.

²⁵ F. G. NUVOLONE, A. SOLIGNAC, "Pélage et Pélagianisme", *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 12B, Paris, 1986, cols. 2892 and 2894. Nuvolone's division is rejected (justly, in my opinion) by W. DUNPHY, "The Writings of Caelestius", *Academia (Humanities, Social Science)*, 61 (1995), p. 34.

²⁶ NUVOLONE, "Pélage", col. 2894. Other works, referring to editions of Augustine's quotations only, are: M. SCHANZ, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian*, IV, 2, München, 1920, p. 507 (referring to Hahn); G. BARDY, 'Celestius (3.)', *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie Ecclésiastiques*, vol. 12, Paris, 1953, col. 106 (referring to PL 45, col. 1718).

²⁷ [No author indicated], "Caelestius", in *Prosopographie Chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, 2: *Prosopographie de l'Italie Chrétienne (313-604)*, ed. by C. PIETRI, L. PIETRI, vol. 1, Rome, 1999, p. 361 (*cfr* nn. 112, 113, 132).

²⁸ Ch. MUNIER, "Introduction: I. Luites, triomphes et revers du pélagianisme (416-418)", in *La crise pélagienne II*, ed., transl., by J. PLAGNIEUX, F.-J. THONNARD, Bibliothèque Augustinienne: Œuvres de Saint Augustin, 22, Paris, 1975, pp. 13-14, n. 7, judging fragments reconstructed by Garnier as 'commodément rassemblés'. A. DE VEER, "Le dossier envoyé par saint

examples: Krannich seems to be unaware of Garnier's work or to have ignored it,²⁹ while Wermelinger, Kessler and Lössl refer to it as a result of scholarly research without discussing it.³⁰ Dunphy and Honnay are cautious.³¹

I note all this, not by way of cheap comment or criticism, but to illustrate the extent to which, and with what consequences, Garnier's work influences present scholarship. For there is something important at stake. Many scholars use Garnier's reconstruction, undoubtedly in good faith but without being aware of its disputed reliability. As a consequence, historical observations, discussions on the authorship of 'Pelagian' works, and theological observations are based on an uncertain source. I mention here a few examples of these consequences, again by way of illustration rather than criticism.

Several scholars point to the strong similarity between the *libelli* of Pelagius and Caelestius, suggesting or even asserting that both had met, perhaps to co-ordinate their appeal.³² As a consequence, Wermelinger and Lamberigts suggest that Pelagius and Caelestius were reconciled after having fallen out with each other because of the former's statements in the Synod of Diospolis. It is only Garnier's reconstruction that prompts such observations.

Augustin à Albine, Pinien et Mélanie – § 1. Le dossier Célestius", in *ibidem*, p. 692: '...le texte que Garnier propose en PL 48, 498-505 est le fruit d'une sienne reconstruction qui ne donne aucune garantie d'authenticité.'

²⁹ T. KRANNICH, *Von Leporius bis zu Leo dem Großen. Zur Frühgeschichte des christologischen Streites im Westen*, Tübingen, 2005 (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 32), p. 35, n. 84.

³⁰ WERMELINGER, *Rom und Pelagius*, pp. 137-139, 312; A. KESSLER, *Reich-tumskritik und Pelagianismus*, Fribourg, 1999 (Paradosis, 43), *cfr* p. 35, n. 21 and the bibliography; J. LÖSSL, *Julian von Aeclanum: Studien zu seinem Leben, seinem Werk, seiner Lehre und ihrer Überlieferung*, Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2001 (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, 60), p. 262.

³¹ HONNAY: "Caelestius", p. 286 (*cfr* n. 91: 'It can no longer be retraced whether the reconstruction is correct'); DUNPHY, "Writings", p. 46, n. 52; W. DUNPHY, "An Unlisted Profession of Faith (Pseudo-Rufinus, *De Fide*)", *Sacris Erudiri*, 39 (2000), p. 39, n. 9.

³² FERGUSON, *Pelagius*, p. 102; WERMELINGER, *Rom und Pelagius*, pp. 87, 137-139; HONNAY, "Caelestius", pp. 286-287, n. 93; LÖSSL, *Julian*, p. 262, *cfr* n. 73; M. LAMBERIGTS, "Recent Research into Pelagianism with Particular Emphasis on the Role of Julian of Aeclanum", *Augustiniana*, 52 (2002), p. 185.

As for philological questions, I point to a brief remark by Lamberigts. He states that he is 'inclined to have doubts' with regard to the authenticity of Pelagius' *Libellus fidei*, because of the clear parallels with Caelestius' text.³³ Again, it is only Garnier's reconstruction that offers such parallels. The observation is essentially the same as Coustant's: the confessions exhibited synoptically by Garnier are so similar that doubts arise on the authenticity of either the one or the other. While Coustant doubts (Garnier's version of) Caelestius' *libellus*, Lamberigts is inclined to doubt that by Pelagius.

For an example of theological analysis affected by Garnier's reconstruction, we may turn to Clark's work, in which Caelestius is connected to the Origenist controversy, on the authority of Garnier's text.³⁴ If we look for other primary sources constituting such a link, we find none. Wermelinger, to mention another example of theological implication, comments on Caelestius' view on infant baptism as it is found in Garnier's text.³⁵ So also does Lössl, perhaps following Wermelinger.³⁶ Both authors, however, refer to a statement that is quoted by Augustine as belonging to *Pelagius*. It is only in Garnier's reconstruction that it is ascribed to Caelestius (see also below).

To conclude, I first observe that no clear *communis opinio* has arisen regarding Garnier's reconstruction. Unfamiliarity, rejection, and consent have coexisted from the beginning to the present day. The earliest criticisms of Coustant, Wall and Walch seem to have been forgotten. Secondly, Garnier's reconstruction has influenced the scholarly notion of Caelestius' biography and theology at essential points. Also, the difficult debate on the corpus of Pelagius' writings is affected. Thus, if Garnier's reconstruction turns out to be untenable, the con-

³³ LAMBERIGTS, "Recent Research", p. 179, n. 18.

³⁴ E. A. CLARK, *The Origenist Controversy. The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate*, Princeton/Oxford, 1992, p. 209, n. 107 (Origenism) and p. 253 (bibliography).

³⁵ WERMELINGER, *Rom und Pelagius*, p. 17, n. 59, *cfr* also pp. 137-139.

³⁶ LÖSSL, *Julian*, p. 262, n. 73: 'Neu ist sein Zusatz, es gebe nur *eine*, für Erwachsene und Kinder gleiche Taufe' and 'Die theologische Grundlegung ist pelagisch' (italics in the original).

sequences for the field of studies dealing with 'Pelagianism' are significant. It is this untenability that I will now try to establish.

4. *Garnier's Reconstruction Revisited*

In order to evaluate Garnier's text, it is important to understand that it is a *reconstruction*, combining two texts that are essentially different in character and origin:

1. the pseudo-Augustinian *sermo de tempore* 191, better known as *sermo appendicis* 236 (from now on referred to as 'psA'). This text constitutes the larger part of Garnier's reconstruction: some 85%;
2. the three quotations from Caelestius' *Libellus fidei*, preserved in Augustine's *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali* ('3Q'), constituting some 15%.

The undertaking of combining two different texts into one, stands or falls with the ascription of both sources to the same author (here: Caelestius) and the same work (the *Libellus fidei*). We have no reason to doubt that this is the case with 3Q.³⁷ Concerning psA, however, the ascription to the same author and work as that of 3Q is highly doubtful. There is more than one reason to be sceptical.

First, in the manuscripts psA is never connected to Caelestius nor to 3Q.³⁸ The same counts for the editions of

³⁷ At least in this case, I maintain, Augustine's quotations are to be accepted as reliable. First of all, Augustine was writing his treatise (containing 3Q) to Albina, Pinianus and Melania, who knew Pelagius personally and tried to mediate between him and the bishop of Hippo. As they were a critical audience with contacts in (and sympathy for) 'the other camp', Augustine could not expect them to believe him at his word. Secondly, together with his treatise, Augustine sent copies of writings of Caelestius to them (*De gratia Christi*, 32 XXX: tracts produced earlier in Carthage and a letter). This procedure was not uncommon for him (he had done the same with Pelagius' *De natura*). The fact that Augustine forwarded complete writings of Caelestius to Palestine indicates that he did not really try to paint an incorrect picture. To him, the truth itself was ugly enough.

³⁸ There are at least thirteen manuscripts of psA: Dublin, Trinity College, 187 (B.2.2), fols. 138r1-139r1 (saec. XIII/XIV); Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A 24, fols. 165v1-167v2 (saec. XV); Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek,

(pseudo-)Augustinian sermons available in Garnier's days.³⁹ It was Garnier's own idea to combine the sermon with Augustine's quotations – in fact, he *inserted* 3Q into psA. He can be criticized for not accounting for this in his introduction, especially since he uses the presence of 3Q in his reconstruction as an argument for its authenticity.⁴⁰

Second, even if the manuscript evidence of psA could be ignored, there is no positive, compelling argument why specifically *this* sermon should be used to reconstruct Caelestius' words. Of course, Garnier's choice of psA is based on the fact that it deals with Trinitarian questions and resembles Pelagius' confession,⁴¹ but there are several other creed-like texts that meet these criteria as well: the *Libellus fidei* ascribed to Julian of Aeclanum for example, or the *Expositio fidei catholi-*

677, fols. 127r1-128r1 (saec. XIII in.); Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. I 11 (pars II), fols. 6r2-7r1 (saec. XIV); Praha, Národní knihovna, Frant. Vel. f.30 (Cim. 3), fol. 91r1 sq. (saec. XIV²); Praha, Národní knihovna, V G 19 (971), fols. 262v-264r (saec. XV); Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, A. LXIX, 1 (109), fols. 63v-64r (saec. XV²); Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIII A 4 (3276), fol. 8r1-8v2 (saec. XIV); Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIII B 7 (3293), fols. 172v1-174r1 (saec. XIV); Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C194, fols. 35v3-36r2 (saec. XIV-XV); Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 295 (E.380), fols. 24v2-26v2 (saec. XI); Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 191, fols. 49rv, 51r-52v (saec. IX-X); Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 660 (vol. III), fols. 170v1-171v2 (saec. XIV²). *cfr* the volumes of *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des Heiligen Augustinus*, Vienna, 1969 sq. (HÜWA). I have consulted all the manuscripts either directly or in reproduction, as part of my research on Pelagius' *Libellus fidei*, and I intend to publish a separate edition of this pseudo-Augustinian sermon (*sermo app.* 236).

³⁹ Editio princeps: *Plura ac diversa divi Aurelii Augustini Sermonum Opera*, Basilea, 1495 (apud J. Amerbachium), *Sermo de tempore* 191. For psA, all later editions prior to Garnier (and the Benedictine edition) seem to depend on this edition, including: J. LAUNOY, *De auctore vero professionis fidei, quae Pelagio, Hieronymo, Augustino tribui vulgo solet*, in *Opera Omnia*, t. 2, pars 2, Köln, 1731 (first published in 1651), pp. 306-308.

⁴⁰ As is indicated by his words [...] *sex ista, inquam, [...] convenire libello quem diximus, nemo non facile videbit* [...] (PL 48, col. 498), referring to his six criteria, including 4-6 which are based on the 3Q-fragments (see at n. 16 above).

⁴¹ These two insights have resulted in Garnier's criteria 1-3.

cae ascribed to a certain 'Ambrose of Chalcedon'.⁴² In fact, any redaction of Pelagius' *Libellus fidei* would fit such criteria.⁴³

It should be observed that the resemblance between Pelagius' and Caelestius' work is not as close as is often suggested. There is no indication that both confessions were related to each other at a textual level – on the contrary: when we compare Augustine's quotations, we find that Caelestius' choice of words diverges from Pelagius' at every single point.⁴⁴ As noted above, Augustine describes both *libelli* in similar words, but this refers to matters of genre (creeds). When Zosimus notes their similarity, he refers to matters of content rather than exact wording. Moreover, there are aspects that underline the difference between both texts. A revealing point of difference is that Caelestius refers to John 3, 5 in his creed, while Pelagius uses the same text not in the creed, but in a separate letter.⁴⁵ It seems that both authors wrote confessions belonging to the same creedal genre and to a common purpose – but they nevertheless wrote independent texts.

Third, those arguing with Garnier that psA belongs to the same text as 3Q, will have to explain how it is possible that 3Q itself is absent from it. There is no overlap between both sources. Even though psA is a complete text with beginning and end, it does *not* include the fragments in any of the manuscripts or editions (other than Garnier's). How could they

⁴² CPL 775b and 778. Of both texts I have an improved edition in preparation.

⁴³ A possible example is the adapted version of Pelagius' confession as incorporated in a Carolingian treatise called *De baptismo*. This version would have been as fitting for Garnier's reconstruction as psA: numerous parallels to Pelagius' confession (criterion 1), a few differences (2), and a creedal framework (3). An edition of parts of *De baptismo* is found in E. MARTÈNE, *De antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus*, t. I, editio secunda, Antwerpen, 1736 (the confession is at pp. 173-175); see also J. P. BOUHOT, "Le manuscrit Angers BM 277", *Revue des études augustinienes*, 31 (1985), pp. 227-241.

⁴⁴ Compare especially Augustine, *De gratia Christi*, 35, XXXII – 36, XXXIII; *De peccato originali*, 2, II; 5, V – 7, VI; 13, XII; 24, XXI; 26, XXXIII.

⁴⁵ Cfr Caelestius, *Libellus fidei*, fragment 1 (below), and Pelagius, *Epistola ad Innocentium*, according to Augustine, *De peccato originali*, 21, XIX.

disappear from it? Garnier passes over this point in silence, tacitly inserting the fragments into the sermon.⁴⁶

Fourth, it should also be explained why psA *does* include two statements that belong to *Pelagius'* confession of faith. That this is the case, becomes clear from two quotations in the work of Augustine.⁴⁷ These quotations also appear in psA and hence in Garnier's reconstruction, where they are juxtaposed with Caelestius' words as if they were from the same author. They are, however, quite different in character: Augustine had argued that Pelagius, in his statement on baptism, was much more ambiguous than Caelestius.⁴⁸ Again, Garnier makes no comment whatever on the fact that he brings these different statements together.

This brings us to a crucial question: if psA was not written by Caelestius, then what was its true origin? I have already noted above that up to Garnier's days, psA was regarded merely as a version of Pelagius' confession, changed into a sermon.⁴⁹ The fact that it is nearly identical to Pelagius' creed, serves as a reminder of this.

The older *communis opinio* is confirmed once more by the fact that Augustine quotes two statements of its text as belonging to Pelagius. I suggest that we should take his word for it. Quotations such as these have consistently functioned as touchstones in debates on the identification of Pelagius' writings, among which can be listed the *Expositiones* and *Ad*

⁴⁶ It might be suggested that some scribe deleted the explicit rejection of *peccatum ex traduce* by Caelestius for theological reasons. That, however, would explain only the disappearance of the second fragment (on the numbering, see the edition below), not the first (professing baptism of infants for the remission of sin) and third (promising submission to the Apostolic see). These two sections were not controversial at all.

⁴⁷ The two quotations from Pelagius' work are: *Baptisma unum tenemus, quod iisdem sacramenti verbis in infantibus quibus etiam in maioribus dicimus esse celebrandum* (included in Garnier's edition of Caelestius: PL 48, cols. 501-502) and *Liberum sic confitemur arbitrium, ut dicamus nos semper Dei indigere auxilio* (ditto: PL 48, col. 504). Augustine explicitly ascribes these statements to Pelagius, not to Caelestius: *De gratia Christi*, 35, XXXII; 36, XXXIII, *De peccato originali*, 24, XXI.

⁴⁸ Augustine, *De peccato originali*, 6, VI; 13, XXII; 21, XIX, *et passim*.

⁴⁹ This view is still held in CPL 368 (sermo 236) and CPPM IA, 1021.

Demetriadem.⁵⁰ The assumption that Augustine was mistaken, confusing his sources and ascribing Caelestius' creed to Pelagius, has nothing to commend it.

When we compare psA to Pelagius' own confession, it becomes clear that the former is evidently an adaptation of the latter, intended to serve as a sermon. Two elements spring to our attention: a prologue was added, derived from two texts related to the Synod of Sardica (343 AD),⁵¹ while the closing paragraph has been adapted to fit the genre of a sermon.⁵² Other changes made to Pelagius' original text seem to be connected to its use as a sermon or to be mere textual variants. Some of these variants point to early medieval Gaul.⁵³

It seems logical, therefore, to regard psA as a reworked version of Pelagius' *Libellus fidei*. As a consequence, the connec-

⁵⁰ During the past century, many hypotheses on Pelagius' authorship have been put forward and discussed. Hardly any consensus has been reached, except with respect to those writings that can be identified with the help of external quotations in contemporary sources. Apparently, this aspect is decisive. For an overview of the debate, see S. THIER, *Kirche bei Pelagius*, Berlin/New York, 1999 (Patristische Texte und Studien, 50), pp. 17-50.

⁵¹ CPL 440 and 448.

⁵² Comparison shows how the wording of psA fits a later audience, while the pseudo-Jerome text fits the original historical context. Pseudo-Jerome: *Haec fides est, papa beatissime, quam in catholica ecclesia didicimus quamque semper tenuimus; in qua si minus perite aut parum caute aliquid forte positum est emendari cupimus a te qui Petri et fidem et sedem tenes. Sin autem haec nostra confessio apostolatus tui iudicio comprobatur, quicumque me maculare uoluerit se imperitum uel maliuolum uel etiam non catholicum non me haereticum comprobabit*. Pseudo-Augustine: *Haec est fides, dilectissimi fratres, quam in ecclesia catholica didicimus, quamque semper tenuimus et tenemus, quam credimus et a uestra bonitate deinceps posse teneri*. Both quotations are taken from my critical edition forthcoming, but compare for example PL 45, 1718 and PL 39, 2183.

⁵³ This is seen especially in the adaptation of *Hominem, si post baptismum lapsus fuerit, per paenitentiam credimus posse saluari* (Pelagius, *Libellus fidei*, 18, VII), into: *Hominem, si post baptismum lapsus fuerit, primo per reconciliationem, deinde per paenitentiam credimus posse saluari*. The tendency to expand the creed's article on forgiveness of sins is found especially in early medieval creed commentaries from Gaul. The manuscript tradition of psA seems to have originated in Reims, possibly as late as about 800 AD. The earliest two manuscripts (see above, note 38) are from Reims and psA is quoted at least once by Hincmar of Reims in 860/1 AD. In my earlier "Haec fides est" (above, note 3), these observations were not yet taken into account.

tion between psA and Caelestius/3Q has to be rejected, and hence also Garnier's reconstruction.

To sum up: Garnier produced a composite text, combining three fragments belonging to Caelestius (3Q) with a sermon based on Pelagius' confession of faith (psA) – two sources that have nothing to do with each other. This means that within Garnier's reconstructed text, only Augustine's quotations constitute reliable source material. The rest, some 85% of its text, does not contain Caelestius' words but Pelagius'. The irony is that when Garnier synoptically compared the confessions by Pelagius and 'Caelestius', he compared for the greater part two versions of the very same text.⁵⁴

5. *The Remaining Fragments*

It might be useful to close this article with an edition of what *does* remain from Caelestius' *Libellus fidei*: Augustine's three quotations in *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali*. In this work, the confession is brought into court as evidence against Pelagius, to expose the latter's supposed ambiguity.⁵⁵ The quoted fragments deal with infant baptism (fragment 1),

⁵⁴ Garnier has been criticized before for speculative elements in his historical and editorial work. For example by A. BRUCKNER, *Julian von Eclanum, sein Leben und seine Lehre. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pelagianismus*, Leipzig, 1897 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, Bd. 15, Heft 3a), p. 32, calling the manner in which Garnier tried to identify Julian of Aeclanum as author of another *libellus* as 'künstlich und zweifelhaft, oder überhaupt nichtssagend' and, ironically, 'ein wahres Meisterstück jesuitischer Dialektik'. More recently, Walter Dunphy criticized Garnier's hypothesis of 'Rufinus the Syrian' and, in passing, his edition of the *Liber de fide* (p. 91, n. 50) and Anastasius' *Epistola ad Iohannem* (pp. 91-92, n. 53): W. DUNPHY, "Rufinus the Syrian: Myth and Reality", *Augustiniana* 59 (2009), pp. 79-157. Positive reports on Garnier's legacy may be found in F. MERSHMAN, "Jean Garnier", *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 6, New York 1913, pp. 388-389. Cfr also C. GABEL, "Garnier, Jean", *Lexicon des gesamten Buchwesens*, ed. by S. CORSTEN et al., 2nd edition, vol. 3, Stuttgart, 1989, p. 98.

⁵⁵ Augustine, *De peccato originali*, 6, VI: *Attendite itaque quid Caelestius apertissime dixerit, et ibi uidebitis quid uobis Pelagius occultauerit [...]. Hunc sensum suum uobis aperire Pelagius uel timuit uel erubuit, quem discipulus eius palam sine ullius obscuritatis ambagibus apud sedem apostolicam profiteri nec timuit nec erubuit.*

the denial of inherited sin (fragment 2) and the willingness to be corrected by Zosimus (fragment 3).

Below, these fragments are printed in full, together with some essential remarks by Augustine. These remarks, as well as paraphrased sections or words, are printed in *italics*, in order to clearly distinguish Augustine's words from those by Caelestius. The text is based on the critical edition by Urba and Zycha.⁵⁶

The apparatus criticus is based on two sources: (1) variant readings in the manuscripts and two editions are reproduced as given by Urba and Zycha;⁵⁷ (2) readings from a number

⁵⁶ CSEL 42 (eds. C. F. URBA, J. ZYCHA, Vienna, 1902). A few remarks on the manuscript tradition of *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali* are in place. The CSEL-text is based upon the six manuscripts constituting two 'families' of which *M* forms the one and *CChTPPⁱV* the other (for the sigla see below, note 57). The earlier editions *b* and *d* both rely on the second family. The manuscript evidence might be increased further from HÜWA (see n. 38), specifically the volumes on Italy (vol. I/1) and the United Kingdom and Ireland (vol. II/1). Of these, Mantova, Bibl. Com., D.III.12, saec. XI, would seem to be the most promising because of its relative antiquity, were it not for the fact that the catalogue record points out that the section including *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali* (fols. 81-219) is of later date: saec. XV; see U. MERONI (ed.), *Biblioteca Comunale di Mantova. Catalogo dei manoscritti*, Mantova [?], 1962, fol. 87r (<http://bibliotecadigitale.bibliotecateresiana.it/digitalrepository.html>; accessed 27.04.2010 but no longer available). The forthcoming volumes on France (ed. J. DIVJAK) and the USA (ed. K. B. STEINHAUSER) may offer more manuscripts. With only one (late) Carolingian manuscript, the text of *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali* (and hence also of Caelestius' *Libellus fidei*) seems to rely on a rather limited manuscript tradition.

⁵⁷ CSEL 42 (pp. xvii-xx, 124, 167n). Manuscript sigla: *M* = Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S. 55. Sup. (saec. XI-XII; saec. IX² according to Bischoff; see HÜWA I/2, p. 159); *C* = Bourges, Bibliothèque municipale, 83 (73) (saec. XI-XII); *Ch* = Cambridge, Univ. Lib., Add. 3576 (saec. XII; *olim* Cheltenhamensis 23021, see HÜWA II/2, pp. 46-47 and 339); *T* = Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 201 (saec. XII); *P* = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 2093 (saec. XII); *Pⁱ* = Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1974 (saec. XIV; fragment 1-2 only, *cfr* CSEL 42, p. 167n); *V* = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 500 (saec. XV); *codd* = *consensus codicum*. Different hands are indicated by *m. I*, etc. Edition sigla: *b* = editio princeps Basiliae 1506 apud Io. Amerbachium; *d* = editio Benedictinorum a S. Mauro 1696 (repr. *PL* 44, cols. 359-410).

of editions presenting only the fragments of Caelestius' work have been added.⁵⁸

FRAGMENT 1

De peccato originali, 5, V⁵⁹

*In libello autem, quem Romae edidit, qui gestis ibi ecclesiasticis allegatus est, ita de hac re loquitur, ut hoc se credere ostendat, unde hic dubitare se dixerat.*⁶⁰ *Nam uerba eius ista sunt:*
 5 Infantes autem, *inquit*, debere baptizari in remissionem peccatorum secundum regulam uniuersalis ecclesiae et secundum euangelii sententiam confitemur, quia Dominus statuit regnum caelorum nonnisi baptizatis posse conferri. Quod quia uires naturae non habent, conferri necessarium est per gratiae liberalitatem.

6/7 Dominus – conferri] cfr Ioh. 3, 5

4 debere *om. cs* remissionem] remissione *M (cfr fragm. 2, l. 1)* 7
 conferri] conferre *b bar m* 8 necessarium] necesse *b d eds. (cfr fragm. 2, l. 7)* 9 liberalitatem] libertatem *codd.*, largitatem *g1 (in mg.) g2 ben*, liberalitatem uel largitatem *coniecit d (uide PL 44, 388, n. 2).*

⁵⁸ The sigla are: *bar* = BARONIUS; *g1* = GARNIER, *Iuliani Eclanensis*; *g2* = GARNIER, *Dissertatio V* (these are the quotations as included in the reconstructed text discussed in the present article); *ben* = ('Benedictine edition') *PL* 45, cols. 1718-1719; *wl* = WALL; *cs* = COUSTANT; *m* = MANSI; *wh* = WALCH; *h* = HAHN; *bru* = BRUCKNER; *eds* = *consensus editionum*. For complete bibliographical references, see above note 1.

⁵⁹ *CSEL* 42, 169.23 – 170.3. In the preceding paragraphs, Augustine quotes from the acts of the council of Carthage (411 AD), showing that Caelestius there acknowledged the necessity of infant baptism while refusing to affirm or deny the transmission of original sin.

⁶⁰ The word-pair *ibi ... hic* refers to Caelestius in Rome ('there') and in Carthago in 411 ('here'). Augustine notes that Caelestius' statements in Rome moved beyond those in Carthage.

FRAGMENT 2

De peccato originali, 6, VI⁶¹

In remissionem autem peccatorum baptizandos infantes non
 idcirco diximus ut peccatum ex traduce firmare uideamur.
 Quod longe a catholico sensu alienum est, quia peccatum
 non cum homine nascitur, quod postmodum exercetur ab
 5 homine, quia non naturae delictum sed uoluntatis esse mon-
 stratur. Et illud ergo confiteri congruum, ne diuersa baptis-
 matis genera facere uideamur, et hoc praemunire necessarium
 est, ne per mysterii occasionem ad creatoris iniuriam malum
 antequam fiat ab homine tradi dicatur homini per naturam.

1 remissionem] remissione *M* (cfr *fragm.* 1, l. 4) 2 idcirco] iccirco
P Ch m.1 diximus] dicimus *bar g2* 4 non *om. Ch m.1 T* 5
 delictum] dilectū *T m.1*, est *add. g1 g2* monstratur] demonstratur
b bar g1 g2 wl m wh b 6 congruum] est *add. g1 g2* 8 est *om.*
g1 g2 mysterii] ministerii *Ch*, misterii *T P* 9 tradi] trudi *bar*

Augustine had already announced these two closely connected
 fragments earlier in the same work, summarizing their con-
 tents :

De gratia Christi, 36, XXXIII⁶²

[...] *qui in libello suo, quem Romae gestis ecclesiasticis allegauit,*
paruulos et baptizari in peccatorum remissionem confessus est et
negauit ullum habere originale peccatum.

2 peccatorum remissionem] remissionem peccatorum *b d* 3 ullum]
 illum *M*

⁶¹ CSEL 42, 170.12-22. It is clear that in the original creed, this fragment follows immediately after fragment 1, without interruption.

⁶² CSEL 42, 153.11-13. Urba and Zycha place *paruulos et baptizari in peccatorum remissionem* and *ullum habere originale peccatum* between quotation marks. Comparison with the complete fragment shows that this should not be understood as a literal quotation. It rather seems to be a paraphrase, changing *infantes* into *paruulos* and *peccatum ex traduce* into *originale peccatum*.

De peccato originali, 2, II⁶³

Et in urbe Roma in libello suo, quem beatissimo papae Zosimo dedit, id asseueravit expressius, quod paruulorum neminem obstringat originale peccatum.

3 originale] originalem *P*^l

FRAGMENT 3

De peccato originali, 26, XXXIII⁶⁴

Item in libello quem Romae dedit, cum fidem suam a Trinitate unius deitatis usque ad resurrectionem qualis futura est mortuorum, de quibus eum nullus interrogauerat et unde nulla illi quaestio mouebatur, quantum dicere libuit explicasset, ubi ad id
 5 *quod agebatur eius sermo peruenit, si quae uero, inquit, praeter fidem quaestiones natae sunt, de quibus esset inter plerosque contentio, non ego quasi auctor alicuius dogmatis definita hoc auctoritate statui, sed ea quae de prophetarum et apostolorum fonte suscepi, uestri apostolatus offerimus probanda*
 10 *iudicio, ut si forte, ut hominibus, quispiam ignorantiae error obrepsit, uestra sententia corrigatur.*

8 hoc] haec *ben*, hac *wh* 9 apostolatus] eplatus *T* (ep in ras.), aplatus *Ch* (a *init. sup.* e) probanda] esse *add. Urba et Zycha d ben cs m bru*
 11 obrepsit] obrepserit *b g1 g2 m wh* (cfr lectiones *infra*) uestra] nostra *b* sententia *d*, scientia *codd. b* (cfr lectio *infra*)

The last statement of this fragment is quoted earlier in the same work:

⁶³ *CSEL* 42, 168.2-4. Again, the quotation marks in *CSEL* indicate a paraphrase rather than a quotation.

⁶⁴ *CSEL* 42, 185.6-17.

De peccato originali, 7, VI⁶⁵

[...] *quia superius in eodem libello suo de huius modi quaestionibus locuturus ante praedixerat: si forte ut hominibus quispiam ignorantiae error obrepsit, uestra sententia corrigatur.*

3 obrepsit] abrepsit *M*, obrepserit *b* (cfr *lectiones fragm. 3, l. 11*)

Another paraphrase of fragment 3 in the same work:

De peccato originali, 13, XII⁶⁶

Ille enim nec in ecclesia Carthaginensi damnare uoluit, quod in Romana postea se tenere confessus est; et corrigi paratum se esse professus est, si ei tamquam homini error obrepsit.

2 se esse paratum *C* 3 obrepsit] obrepserit *P* (cfr *lectiones fragm. 3, l. 11*)

In Augustine's *Contra duas epistolas pelagianorum*, the fragments are also discussed, though in a very loose, paraphrasing manner.⁶⁷ The first reference combines fragments 2 and 3 into one:⁶⁸

Contra duas epistolas pelagianorum, II; 5, III⁶⁹

Sed cum hoc (i.e. sine ullo uitio peccati originalis hominem nasci) Caelestius in suo libello posuisset, inter illa dumtaxat, de quibus se adhuc dubitare et instrui uelle confessus est, in homine

⁶⁵ CSEL 42, 171.2-5.

⁶⁶ CSEL 42, 175.12-14.

⁶⁷ The following paraphrases diverge so far from the exact wording, that text-critical notes are of little avail for the reconstruction of Caelestius' words.

⁶⁸ The context of Augustine's argument is the question as to how the Roman clergy could have called Caelestius' confession 'catholic' and then afterwards change their minds. Augustine argues that the designation 'catholic' referred to Caelestius' readiness to be corrected (cfr fragment 3). Comparison with Zosimus' letters shows a rather different version of the truth (Coll. Avell. 45, 46).

⁶⁹ CSEL 60, 464.6-10. The insertion between brackets is taken from the preceding line (5). The context makes it clear that the quotation is a paraphrased reference to fragment 3 of the *Libellus fidei*.

acerrimi ingenii, qui profecto, si corrigeretur, plurimis profuisset, uoluntas emendationis, non falsitas dogmatis adprobata est.

Finally a reference to fragments 1 and 2, taken from the same work:

Contra duas epistolas pelagianorum, II; 6, IV⁷⁰

[...] *quid ei remaneret deinceps unde contenderet nullum esse ex praeterita primi hominis transgressionem in paruulis uitium, quod per nouae regenerationis, purificationem sacro baptismo purgaretur?*

Summary

In this contribution the validity of Jean Garnier's reconstruction of Caelestius' confession of faith (or *Libellus fidei*) is examined. In an overview of its influence, it is pointed out that earlier criticisms of this reconstruction have fallen into oblivion, with significant risks and consequences for current research on the Pelagian controversy. Next, Garnier's method of reconstructing the text is shown to be wanting, and the result should be rejected: he combines into one two essentially different texts from two different authors. As a consequence, the larger part of his edition consists not of Caelestius' but Pelagius' words. The article closes with a new and improved edition of the remaining fragments of Caelestius' confession (CPL 768).

⁷⁰ CSEL 60, 466.26 – 467.1.

El tratado *Item aliae quaestiones in quibus sunt nonnullae de Genesi*

conservado en Montecassino, Biblioteca
dell'Abbazia, 29. Edición y estudio*

por

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Es bien sabido que los manuscritos medievales latinos conservan un gran número de textos inéditos. Este artículo está dedicado a uno de ellos, un pequeño tratado anónimo de carácter exegético-catequético transmitido por Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, 29, p. 53a-90b, del que, por lo que alcanzo a conocer, no existe edición alguna. No conozco tampoco otros ejemplares de este opúsculo, pero es posible que existan. Dada su rareza, es importante ofrecer una primera edición del texto que permita su localización, si es posible, en otros códices y favorezca estudios ulteriores en torno a su origen y datación.

El manuscrito Montecassino, BA, 29 (Q) es un volumen de 492 pp. ejecutado en torno al a. 1000 en un escriptorio por identificar, situado quizás en los alrededores de Roma o acaso en la zona sur de la región del Lazio. En su forma más antigua formaba unidad con el actual Montecassino, BA, 30¹.

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¹ M. M. GORMAN, «The Commentary on Genesis attributed to Auxilius in ms. Monte Cassino 29», *Revue Bénédictine*, 93 (1983), pp. 302-313 (reimp. en Id., *Biblical Commentaries from the Early Middle Ages*, Firenze, 2002 [Millennio Medievale, 32; Reprints, 4], nº 4, pp. 50-61), esp. pp. 303-304, 307-308 y 309-313.

Sus contenidos han sido minuciosamente descritos por Inguanez e incluyen obras de Isidoro de Sevilla (*Liber II differentiarum*, *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos*), Agustín de Hipona (*Enchiridion de fide, spe et charitate*, *Sermo* 297), Beda (*Commentarius in parabolas Salomonis*, *In libros Regum quaestiones* XXX), Alcuino (*De fide sanctae et indiuiduae Trinitatis* y *De Trinitate et ad Fredegisum Quaestiones* XXVIII), Genadio de Marsella (*Libri ecclesiasticorum dogmatum*), Fulgencio de Ruspe (*De fide ad Petrum*) o Junilio Africano (*Instituta regularia diuinae legis*), así como diversos tratados anónimos de carácter exegético y teológico-catequético elaborados a partir de extractos de Agustín de Hipona, Gregorio Magno, Ambrosio de Milán, Jerónimo de Estridón e Isidoro de Sevilla².

Los tres primeros textos del manuscrito son las *Quaestiones in Genesim* atribuidas a Auxilio de Roma (p. 1-53), pero con claros síntomas irlandeses³, una obra anónima de 179 entradas titulada *Item aliae quaestiones in quibus sunt nonnullae de Genesi* (en adelante, AQ) (pp. 53-90), que presenta diversas correcciones de una segunda mano que parece contemporánea de la que copia (*Q*²) y una corrección mucho más tardía (*Q*³), y el *Liber II differentiarum* de Isidoro de Sevilla (pp. 90-112).

AQ es un tratado anónimo de 179 entradas sin numerar elaboradas en forma de preguntas y respuestas, tres de ellas repetidas (2 = 129, 3 = 133 y 33 = 145). Algunas explican diversos pasajes de las Escrituras, tanto del Antiguo como del Nuevo Testamento, si bien predominan aquellas sobre el Génesis (la creación, el paraíso, Caín y Abel, Noé y el diluvio). Estas explicaciones son tanto de carácter alegórico como literal. Otras entradas son de carácter catequético y se interesan en especial por la Trinidad (1-2, 110-118, 128-133), por las virtudes y los pecados (53-56, 58-60, 79, 82, 86-88, 120-121, 151-156, 162-164), por el ser humano (92-105, 170-171, 173), por la resurrección y la vida en el más allá (3, 46,

² M. INGUANEZ, *Codicum Casinensium manuscriptorum catalogus*, vol. 1, Monte Cassino, 1915, pp. 36-40.

³ GORMAN, «The Commentary on Genesis», pp. 309-313. Vid. además C. LEONARDI, «Auxilius», en M. LAPIDGE - G. C. GARFAGNINI - C. LEONARDI (edd.), *CALMA. Compendium Auctorum Latinorum Medii Aevi (500-1500)*, vol. 1, Firenze, 2003, p. 561, donde se rechaza la atribución del texto a Auxilio.

49-50, 133), por el bautismo (107-109, 119), por el canon bíblico (125-127), por Cristo (41-44, 84-85, 119) y por el diablo (45, 179). Muchas de ellas tienen que ver con los números (47-51, 53-60, 89-90, 92-94, 170-176)⁴, otras con los nombres (60-64)⁵, algunas con la cronología (122-123).

Por su estilo, un gran número de entradas recuerda las colecciones de los denominados *Ioca monachorum* (55-56, 61-64, 95-109, 112-116, 125-127, 167, 170-174)⁶.

Las fuentes principales son las *Quaestiones Orosii et responsiones Augustini* (CPL 373a) (1-32, 46, 48, 128-144, 157-158), el *Liber II differentiarum* (CPL 1202) de Isidoro de Sevilla (95-96, 98-105, 110, 114-115, 120), los *Antikeimena* (CPL 1261) de Julián de Toledo (65-88), los *Moralia in Iob* (CPL 1708) de Gregorio Magno (49-50, 52, 57-59, 92-94, 152-154, 159-163, 165-166, 169, 175), las *Quaestiones de ueteri et nouo testamento* (CPL 1194) del Ps. Isidoro de Sevilla (33, 41-42, 45, 64, 97, 116, 119, 125-127, 145, 151, 172), elaboradas hacia la segunda mitad del s. VIII en algún centro germano bajo influencia insular⁷, y las *Quaestiones ueteris et*

⁴ Por ejemplo, la entrada nº 60 está dedicada a la distribución de los siete dones del Espíritu entre los patriarcas, un tema estudiado por J. E. CROSS, *Cambridge Pembroke College Ms. 25: A Carolingian sermonary used by Anglo-Saxon preachers*, London, 1987 (King's College London medieval studies, 1), p. 19 y 242.

⁵ Una de las más interesantes es la entrada nº 62, sobre los nombres de los reyes magos. Los usos de estos nombres en la literatura latina altomedieval de origen irlandés han sido estudiados por R. E. McNALLY, «The three Holy Kings in early Irish Latin Writing», *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, P. Granfield - J. A. Jungmann (edd.), vol. 2, Münster Westf., 1970, pp. 667-690. Pero, al margen del nombre «Aspa», probablemente una lectura corrupta que ha de ponerse en relación con el rey mago citado como «Caspar» (McNALLY, pp. 685-689) e incluso «Aspar» (McNALLY, p. 674), no he encontrado recogidos estos nombres en ninguno de los textos citados en el artículo de McNally.

⁶ Vid. W. SUCHER, *Das mittellateinische Gespräch Adrian und Epictitus nebst verwandten Texten (Ioca Monachorum)*, Tübingen, 1955 (la int. 167 de nuestro tratado aparece recogida en el Texto JM, en las pp. 114-119, bajo la entrada nº 49); M. BAYLESS, «The *Collectanea* and medieval dialogues and riddles», en M. BAYLESS - M. LAPIDGE (edd.), *Collectanea pseudo-Beda*, Dublin, 1998 (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 14), pp. 13-24, en las pp. 16-17.

⁷ R. E. McNALLY, *Scriptores Hiberniae Minores. Pars I*, Turnhout, 1973 (CC SL 108B), pp. 194-195.

noui testamenti (CPL 185) de Ambrosiáster (en la recensión editada en PL 35) (47, 145, 147, 179)⁸.

Otras fuentes menores, pero muy significativas a la hora de atribuir un origen al tratado, son los *Pauca problemsmata de enigmatibus ex tomis canonicis (textus breuior)* (106-109), el *Computus hibernicus* (CPL 2312º) (89-90) y los *Collectanea* (CPL 1129) (167) del Ps. Beda, el tratado *In epistulas septem catholicas* (CPL 1362) de Beda (91) y el *De numeris* (CPL 1193º) del Ps. Isidoro de Sevilla (51, 63, 155).

El caso más problemático de los paralelismos identificados es el de las *Enarrationes in Psalmos* del Ps. Remigio de Auxerre, una obra que se viene fechando hacia el s. XII y que comparte varios pasajes comunes con AQ (34-36, 149)⁹, como resultado quizás del uso de una fuente común.

Con estos datos, y a falta de identificar la fuente de un gran número de entradas de AQ (37-40, 43-44, 56, 60-62, 112-113, 121-124, 148, 150, 170, 173 en parte, 174, 176), puede decirse que este escrito debió de ser elaborado en un monasterio probablemente del continente europeo, quizás del sureste alemán, pero bajo una fuerte influencia insular. En cuanto a su datación, como se verá, la versión conservada en Montecassino 29 ha sufrido ya varias corrupciones como resultado de su transmisión, lo que sugiere que AQ pudo haber sido compuesto hacia los años 800-975.

Fuentes antiguas. Abreviaturas y ediciones utilizadas:

AMBROSIAS. : Ambrosiaster, *Quaestiones ueteris et noui testamenti* (CPL 185), ed. PL 35, rec. I, cols. 2207-2385 + rec. II, cols. 2385-2416.

ANON., *De oper.*: Anonymus, *De operibus sex dierum, quando creauit Deus caelum et terram* (Wendepunkte 2), ed. M. Gorman, "A Critique of Bischoff's Theory of Irish Exegesis. The

⁸ En efecto, el texto de la edición crítica de A. SOUTER, *Pseudo-Augustini Quaestiones ueteris et noui Testamenti CXXVII. Accedit appendix continens alterius editionis quaestiones selectas*, Vindobonae - Lipsiae, 1908 (CSEL 50), no coincide, en general, con AQ en aquellos pasajes en los que sí lo hace la recensión de la *Patrologia Latina*.

⁹ F. BRUNHÖLZL, *Histoire de la littérature latine du Moyen Âge*, vol. 1/2, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1991, p. 241.

Commentary on Genesis in Munich Clm 6302 (Wendepunkte 2)", *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 7 (1997), pp. 178-233, en las pp. 212-233.

ANON., *Pauc. probl.: Pauca problemsmata de enigmatibus ex tomis canonicis*, ed. G. MacGinty, *The reference Bible * Das Bibelwerk. Inter pauca problemsmata de enigmatibus ex tomis canonicis. Nunc prompta sunt Praefatio et Libri de Pentateucho Moysi*, Turnhout, 2000 (CC CM 173).

ANON., *Quaest. Oros.: Quaestiones Orosii et responsiones Augustini* (CPL 373a), ed. PL 40, cols. 733-752.

AVG., *Ad Gal.*: Augustinus Hipponensis ep., *Expositio epistulae ad Galatas* (CPL 282), ed. J. Divjak, *Sancti Aureli Augustini opera. Sect. IV, Pars I. Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistola ad Romanos, Epistolae ad Galatas expositionis liber unus, Epistolae ad Romanos inchoata expositio*, Wien, 1971 (CSEL 84), pp. 55-141.

AVG., *Enchir.*: Augustinus Hipponensis ep., *Enchiridion de fide, spe et charitate* (CPL 295), ed. E. Evans in *Sancti Aurelii Augustini De fide rerum invisibilium, Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide et spe et caritate, De catechizandis rudibus, Sermo ad catechumenos de symbolo, Sermo de disciplina christiana, Sermo de utilitate ieiunii, Sermo de excidio urbis Romae, De haeresibus*, Turnhout, 1969 (CC SL 46), pp. 49-114.

AVG., *Gen. ad litt.*: Augustinus Hipponensis ep., *De Genesi ad litteram libri XII* (CPL 266), ed. J. Zycha, *S. Aureli Augustini De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim, Eiusdem libri capitula, De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber, Locutionum in Heptateuchum libri septem*, Pragae - Vindobonae - Lipsiae, 1894 (CSEL 28, 1), pp. 3-435.

AVG., *In euang. Ioh.*: Augustinus Hipponensis ep., *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus* (CPL 278), ed. R. Willems, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini In Iohannis euangelium tractatus CCXIV*, Turnhout, 1954 (CC SL 36).

AVG., *In psalm.*: Augustinus Hipponensis ep., *Enarrationes in psalmos* (CPL 283), ed. E. Dekkers y J. Fraipont, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Turnhout, 1956 (CC SL 38-40).

BEDA, *Hex.*: Beda, *Hexaameron* (CPL 1344), ed. Ch. W. Jones, *Beda Venerabilis opera. Pars II: Opera exegetica 1. Libri quatuor in principium Genesis usque ad natiuitatem Isaac et eiectionem Ismahelis adnotationum*, Turnhout, 1967 (CC SL 118A).

- BEDA, *In epist. cath.*: Beda, *In epistulas septem catholicas* (CPL 1362), ed. D. Hurst in *Bedae Venerabilis Opera, Pars II. Opera exegetica. 4. Expositio Actuum apostolorum, Retractatio in Actus apostolorum, Nomina regionum atque locorum de Actibus apostolorum, In epistolas VII catholicas*, Turnhout, 1983 (CC SL 121), pp. 181-342 (*In I Ioh.* = pp. 284-328, *In I Petr.* = pp. 225-260).
- Ps. BEDA, *Coll.*: Ps. Beda, *Collectanea* (CPL 1129), ed. M. Bayless - M. Lapidge (edd.), *Collectanea pseudo-Bedae*, Dublin, 1998 (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 14), pp. 122-196.
- Ps. BEDA, *In pent.*: Ps. Beda, *Commentarii in Pentateuchum* (CPPM 2, 2026), ed. PL 91, cols. 189-286.
- Ps. BEDA, *Comp. hib.*: Pe. Beda, *Computus hibernicus* (CPL 2312^o), ed. PL 90, cols. 647-664.
- CASSIAN., *Conl.*: Cassianus, *Conlationes* (CPL 512), ed. E. Pichery, *Jean Cassien. Conférences*, 3 vols., Paris, 1955-1959 (Sources chrétiennes, 42, 54, 64).
- GREG. M., *Dial.*: Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogorum libri IV* (CPL 1713), ed. A. de Vogüé, *Grégoire le Grand. Dialogues*, 3 vols., Paris, 1978-1980 (Sources chrétiennes, 251, 260, 265).
- GREG. M., *In euang.*: Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Euangelia* (CPL 1711), ed. R. Étaix, *Gregorius I papa, Homiliae in euangelia*, Turnhout, 1999 (CC SL 141).
- GREG. M., *Moral.*: Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob* (CPL 1708), ed. M. Adriaen, *S. Gregorii Magni Moralia in Iob*, Turnhout, 1979-1985 (CC SL 143-143B).
- HIER., *Adu. Iouin.*: Hieronymus Stridonensis presb., *Aduersus Iouinianum* (CPL 610), ed. PL 23, cols. 221-352.
- HIER., *Epist.*: Hieronymus Stridonensis presb., *Epistulae* (CPL 620), ed. I. Hilberg, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, Wien, 1996² (CSEL 54-56) y J. Divjak, *Sancti Aureli Augustini opera. Epistolae ex duobus codicibus nuper in lucem prolatae*, Wien, 1981 (CSEL 88).
- HIER., *In Matth.*: Hieronymus Stridonensis presb., *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei* (CPL 590), ed. D. Hurst y M. Adriaen, *S. Hieronymi presbyteri Opera. Pars I. Opera exegetica 7. Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV*, Turnhout, 1969 (CC SL 77).

- HIER., *In Mich.*: Hieronymus Stridonensis presb., *Commentarii in Michaeam* (CPL 589), ed. M. Adriaen, *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera. Pars I: Opera exegetica* 6. *Commentarii in prophetas minores*, 1969 (CC SL 76), pp. 421-524.
- ISID., *Diff. II*: Isidorus Hispalensis ep., *Liber II differentiarum* (CPL 1202): ed. M^a. A. Andrés Sanz, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Liber differentiarum [II]*, Turnhout, 2006 (CC SL 111A).
- ISID., *Etym.*: Isidorus Hispalensis ep., *Etymologiae* (CPL 1186), ed. W. M. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum siue Originum libri XX*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1911 (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis).
- Ps. ISID., *Num.*: Ps. Isidorus Hispalensis, *De numeris* (CPL 1193^o), ed. PL 83, cols. 1293-1302.
- Ps. ISID., *Quaest.*: Ps. Isidorus Hispalensis ep., *Quaestiones de ueteri et nouo testamento* (CPL 1194), ed. R. E. McNally, *Scriptores Hiberniae Minores. Pars I*, Turnhout, 1973 (CC SL 108B), pp. 197-205.
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- Ps. VEN. FORT., *Symb. Athan.*: Ps. Venantius Fortunatus, *Symbolum Athanasianum* (CPL 1052^o), ed. B. Krusch, *Venanti Honori Clementiani Fortunati presbyteri Italici opera pedestria*, Berlin, 1961² (MGH, *Auct. Antiq.* IV, 2), pp. 105-106.
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APÉNDICE: EDICIÓN CRÍTICA

| ITEM ALIAE QVAESTIONES IN QVIBVS SVNT NONNVLLE 53a
DE GENESI

1. INT. Voluntate genuit deus pater filium an necessitate?

RPO. Nec uoluntate nec necessitate, quia necessitas in deo non est, praeire uoluntas sapientiam non potest quod est filius. Igitur prius est rationabiliter sapere quam rationabiliter uelle. Nam
5 quidam nostrum, cum eum interrogasset hereticus, utrum uolens an nolens genuerit pater filium, laudabiliter respondisse fertur: Dic, inquit, et tu, heretice, deus pater necessitate est deus an uoluntate? Qui si dixisset: Necessitate, sequebatur illum grandis absurditas. Si autem: Voluntate, respondebatur illi: Ergo uoluntate est deus,
10 non natura. Et in laqueum, quem ponere uoluit, incidit et uidens se conuinctum ommutuit.

2. INT. Quomodo illud intellegendum est quod legitur: *Sicut pater uitam habet in semetipso, sic dedit et filio uitam habere in semetipso?*

RPO. Scimus filium dei a se ipso non esse, sed a patre genitum,
15 patrem uero a nullo genitum, a nullo uitam accepisse. Dedit | pater 53b filio uitam gignendo, non quod prius fuerit filius sine uita et postea acceperit uitam, sicut nos per peccatum amisimus uitam et per gratiam saluatoris recepimus, ideo accepisse uitam, quia non est a se ipso genitus. Non existendo dedit, sed gignendo.

20 3. INT. Cum repromittat dominus noster Ihesus Christus sanctis quod in resurrectione fulgeant sicut sol, quare ipse dominus in resurrectione non fulsit?

RPO. Clarificata carne utique resurrexit, sed noluit in ea clarificatione discipulis apparere, quia non potuissent oculis talem
25 claritatem percipere. Si enim, antequam moreretur pro nobis et resurgeret, quando transfiguratus est in monte, discipuli sui eum uidere non potuerunt, quanto magis clarificata carne?

12/13 sicut – semetipso] Ioh. 5, 26 21 fulgeant – sol] cfr Matth. 13, 43

1/11 uoluntate – ommutuit] ANON., *Quaest. Oros. 7* 12/19 quomodo – gignendo] ANON., *Quaest. Oros. 8* 20/27 cum – carne] ANON., *Quaest. Oros. 14*

3 post est² add. et Q² 18 post ideo add. dicitur Q²

4. INT. Geneseos principium est: *In principio fecit deus caelum et terram*. Angeli postmodum facti sunt. Si antea facti sunt, non
30 primo omnium fecit deus caelum et terram.

RPO. *Quando facta sunt simul sydera*, ait scriptura, *laudauerunt me omnes angeli mei uoce magna*. Quarto enim die facta sunt sydera et iam erant angeli. Neque enim die tertio, neque secundo facti sunt. In his enim apparet quae facta sunt. Tertio enim die terra
35 ab aquis discreta est. Secundo factum est firmamentum, ubi sol et luna discurrunt et sydera. Porro primus dies ipse est angelica natura, quae primo caeli nomine nuncupata est. Vnde euidenter ostendit primum diem spiritalem factum, id est, angelicam naturam, et sic hoc caelum quod oculis aspicimus. Nam quod
40 ait: *In principio fecit deus caelum et terram*, | non primo omnium, 54a sicut ait, sed: *In principio*, id est, in filio, immo per filium fecit deus omnem spiritalem corporalemque creaturam, quae caeli et terrae nomine appellata est. Nam quod ipse sit principium de se, interrogantibus Iudaeis quis esset, respondit: *Principium, quia et*
45 *loquor uobis*. Primo igitur uoluit caelum et terram uelut quandam spiritalem corporalemque materiam dicere et sic, quemammodum singillatim facta sunt, per ordinem texere. Quod enim dixit *caelum*, hoc mihi uidetur dixisse aquarum abyssum tenebrosam, quodam modo fluitantem uitam, nisi conuertatur ad creatorem et sit lux
50 et contempletur trinitatem deum esse in deum. Neque enim ita dicimus ut ista materies praecedat formam suam, sicut praecedit lignum arcam et sicut praecedit uox uerbum, neque tempore, sed origine. Igitur prima creatura lux non ista quae quarto die facta est, sed spiritalis, id est angelica natura.

55 5. INT. Angeli aequales creati sunt an inaequales? Et si aequales, cur non omnes firmi et stabiles fuerunt? Si uero inaequales, quo merito alii praescientiae suae stabilitatem accipere meruerunt et alii futurae suae ruinae casum minime praeuiderunt?

RPO. Omnes quidem angeli aequales creati sunt, sed, cadentibus
60 illis per superbiam, ceteri domino pia oboedientia adheserunt,

28/29 in – terram] Gen. 1, 1 31/32 quando – magna] Iob 38, 7 40
in – terram] Gen. 1, 1 44/45 principium – uobis] Ioh. 8, 25

28/54 Geneseos – natura] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 21 55/64 angeli –
coherentes] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 17

29 post sunt¹ add. et Q² 36/37 angelica natura] angelicae naturae Q² 39
sic Q² (cum fonte), si Q¹ 52 et] sed fons

accipientes certam scientiae suae stabilitatem, quam illi numquam habuerunt. Sed sic sunt gratia dei in omnibus circumdati ut numquam possint cadere a beata uita, qua fruuntur domino coherentes.

65 **6.** INT. *Et diuisit deus lucem ac tenebras.* Omne | enim quod 54b
diuiditur esse potest. Ergo ut est essentia lucis, est et essentia
tenebrarum. Et quare non dicitur: Vidit deus quod tenebrae essent
bonae, sicut de luce dictum est?

RPO. Tenebrae essentiam non habent, sed absentia lucis, hoc
70 est diei, tenebrarum uocabulo est appellata. Ceterum autem iuxta
misticum intellectum, quia deus bonus et incommutabilis creauit
angelos bonos et quia ex his quosdam per superbiam praesciebat
casuros per incommutabilitatem praescientiae suae, diuisit inter
75 bonos et malos, malos igitur appellans tenebras, bonos appellans
lucem, in his dicens: Vidit deus quia boni sunt, in his nullatenus
dicens, ne peccata, quae sunt tenebrae, approbare uideretur.

7. INT. Primum enim diem spiritalem astruis esse creaturam et
quomodo habuit uespere et mane?

RPO. Omnis creatura antequam tempore suo fieret, in ipso
80 dei uerbo prius erat ab angelis cognoscenda et sic suo tempore
facienda. Quapropter ipsa creaturae cognitio in semetipsa uespere
erat, in deo autem mane, quia plus uidetur ipsa creatura in deo
quam in se ipsa uideatur creatura. Plus scilicet uidetur in arte, qua
facta est, quam in se ipsa qua facta est. Propterea enim ait
85 euangelista Iohannes: *Quod factum est, in ipso uita est.* Omnia
igitur quae facta sunt et uitam non habent, in ipso uerbo dei uita
sunt, in se ipsa uita non sunt. Caelum, terra, lapis uitam non
habent, et tamen in deo uita sunt. Viuunt igitur in deo sine initio
atque incommutabiliter omnes rationes creaturarum. Ac per hoc
90 plus uidetur ab angelis sanctis in uerbo dei, ubi sunt uita, quam

65 et – tenebras] Gen. 1, 4 **67/68** uidit – est] cfr Gen. 1, 4 **77/78**
primum – mane] cfr Gen. 1, 5 **85** quod – est] Ioh. 1, 3-4

65/68 et – est] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 25 **69/70** tenebrae – appellata] cfr
Ps. BEDA, *In pent.*, in Gen. 1 (col., 194) **71/76** deus – uideretur] ANON.,
Quaest. Oros. 25 **77/98** primum – perfectionem] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 26

62 sed] et *fons* **84** qua²] quae *Q² (cum fonte)* **90** uidetur] uidentur *fons*

in se ipsis, quia scientia angelorum in comparatione dei | quodam modo 55a
 uesperascit. Ergo in cognitione firmamenti secundus, in
 cognitione terrae ac maris tertius, in cognitione solis ac lunae et
 stellarum quartus, in cognitione reptilium et uolatilium quintus, in
 95 cognitione iumentorum uel ferarum uel ipsius hominis sextus dies.
 Neque enim unius diei, quem intellegimus spiritalem creaturam,
 id est, angelicam, sexies facta cognitio est, sed sex dies fecit propter
 senarii numeri perfectionem.

8. INT. Ordo helementorum et pondus non sinit ut sit aquarum
 100 substantia supra caelos. Aqua enim cedit terrae et aer cedit aquae
 et ignis cedit aeri. Et quomodo dictum est: *Fiat firmamentum in
 medio aquarum et diuidat aquas ab aquis?*

Rp. Quomodo et qualeslibet sint aquae, quas scriptura dicit super
 caelos esse, esse eas ibidem minime dubitamus. Sicut enim istae, quae
 105 utique sunt, feruntur super aerem, quod est tertium helementum,
 ita fieri posse arbitror ut aquae tenues atque suptiles ferantur super
 caelum. Nam ex hoc pondere helementorum multi philosophi,
 resurrectionem carnis illudentes, non posse fieri inquit ut homo,
 qui utique ex terra factus est, sit in caelo. Sed ueritas conuincit, quae
 110 facit multa animalia uolitare per aera et ignem, quod est utique
 quartum helementum, esse in terra. Ergo dei potentia hec facere
 approbatur ut et homo et aqua sit super caelum.

9. INT. Si totam terram aqua tegebat, non erat locus ubi aquae
 congregarentur, et quomodo scriptura dicit: | *Congregentur aquae,* 55b
 115 *quae sub caelo sunt, in locum unum et appareat arida?*

Rp. Totam terram aqua tegebat sicut rarissima nebula. Quae post
 in unum redacta atque collecta est ut possit terrae species apparere,
 quoniam et terra longe lateque subsidens potuit concauas partes
 praeberet, quae confluentes aquas susciperent ut arida appareret.

92/95 ergo – dies] cfr Gen. 1, 6-31 **101/102** fiat – aquis] Gen. 1, 6
114/115 congregentur – arida] Gen. 1, 9

99/112 ordo – caelum] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 27 **113/119** si – appareret]
 ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 28

111/112 hec – approbatur] quae haec facere approbatur facit *fons* **118**
 quoniam] quamuis *fons*

120 **10. INT.** Quomodo intellegendum est quod dicitur in Genesi:
Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram?

Rp. In mente, id est in ratione et intellegentia. Ipsa itaque mens,
 quando cogitat ea quae sunt terrena, mulier est, quando uero
 cogitat ea quae sunt aeterna, tunc imago dei dicenda est. Cogitando
 125 autem aeterna, uir est, sicut dicit apostolus: *Vir non debet uelare*
caput suum, cum sit imago gloriae dei. Id est: Quantumcumque se
 extenderit in id quod aeternum est, tanto magis inde formatur ad
 imaginem dei et ideo non est cohibenda ut se inde contineat aut
 temperet. Quando uero ea agit uel cogitat quae sunt temporalia,
 130 mulier appellatur. Tunc non est dicenda imago dei et propterea
 debet uelare caput suum, ne nimia sit ei ad inferiora progressio et,
 cum licita agit, illicita concupiscat.

11. INT. Primus homo mortalis factus est an immortalis?

RpO. Et mortalis secundum aliam et immortalis secundum aliam
 135 causam. Tale itaque corpus habebat primus homo quale et nos, sed
 sine peccato. | Non enim habebat legem in membris suis repugnantem
 legi mentis suae, sed utique hoc meruit post praeuaricationem.
 Igitur animale corpus habuit Adam, sed non ut senesceret nec
 deficeret per illius ligni uirtutem, qua sustentabatur, quod in
 140 paradyso uitae nomen acceperat. Quapropter si dei praeceptum
 seruasset, oboedientiae merito in illud corpus spiritale, quod sanctis
 in resurrectione repromittitur, postmodum commutandus erat. Ac
 per hoc poterat non mori, si deo pia oboedientia cohesisset. Non
 enim sic factus fuerat ut non posset mori, sed ita ut oboedientia
 145 immortalem, inoboedientia mortalem faceret.

56a

12. INT. Cum deus omnia bona creauerit nihilque sit quod non
 ab illo sit conditum, unde malum?

RpO. Malum natura non est, sed priuatio boni hoc nomen accepit.
 Denique bonum potest esse sine malo, malum non potest esse sine
 150 bono nec potest esse malum ubi non fuerit bonum. Ac per hoc
 dicimus angelum bonum, dicimus et angelum malum et hominem

121 faciamus – nostram] Gen. 1, 26

125/126 uir² – dei] I Cor. 11, 7

133 primus – immortalis] cfr Gen. 1, 27
 1, 41

146 deus – creauerit] cfr Gen.

120/132 quomodo – concupiscat] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 18

133/145

primus – faceret] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 19

146/155 cum – reprehendimus]

ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 16

bonum et hominem malum, sed bonus quod angelus, malus quod uitiosus. Ideoque quando dicimus bonum, naturam laudamus, quando dicimus malum, non naturam, sed uitium, quod est bonae
 155 naturae, reprehendimus.

13. INT. *Fons*, inquit scriptura, *ascendebat e terra, irrigans uniuersam faciem terrae*. Si uniuersam terram rigabat, ergo et montes rigabat, quia et montes utique terra sunt. Si montes rigabat, diluuium erat. Et quomodo terra germinabat herbam uiurentem et
 160 facientem semen | aut quomodo habitabat homo in terra? 56b

Rp. Fons positus est singulari pro plurali numero. Hoc enim si sollicite requiras, in scripturis sanctis frequenter repperies. Habes nempe in psalmo: *Misit in eis muscam caninam et comedit eos, ranam et exterminauit eos*, dum utique nec una musca nec una rana
 165 fuerit. Nam quod ait: *Irigabat uniuersam faciem terrae*, non totam, sed partem a toto significat. Quemadmodum dicimus: Christus mortuus est et resurrexit, cum non mortuus fuerit neque resurrexit nisi secundum carnem.

14. INT. *Tulit*, ait scriptura, *dominus deus hominem et posuit illum in paradyso uoluptatis ut operaretur et custodiret illum*. Quid operaretur aut quid custodiret: paradysum an aliud aliquid?

⟨Rp.⟩ Ista sententia duplicem intellegentiam parit. Siue enim operaretur homo paradysum, id est in paradyso aliquid operaretur, non necessitate uictus, sed delectatione operabatur. Adhuc non
 175 peccauerat nec ei terra spinas et tribolos germinauerat ut in sudore faciei suae ederet panem suum. Haec nempe meruit post peccatum. Ante peccatum igitur non indigentia, non necessitate, sed sola, ut diximus, uoluntate operabatur paradysum per agriculturam et custodiebat per disciplinam non contra bestias aut contra aliqua
 180 animalia, sed sibi, scilicet ne amitteret peccando quem custodire poterat oboediendo. Siue ipsum hominem ponens deus in paradyso

156/157 fons ... ascendebat – terrae] Gen. 2, 6 **163/164** misit – eos] Ps. 77, 45
165 irrigabat – terrae] Gen. 2, 6 **169/170** tulit ... dominus – illum²] Gen. 2, 15 **175/176** in – suum] cfr Gen. 3, 19

156/168 fons – carnem] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 30 **169/186** tulit – habet] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 31

158 rigabat²] rigabant Q² **161** singulari] singularis *fons* **162** repperies] reperiens Q² **167** resurrexit²] resurrexerit Q² **172** rp. *addidi*
181 ponens] posuit *fons*

ut operaretur et custodiret: operaretur scilicet ut bonus esset,
 custodiret ut tutus esset. Quodlibet horum dicatur, | siue homo 57a
 paradysum operaretur per agriculturam siue ipsum hominem deus
 185 operaretur ut bonus esset et custodiret ut tutus esset, quodlibet
 horum intellegas, rationem uterque intellectus habet.

15. INT. Cum deus minaretur homini mortem die qua cibum
 uetitum tetigerit, cur eo die mortuus non fuerit? Sic enim dicit
 scriptura: *In quacumque enim die comederis ex eo, morte morieris?*

190 **RP.** Quattuor esse mortes scriptura sancta euidenter ostendit.
 Prima mors animae quae suum deserit creatorem. Quem cum
 deseruerit, peccat. *Sine*, inquit dominus, *mortuos sepelire mortuos*
suos. Ecce habes secundum animam mortuos sepelientes et, quos
 sepeliunt, secundum carnem mortuos. Haec itaque sententia duas
 195 mortes manifestissime docet: unam animarum et alteram corporum.
 Tertia est solius animae, quam patietur, dum ex hoc corpore exierit,
 secundum illud quod in euangelio de diuite legimus: *Pater Abraham,*
miserere mei et mitte Lazarum ut intinguat extremum digiti sui in
aqua et refrigeret linguam meam, quia crucior in hac flamma. Quarta
 200 est mors quam patientur impii post resurrectionem, uidelicet ignis
 aeternus, qui eos cum corpore cruciabit. Die itaque quo peccauit
 Adam, in anima mortuus est. Sicut enim corpus uiuit ex anima, ita
 anima, ut beate uiuat, uiuit ex deo. Hanc uero subsecutae sunt tres
 aliae mortes: prima enim mors precessit desertio dei, secunda quod
 205 eo die, quo peccauit, Adam mortuus est.

16. INT. Quomodo poterat mortem timere Adam, quam
 nullatenus sciebat? | 57b

⟨RP.⟩ Sicut nos credimus resurrectionem, quam nullatenus experti
 sumus nec uidimus, sed tamen scimus, ita Adam sciebat mortem,
 210 sciens igitur quod exiens anima a corpore faciat mortem et, dum
 reuersa fuerit, faciat resurrectionem. Ecce scimus resurrectionem,
 quam numquam experti sumus. Sic et ille sciebat quippe mortem

189 in – morieris] Gen. 2, 17 **192/193** sine ... mortuos – suos] Matth.
 8, 22 **197/199** pater – flamma] Luc. 16, 24 **206** quomodo – Adam]
 cfr Gen. 2, 17

187/205 cum – est] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 32 **206/214** quomodo – mortem]
 ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 33

199 quia] qui *Q*² **208** rp. *addidi* **210** sciens igitur] scimus quoque *fons*

non adhuc per experientiam, sed per scientiam. Sciebat enim quid esset uiuere et per preuaricationem uitae sciebat utique mortem.

215 **17. INT.** Adduxit deus ad Adam cuncta animalia et uolatilia caeli uidensque ea nomina imposuit, et de muliere paulo post dicitur: *Videns igitur mulier quod bonum esset lignum ad uescendum*. Cur post paululum post ligni uetiti tactum eadem scriptura dicit: *Aperti sunt oculi amborum*?

220 **RP.** Nisi oculos apertos haberent, nec ille animalia nomina imposeret nec illa uideret ligni pulcritudinem. Hoc quippe uerum est quia oculos apertos habebant, et tamen, nisi ad aliquid essent clausi, nullatenus diceret scriptura: *Aperti sunt oculi amborum*. Aperti sunt scilicet non ad aliud nisi ad inuicem cognoscendum
225 ut esset lex in membris repugnans legi mentis, ut etiam in ipsis membris esset non uoluntarius motus, iusta scilicet dei uindicta ut homo, qui noluit esse subiectus deo, non haberet subditum corpus. Ergo in id aperti sunt oculi amborum ut mouerentur membra concupiscentialiter.

230 **18. INT.** *Cum audissent uocem Adam et Eua*, ait scriptura, *domini dei deambulantis | in paradyso, absconderunt se*. Quae est ista deambulatio? 58a

RP. Absit enim ut deus, qui est trinitas, ex hoc quod eius dicitur deambulatio, corporeus aut localis esse credatur. Omne enim corpus
235 locale est et omne locale utique corpus est. Deus uero incorporeus est nec temporaliter mouetur neque loco continetur neque de loco ad locum transfertur. Eius nempe deambulatio intellegenda est per aliquam creaturam facta. Quam creaturam in hominis apparuisse forma ex ipsius circumstantia scripturae intellectum a maioribus
240 recoło.

215/216 adduxit – imposuit] cfr Gen. 2, 19-20 217 uidens – uescendum]
Gen. 3, 6 218/219 aperti – amborum] Gen. 3, 7 223 aperti –
amborum] Gen. 3, 7 225 esset – mentis] cfr Rom. 7, 23 230/231
cum – eua ... domini – se] Gen. 3, 8

215/229 adduxit – concupiscentialiter] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 34 230/240
cum – recoło] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 35

224 cognoscendum] concupiscendum *fons*

19. INT. Cum deus unus sit, dicente scriptura: *Audi Israel: Dominus deus tuus deus unus est*, quomodo ipse ait: *Ecce Adam factus est quasi unus ex nobis*? Nobis enim pluralitatem significat?

Rp. Deus enim quamuis sit unus, tamen trinitas est: pater scilicet
245 et filius et spiritus sanctus. *Vnus ex nobis* dictum est non propter pluralitatem deorum, sed propter pluralitatem personarum.

20. INT. Quomodo serpens loqui poterat in paradyso, cum aliquod appareat irrationabile animal esse?

Rp. Serpens per se loqui non poterat, quia non hoc a creatore
250 acceperat. Assumpsit enim illum diabolus, utens eo uelud organo per quod articulatum sonum emitteret. Per illum nempe uerba faciebat, et tamen hoc etiam ille nesciebat. Natura igitur rationis expers rationi subditur naturae rationabili, sed tamen non tantum, quantum uult, ex ea facit, sed quantum a creatore acceperit.

255 21. INT. Si non intellegunt serpentes, | quomodo audiunt uerba 58b
Marsorum ut ad incantationes eorum exeant de speluncis suis?

Rp. Licet intellectum non habeant, tamen sensu corporis non carent. Habent enim quinque corporeos sensus et ideo, quamuis
260 audiant uerba Marsorum, nequaquam tamen intellegunt. Non enim oboediunt intellegendo, sed ut de antris ad uerba Marsorum exeant, permittente deo, coguntur a diabolo. Vnde datur testimonium de illo primo facto, quod primum hominem diabolus per serpentem deceperit in paradyso.

22. INT. Numquid quia opus erat Adae ut ei coniunx fieret,
265 aliter non poterat fieri, nisi ut dormienti costam detraheret, ex qua coniunx aedificaretur?

Rp. Poterat aliter facere, sed ideo congruentius iudicauit ut sic faceret, unde aliquid significaretur. Sicut enim dormienti Adae
270 costa detrahitur ut coniunx edificetur, ita et Christo moriente de latere eius sanguis effunditur ut ecclesia construat.

241/242 audi – est] Deut. 6, 4 242/243 ecce – nobis!] Gen. 3, 22 247
quomodo – paradyso] cfr Gen. 3, 1 265/266 dormienti – aedificaretur] cfr
Gen. 2, 21-22

241/246 cum – personarum] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 36 247/254 quomodo –
acceperit] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 43 255/263 si – paradyso] ANON., *Quaest.*
Oros. 44 264/270 numquid – construat] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 45

248 irrationabile] irrationale Q^2 262 quod] quo Q^2

23. INT. Quomodo intellegendum est quod dicit Adam: *Quamobrem relinquet homo patrem suum et matrem et adherabit uxori suae et erunt duo in carne una?* Apostolus dicit: *Sacramentum hoc magnum est, ego dico in Christo et in ecclesia.* Sed quomodo
 275 Christus reliquerit patrem, cum una substantia sit patri et filio? Aut ubi esse pater poterit sine filio, cum de ipso filio, qui est sapientia, dicitur quod *attingat a fine usque ad finem fortiter et disponat omnia suauiter?*

RPO. | Quomodo reliquit patrem et adhesit uxori suae? 59a
 280 Quemammodum dicit Apostolus: *Qui cum in forma dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem deo, sed semetipsum exinaniuit, formam serui accipiens.* Reliquit uero matrem, synagogam scilicet, ueteri testamento carnaliter inherentem.

24. INT. Multa uidemus animalia ex corruptione corporum,
 285 maxime mortuorum nasci, numquid tunc creata sunt, quando ipsa corpora?

RPO. Absit ut credatur tunc esse creata quando ipsa corpora, sed corporibus insita sunt suo tempore exortura, sicut in seminibus uidemus.

25. INT. Si omnia in mensura et numero et pondere deus
 290 disposuit, ipsum numerum et mensuram et pondus ubi disposuit?

Rp. Numerus et mensura et pondus ipse est. Ipse numerus sine numero, a quo est omnis numerus. Ipse est mensura sine mensura, a quo est omnis mensura. Ipse est pondus sine pondere, a quo est
 295 omne pondus. Omnia ergo in mensura et numero et in pondere fecit, quia omnia in se disposuit. Non enim creaturam extra se aut alicubi uidit ut, sicut homo, memoria retineret quae faceret. Intellegitur et aliter: omnia in numero et in mensura et in pondere fecit, quia omnia, quae fecit, numerum et mensuram et pondus
 300 habent.

272/273 quamobrem – una] Gen. 2, 24 273/274 sacramentum – ecclesia]
 Eph. 5, 32 277/278 attingat – suauiter] Sap. 8, 1 280/282 qui –
 accipiens] Phil. 2, 6-7 290 si – disposuit] cfr Sap. 11, 21

271/283 quomodo – inherentem] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 46 284/289
 multa – uidemus] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 37 290/300 si – habent] ANON.,
Quaest. Oros. 39

273 post una add. et Q² 271 quomodo scripsi, iomodo Q

26. INT. Quomodo adduxit deus ad Adam omnia animalia et uolatilia, utrum quomodo adducunt aucupes uel uenatores ad retia an forsitan uox de nube facta est iussionis, quam intel|legerent 59b tanquam rationales animae et, ea audita, oboedirent?

305 **Rp.** Non hoc acceperunt animantia aut reptilia ut sint rationis capacia, per quam oboedire possint creatori suo. In suo tamen genere optemperant deo, non rationalis uoluntatis arbitrio, sed sicut mouet creaturam corpoream temporaliter ipse, non motus. Mouet creaturam corpoream temporaliter et localiter. Igitur
310 spiritus rationalis, qui est in homine, etiam iusis mouetur. Mouetur et irrationalis, sed rationalis habet intellegentiam, per quam iudicare possit utrum iusis consentiat an non. Animalia uero et uolatilia non acceperunt hoc iudicium, pro suo tamen genere atque natura iusu aliquo uel actu propelluntur. Vnde angelica
315 natura, iussa dei perficiens, mouet iusis omne genus animantium, ducens quo nescit. Nam si homines possunt nonnulla animalium genera mansueta facere, ita ut quasdam uoluntates hominum facere uideantur, quanto magis angeli hoc possunt?

27. INT. Cur Cain munera ex terrae fructibus reprobantur et Abel 320 de adipibus gregis sui munera suscipiuntur?

Rp. Cain tipum gerebat Iudaeorum, qui illa corporalia sacramenta secundum uetus testamentum exercebant. Horum enim sacrificia, superueniente testamenti noui fide et innocentia deum laudante, quod significabat Abel, ex ouibus munera non accipiuntur. Vnde 325 etiam dicitur in psalmo: | *Oblationes et holocausta noluisti.* 60a

28. INT. Quomodo intellegendum est quod sanguis Abel legitur de terra ad dominum clamasse?

301/302 quomodo – uolatilia] cfr Gen. 2, 19 **303** uox – est] cfr Matth. 17, 5; Marc. 9, 6; Luc. 9, 35 **319/320** cur – suscipiuntur] cfr Gen. 4, 3-5 **325** oblationes – noluisti] Ps. 39, 7 **326/327** sanguis – clamasse] cfr Gen. 4, 10

301/318 quomodo – possunt] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 40 **319/325** cur – noluisti] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 47 **326/335** quomodo – sunt] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 49

308 creaturam – motus] ille omnia temporibus opportunis non ipse temporaliter motus *fons* **309** post mouet *add.* quoque *Q*² **324** post abel *add.* etiam *Q*²

Rp. Sanguis Abel significat sanguinem Christi, quem uniuersa ecclesia accipiens dicit Amen. Nam qualem clamorem faciat
 330 uniuersa ecclesia cum sanguine Christi potatur et dicit Amen, tu ipse, si potes, considera. Iudaei ergo, qui intelleguntur in persona Cain, quoniam non credentes in Christo, non potantur sanguine Christi, maledicti sunt super terram. Super illam scilicet quae aperuit os suum per confessionem et bibit sanguinem fratris sui, id
 335 est Christi sui. Quem quia Iudaei non bibunt, maledicti sunt.

29. INT. Quid significat quod Enoch septimus ab Adam cum deo ambulauit et non comparuit?

⟨Rp.⟩ Enoch septimus ab Adam transfertur ad deum et septimo requies promittitur sanctis, quia in septima aetate saeculi reformantur
 340 in agnitione dei, ut transferantur ad requiem.

30. INT. Quid significat quod omnes montes excelsos supergressa est aqua diluuii quindecim cubitis?

Rp. Octo et septem quindecim faciunt. Octo nempe significant resurrectionem et septem quietem. Hoc itaque mysterium resur-
 345 rectionis et quietis supergressum est omnem scientiam superbiorum sapientium et nullatenus potuerunt indagare scientiam resurrectionis et quietis.

31. INT. Quare cum ingrederetur Noe in arcam, dicitur ad eum: *Ingredere tu et uxor tua, filii tui et uxo|⟨res⟩ filiorum tuorum tecum?* 60b
 350 Seorsum ponuntur uiri et seorsum ponuntur feminae. Et cum egrederetur de arca, dictum est ad eum: *Egrederere tu et uxor tua, filii tui et uxores filiorum tuorum tecum.* In egressione coniuncti dicuntur.

⟨Rp.⟩ Eorum quippe ingressio istam uitam significat, in qua
 355 in temptatione et poena carnis cum spiritu uiuit homo. Egressio uero significat uitam beatam, ubi caro iam nulla habebit

336/337 Enoch – comparuit] cfr Gen. 5, 24 **341/342** omnes – cubitis] cfr Gen. 7, 19-20 **349** ingredere – tecum] Gen. 7, 1 **351/352** egredere – tecum] Gen. 8, 16

336/340 quid – requiem] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 50 **341/347** quid – quietis] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 57 **348/358** quare – nobis] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 58

330 potatur] potantur *Q*¹ **338** rp. *addidi* **339** reformantur] reformabuntur *Q*² **346** indagare] indare *Q*¹ **349** uxores *scripsi cum fonte*, uxo *Q* *post tecum add.* rp. *Q*² **354** rp. *addidi*

concupiscentiam aduersus spiritum nihilque erit ex nobis quod repugnet in nobis.

360 **32.** INT. Quid significat quod dimissus coruus ex arca non est reuersus?

Rp. Coruus ille, ut non reuerteretur, aut aquis interceptus est aut aliquo cadauere illectus insedit. Et significat illos, qui carnalibus dediti rebus, dei praecepta contemnunt et nullatenus ad ecclesiam poenitendo redeunt, unde per mala opera recesserunt. Vel certe, 365 si aquis interceptus est, illos significat qui exeunt de ecclesia et hereticorum baptismo polluuntur. Quamuis enim unum baptismum sit hereticorum, eorum scilicet qui in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti baptizant, et ecclesiae catholicae, tamen, quia 370 ad perniciem, habentes nimirum speciem pietatis et uirtutem eius abnegantes. Et idcirco ecclesiam non baptizat eos, quia in nomine trinitatis baptizati sunt. Nam ipsa est profecto forma sacramenti. Ideo, dum reuersi fuerint, accipiunt uirtutem spiritus sancti, quam hi, qui foris ecclesiam baptizantur, nondum habent.

375 **33.** INT. Cur dictum est: *Oculum pro oculo, dentem pro dente* et cetera quae ad uindictam sumuntur? 61a

Rp. Vt esset timor in populo nec cuiquam liceret alicui facere quod sibi fieri nollet, non ut peccet qui uindicat in lege, sed melius facit qui non retribuit mala pro malis.

380 **34.** INT. Quare dictum est psalterium?

Rp. Quia eius plectro desuper cordae pulsantur. Quando uero inferius tangitur, cythara nominatur. Ex quo intellegere debes psalterium desuper canens non carnalia aut terrena, sed spiritalia et celestia personare.

359/360 dimissus – reuersus] cfr Gen. 8, 6-7 **370/371** habentes – abnegantes] cfr II Tim. 3, 5 **375** oculum – dente] Leu. 24, 20; Deut. 19, 21

359/374 quid – habent] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 59 **375/378** cur – nollet] Ps. ISID., *Quaest.* 30 lin. 95-98 **378/379** non – malis] AMBROSIAS., rec. I, 69 col., 2264 **380/384** quare – personare] cfr Ps. REM. AVT., *In psalm.*, praecamb. (col., 135A-B)

372 post sacramenti add. et Q²

385 **35. INT.** Quare psalmi per ista tantum organa canebantur?

390 <RP.> Quia populus carnalis erat qui per huiusmodi delectationem fuerat ad idolatriam deprauatus, et necesse fuit eum simili dulcedine ad dominum reuocari. Austerioribus enim monitis curari nolebant. Dum enim concurrunt quasi cantica et melodias audituri, uerba dei salubri et consulta dulcedine eorum mentibus serebantur. Magis enim tenetur quicquid libenter auditur. Simul etiam ut hec magis quam turpia aut amatoria discerent decantare. Hac ergo causa Dauid choros cantorum cum principibus suis CC^{ti} LXXX^{ta} VIII^{to}. in Paralypomenon legitur ordinasse ut magnitudo sonitus organorum et uocum populo delectationem terrori mixtam compungeret.

36. INT. Solus Dauid psalmos fecit an et alii?

400 <RP.> Non solus, sed et Dathan et Idithun et Heman, filii quoque Chore, quibus peccatum patris non obfuit quominus leuitae ex eius genere remanerent. Ex quibus inerant qui psalmos fecerunt. In Salomone quoque titulatur unus: *Moysi hominis* | *dei*, unus siue XI. 61b iuxta Hebraeos, qui aiunt sequentes psalmos usque ad nonagesimum nonum, titulum non habentes, LXXXVIII. esse iungendos, sicut in libro fit Prophetarum, quorum tempora non notantur.

37. INT. Quare omnes psalmi Dauid esse dicuntur?

405 RP. Quia rex erat et primus inter omnes psalmistas, sicut et Hester reginae nomine liber titulatur, cum historia, actus Mardochei narrare uideatur.

38. INT. Quare non psalmi suo ordine sunt locati, hoc est quomodo unaquaeque historia est?

410 RP. Multi hinc multa dixerunt, sed mihi horum uidetur esse probabilis sententia qui dicuntur lirici scriptores, quorum ars est non ordinem historiae narrare, sed facta metri cantico collaudare. Non enim curant quid prius quidue posterius dicant. Ita et psalmos

393/394 dauid – ordinasse] cfr I Par. 25, 7 400 Moysi – dei] Ps. 89, 1

385/395 quare – compungeret] cfr Ps. REM. AVT., *In psalm.*, praeamb. (col., 135B-C) 396/403 solus – notantur] cfr Ps. REM. AVT., *In psalm.*, praeamb. (col., 135C-D)

386 rp. *addidi* 395 populo – mixtam] populi cor et delectatio terrori mista Ps. Rem. Aut. 397 rp. *addidi* 400 titulatur *scripsi*, titilatur Q 411 probabilis] probabili Q'

esse positos. Nam etsi quando aliquid de historiis refertur, in ipsis
415 non ordine, sed utcumque uenerit memoratur.

39. INT. Omnes psalmi ad Daudid pertinent aut omnes ad Christum? An sunt aliqui qui ad utrumque pertineant?

RP. Sunt psalmi memoriales qui generaliter omnes homines
docent et sunt qui ad Daudid proprie pertinent et possunt in Christo
420 intellegi. Sunt alii qui Christi sunt proprie. Alii uero possunt in
utroque constare necnon aliqui ad populum referuntur Iudaeorum,
sed et de uocatione gentium frequenter inseruntur. Quicquid uero
Daudid conuenit, potest et iustis omnibus conuenire, quia nobis
omnibus in exemplo est Christus in uictoria atque uirtute. | 62a

425 **40.** INT. Quare Salomon adulterans spiritum sapientiae meruit?

RP. Merito regni, non suo, sicut Nabuchodonosor Christum in
camino uidit propter multitudinem, quam habebat, populorum ut
ipso teste deum crederent creatorem. Non pro se hoc uidit tantum,
sed propter eos quos regebat.

430 **41.** INT. Cur esurit saluator?

RP. Vt illuderet satanan.

42. INT. Cur non amplius quam quadraginta diebus ieiunauit?

RP. Vt concordaret Moysi et Heliae.

43. INT. Cur dixit: *Non ueni soluere legem, sed adimplere*?

435 RP. Non uenit soluere, sed adimplere, id est plenam addere legem.
Nam cum dicat in ueteri decimas dari et non totum uendere, in
nouo uero omnia relinqui et uendi praecipit et reliqua similia.

425 Salomon adulterans] cfr III Reg. 11, 1-3 **425** spiritum – meruit] cfr III
Reg. 3, 11; ibid. 4, 29 **426/427** Nabuchodonosor – uidit] cfr Dan. 3, 92
430 esurit saluator] cfr Matth. 4, 2; Luc. 4, 2 **432** quadraginta – ieiunauit]
cfr Matth. 4, 2; Marc. 1, 13; Luc. 4, 2 **433** concordaret Moysi] cfr Ex.
24, 18; 34, 28 **433** concordaret ... Heliae] cfr III Reg. 19, 8 **434** non –
adimplere] Matth. 5, 17 **436** cum – uendere] cfr Ex. 22, 29; Deut. 12, 6;
ibid. 12, 11 **436/437** in² – praeipit] cfr Matth. 19, 21; Marc. 10, 21; Luc.
12, 33; ibid. 18, 22

430/431 cur – Satanan] Ps. ISID., *Quaest.* 27 (lin. 87) **432/433** cur –
Heliae] Ps. ISID., *Quaest.* 28 (lin. 88-89)

418 memoriales] morales Qⁱ **432** non Q² (*cum fonte*), om. Qⁱ

44. INT. Cur in euangelio pro se et Petro dari praecepit tributa et non pro aliis?

440 RP. Sicut in saluatore errant, ita post eum in Petro. Semper enim in praeposito populus aut corripitur aut laudatur.

45. INT. Quomodo pater Iudaeorum mendax uocatur?

RP. Cain, pater Iudaeorum, mendax uocatus est, qui dixit domino: *Nescio ubi sit frater meus*, quem profecto ipse occiderat. Et
445 pater Cain est diabolus, qui mentitus est Adae, eo quod non morte moreretur, si preceptum dominicum transgrederetur.

46. INT. Quid est quod dicit apostolus: *Caro et sanguis regnum dei non possidebunt*? Et hoc idem exponens apostolus quodam modo subsecutus adiunxit: | *Neque corruptio incorruptelam possidebit*. 62b

450 RP. Quibus scribebat apostolus? Nempe his qui dicebant: *Manducemus et bibamus, cras enim moriemur*. Hos redarguens beatus apostolus ait carnem et sanguinem, hoc est opera carnis et sanguinis, non posse adipisci regnum dei. Nam si hic propria substantia accipienda est, quid dicitur de his quibus idem scribit
455 apostolus: *Vos autem in carne non estis, sed in spiritu*? Numquidnam Romani carnem non habebant? Sed: *In carne*, inquit, *non estis*, id est carnales non estis, quia non scitis opera carnis, quae inimica sunt deo, quia: *Qui in carne sunt*, inquit apostolus, *deo placere non possunt*. Ecce qualis caro regnum dei non possidebit. Nam quod
460 homo in eadem, qua moritur, carne resurgat, dominus noster Ihesus Christus post resurrectionem suam dubitantibus discipulis et putantibus se spiritum uidere: *Palpate et uidete*, inquit, *quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet, sicut me uidetis habere*. Ac per hoc credimus hominem non tantum cum carne et ossibus, sed etiam
465 cum sanguine uel quicquid ad naturam eius pertinet resurgere, sed sine ulla corruptione erit illi aeterna uita, aeterna felicitas,

438/439 in – aliis] cfr Matth. 17, 26 442 pater – uocatur] cfr Ioh. 8, 44 444 nescio – meus] Gen. 4, 9 445/446 diabolus – transgrederetur] cfr Gen. 3, 4 447/448 caro – possidebunt] I Cor. 15, 50 449 neque – possidebit] I Cor. 15, 50 451 manducemus – moriemur] I Cor. 15, 32 455 uos – spiritu] Rom. 8, 9 456 in carne ... non estis] Rom. 8, 9 458/459 qui – sunt ... deo – possunt] Rom. 8, 8 462/463 palpate – uidete ... quia – habere] Luc. 24, 39

440/441 semper – laudatur] AMBROSIAST., rec. I, 75 (col., 2270) 442/446 quomodo – transgrederetur] Ps. ISID., *Quaest.* 29 (lin. 90-94) 447/468 quid – miseriam] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 20

contemplando trinitatem domini. Igitur sicut iusti cum sua carne ad aeternam felicitatem, ita impii ad aeternam resurgent miseriam.

470 47. INT. Quomodo non christiani de christianis nascuntur, sicut pagani de paganis generantur?

Rp. Paganus, quod habet, filio suo dat, christianus quod postea quam natus est accepit, hoc est baptismum, filio | suodare non potest, 63a quia non naturaliter baptismum habet, sed gratia datur. Non enim omne quod nascitur hoc est quod unde nascitur, ut aurum de terra, 475 de ligno esca, de ovo pullus.

48. INT. Quot genera sunt uisionum?

Rp. Tria: prima uisio est corporalis, secunda spiritalis, tertia intellectualis. Corporalis uisio est cum imagines eorum, quae uidimus, memoria retinemus. Spiritalis uero uisio sine corporali esse 480 potest, unde et absentes homines recordamur et in tenebris ea, quae uidimus, imaginaliter cernimus. Intellectualis nempe nec corporali indiget nec spiritali. Intellectu nec corpus uidemus nec imaginem corporis. Per hunc quippe uidetur iustitia, caritas, ipsa uox, ipsa mens hominis, quae nullum corpus habet, nullam similitudinem 485 corporis, sed sicut est ipsa ueritas cernitur. Tres igitur sunt caeli et tria sunt uisionum genera de quibus loquimur. Ad hoc profecto peruenerat Paulus ut deum sic in ista uideret, sicut sancti post hanc uitam uidebunt.

49. INT. Quot partes erunt in iudicio futuro?

490 <Rp.> Duae partes: electorum scilicet atque reproborum. Sed bini ordines eisdem singulis partibus continebuntur. Alii namque iudicabuntur et peribunt, alii non iudicabuntur et peribunt, alii iudicabuntur et regnabunt, alii non iudicabuntur et regnabunt. Iudicabuntur et peribunt quibus dominica inclamatione dicetur:

469/470 quomodo – generantur] AMBROSIAST., rec. I, 81 (col., 2274)
 473/475 non² – pullus] AMBROSIAST., rec. I, 81 (col., 2274) 476/488
 quot – uidebunt] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 63 490/511 duae – fiunt] GREG. M.,
Moral. 26, 27, 50-51

471 post christianus add. non dat Q² 474 post quod² add. et Q² 477
 spiritalis] spiritualis Q² 479 spiritalis] spiritualis Q² 485 corporis :
 corporis ob id et raptus fuerat apostolus paulus in tertium coelum id est ad
 intellectualem uisionem ut deum non per corpus non per similitudinem corporis
 fons 485 cernitur] cerneret fons 490 rp. addidi

495 *Esuriui et non dedisti mihi manducare et reliqua. Discedite a me*
maledicti in ignem | aeternum. Non iudicabuntur et peribunt de 63b
 quibus propheta ait: *Non resurgent impii in iudicio.* Et de quibus
 dominus dicit: *Qui autem in me non credit, iam iudicatus est.* Et de
 quibus Paulus: *Qui sine lege peccauerunt, sine lege peribunt.* Resurgent
 500 ergo etiam homines infideles, sed ad tormenta, non ad iudicium.
 Electorum uero pars alii iudicabuntur et regnant, qui uitae maculas
 lacrimis tergunt, qui mala praecedentia factis subsequentibus
 redimentes, quicquid illicitum aliquando fecerunt, ab oculis iudicis
 helemosynarum superductione cooperiunt. Quibus iudex ueniens
 505 in dexteram consistentibus dicturus est: *Esuriui et dedistis mihi*
manducare et reliqua. Alii autem non iudicabuntur et regnabunt,
 qui etiam praecepta legis perfectionis uirtute transcendunt, qui
 plus exhibere appetunt quam quod praeceptis generalibus audire
 potuerunt. Quibus dicitur: *Vos qui secuti estis me et reliquistis omnia*
 510 *uestra, sedebitis super sedes et reliqua.* Hi etiam non iudicabuntur et
 regnabunt, quia cum auctore suo etiam iudices fiunt.

50. INT. Quot modis anima iusti compungitur?

Rp. Quattuor: cum aut malorum suorum reminiscitur, considerans
 ubi fuit, aut iudiciorum dei sententiam metuens, secum querens
 515 cogitans ubi erit, aut cum bona supernae patriae contemplatur,
 quae quia necdum adipiscitur, lugens conspicit ubi non est.

51. INT. Quot modis dicitur deus?

Rp. Tribus: essentialiter, nuncupatiue ac falso. Essentialiter, ut 64a
 Paulus ait: *Qui est super omnia deus benedictus in saecula. Amen.*
 520 Nuncupatiue, sicut ad Moysen dicitur: *Constitui te deum pharaoni,*
 et illud: *Ego dixi: di estis.* Falso, ut di qui non fecerunt caelum et
 terram, de quibus dicitur: *Et non erat cum eis deus alienus.*

495 esuriui – manducare] Matth. 25, 42 495/496 discedite – aeternum]
 Matth. 25, 41 497 non – iudicio] Ps. 1, 5 498 qui – est] Ioh. 3, 18
 499 qui – peribunt] Rom. 2, 12 505/506 esuriui – manducare] Matth.
 25, 35 509/510 uos – sedes] Matth. 19, 28 519 qui – amen] Rom. 9, 5
 520 constitui – pharaoni] Ex. 7, 1 521 ego – estis] Ioh. 10, 34 522
 et – alienus] Deut. 32, 12

512/516 quot – est] GREG. M., *Moral.* 23, 21, 41 517/522 quot –
 pharaoni ... falso – terram] Ps. ISID., *Num.* 20

501 iudicabuntur] iudicantur *fons* regnant] regnabunt *Q*² 514 post
 metuens *add.* aut *Q*² 515 erit : erit aut cum mala uitae praesentis sollerter
 attendens maerens considerat ubi est *fons*

52. INT. *Spiritus ubi uult spirat et uocem eius audis et non scis unde ueniat et quo uadat.*

525 RP. Vocem spiritus audire est ui compunctionis intimae in amorem inuisibilis conditoris assurgere. Sed nemo scit unde ueniat, quia ignoratur per ora predicantium quibus se occasionibus ad nos fundat. Et nescit quo uadat, quia, cum unam praedicationem multi audiunt, intellegi proculdubio non potest quem deserens abiciat et
530 cuius ingrediens in corde requiescat.

53. INT. Quot sunt genera persecutorum?

RP. Duo: uituperantium et laudantium. Plus persequitur lingua adulatoris quam manus persecutoris.

54. INT. Quibus modis uirtus patientiae exerceri solet?

535 RPO. Tribus: alia namque sunt quae a deo, alia quae ab antiquo aduersario, alia quae a proximo sustinemus. A proximo namque persecutiones, damna et contumelias, ab antiquo aduersario temptamenta, a deo autem flagella toleramus. Sed in omnibus tribus his modis uigilanti oculo semetipsam debet mens circumspicere,
540 ne contra mala proximi pertrahatur ad retributionem mali, ne contra temptamenta aduersarii seducatur ad delectationem uel consensum delicti, ne contra flagella opificis ad excessum proruat murmurationis. |

64b

55. INT. Quibus modis corripimur a domino?

545 RP. Praedicatione, flagello, miraculo.

56. INT. Quibus modis interrogantur mortales?

RPO. Tribus: per exilium et peregrinationem, ut Abraham, per dolorem ac sobolis mortem, ut Iob, per secreta tertii caeli, ut Paulus.

550 **57.** INT. Quibus modis maledictum memorat sacra scriptura?

RPO. Duobus: aliud uidelicet quod approbat, aliud quod damnat. Aliter enim maledictum profertur iudicio iustitiae, aliter liuore

523/524 spiritus – uadat] Ioh. 3, 8

547/548 per² – Iob] cfr Iob 1, 19

547 per¹ – Abraham] cfr Gen. 12, 1-5

548/549 per – Paulus] cfr II Cor. 12, 2

523/530 spiritus – requiescat] GREG. M., *Moral.* 27, 21, 41

persecutoris] AVG., *In psalm.* 69, 5

GREG. M., *In euang.* 2, 35, 9

In euang. 2, 39, 5

531/533 quot –

534/543 quibus – murmurationis]

544/545 quibus – miraculo] GREG. M.,

550/560 quibus – iustitiae] GREG. M., *Moral.* 4, 1, 2

uindictae. Maledictum iudicio iustitiae ipsi primo homini peccanti
 prolatum est, cum audiuit: *Maledicta terra in operibus tuis*, et cum ad
 555 Abraham dicitur: *Maledicam maledicentibus tibi*. Maledictum liuoris
 uindicta profertur. De quo uoce Pauli ammonemur: *Benedicite et*
nolite maledicere, et rursum: *Neque maledici regnum dei possidebunt*.
 Deus ergo maledicit uel maledicere dicitur et maledicere homo
 prohibetur, quia, quod homo agit malitia uindictae, deus non facit
 560 nisi ex animo et uirtute iustitiae.

58. INT. Quibus modis peccatum committitur?

Rp. Tribus: aut ignorantia aut infirmitate aut studio. Grauius
 quidem infirmitate quam ignorantia, sed multo grauius studio quam
 infirmitate peccatur. Ignorantia Paulus peccauerat, qui dicebat: *Qui*
 565 *prius fui blasphemus et persecutor et contumeliosus, sed misericordiam*
consecutus sum, quia ignorans feci. Petrus uero infirmitate peccauit,
 sed uel infirmitatis culpa uel ignorantiae facilius tergitur quam si
 studio perpetratur. Studio uero peccare est bonum nec | facere nec 65a
 amare. Sicut enim nonnumquam grauius est peccatum diligere quam
 570 perpetrare, ita nequius est odisse iustitiam quam non fecisse.

59. INT. Quot sunt species arrogantium?

Rp. Quattuor: aut cum bonum a semetipsis habere aestimant,
 aut sibi desuper pro suis meritis datum putant, aut certe iactant se
 habere quod non habent, aut, despectis ceteris, singulariter uideri
 575 habere appetunt quod habent.

60. INT. Qui sunt patres qui habuerunt gratiam septiformis
 spiritus sancti, quas propheta Esaias enumerat?

554 maledicta – tuis] Gen. 3, 17 555 maledicam – tibi] Gen. 12, 3
 556/557 benedicite – maledicere] Rom. 12, 14 557 neque – possidebunt]
 I Cor. 6, 10 564/566 qui² – feci] I Tim. 1, 13 566 Petrus – peccauit]
 cfr Matth. 26, 69-75; Marc. 14, 66-72; Luc. 22, 56-62; Ioh. 18, 25-27
 576/577 gratiam – enumerat] cfr Is. 11, 2-3

561/570 tribus – fecisse] GREG. M., *Moral.* 25, 11, 28 571/575 quot –
 habent] GREG. M., *Moral.* 23, 6, 13

567 uel] *dubia lectio* 567/568 facilius ... quam si ... perpetratur] eo
 facilius ... quo non ... perpetratur paulus quae ignorauit sciendo correxit et
 petrus motam et quasi arescentem iam radicem fidei lacrimis rigando solidauit
fons

RPO. Adam, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, Moyses, Daud. Spiritus sapientiae in Adam fuit, quando dixit uxori suae: *Ecce nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro de carne mea*. Spiritus intellectus in Noe fuit, quando fecit arcam typo ecclesiae. Spiritus consilii in Abraham fuit, quando dixit uxori suae in Aegypto: *Dic te esse sororem meam, ne interficiar ob causam tui*. Spiritus uirtutis in Isaac fuit, quando dixit Esau, filio suo: *In gladio uiues*. Spiritus scientiae fuit in Iacob, quando uidit scalam dei in Bethel et ex praescientia ait: *Hic erit domus dei*. Spiritus pietatis fuit in Moyse, cum dicebat: *Obsecro te, domine, ut dimittas hoc delictum populo tuo, sin autem, dele me de libro tuo*. Spiritus timoris fuit in Daud, quando dicebat: *Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me*. Non quo diuersi sunt spiritus, sed septem dona ex uno spiritu procedunt. Quae septem patribus suprascriptis distribuit deus.

61. INT. Quod nomen habuit de quo dominus dicit in euangelio: *Ite ad quendam?*

Rp. Aminadab.

62. INT. Quae nomina habuerunt magi qui mune|ra domino detulerunt? 65b

⟨Rp.⟩ Leua, Aspa, Iurga.

63. INT. Quae nomina habuerunt latrones qui crucifixi sunt cum domino?

600 RPO. A dextris, Dismas, cui aliud nomen Chacham. A sinistris, Gestas et aliter Chama.

64. INT. Helemosyna quod nomen est?

Rp. Helemosyna Grece dei mei memoratio, Latine misericordia.

579/580 ecce – mea] Gen. 2, 23 **581** quando – ecclesiae] cfr Gen. 6, 14-16 **582/583** dic – tui] Gen. 12, 13 **584** in¹ – uiues] Gen. 27, 40
585 quando – Bethel] cfr Gen. 28, 12-19 **585/586** hic – dei] Gen. 28, 17 **586/588** obsecro – tuo] Ex. 32, 31-32 **588/589** domine – me] Ps. 6, 2 **593** ite – quendam] Matth. 26, 18 **595/596** magi – detulerunt] cfr Matth. 2, 11 **598/599** latrones – domino] cfr Matth. 27, 38; Marc. 15, 27; Luc. 23, 33

598/601 quae – Chama] Ps. ISID., *Num.* 17 **602/603** helemosyna – misericordia] Ps. ISID., *Quaest.* 35 (lin. 116-118)

581 post arcam *add.* in *Q*² **597** rp. *addidi* **603** memoratio] muneratio
fons

605 **65. INT.** Cum Genesis sexto die hominem creatum narret,
quomodo post ipsam creationem hominis uel euolutionem septem
dierum ibi scribitur: *Non enim pluerat dominus super terram et homo*
non erat qui operaretur terram? Cur non erat homo, qui iam in sexto
die factus fuerat?

Rp. Hoc recapitulando commemorat, quia, quando fecit deus
610 uiridia agri, nondum pluerat nondumque homo factus fuerat.

66. INT. Cum in Genesi non inueniatur scriptum quod deus in
sexto die fundauerat terram, sed tantum animalia et hominem,
quomodo psalmista in titulo psalmi nonagesimi secundi quasi
econtrario uidetur dicere: *Laus cantici ipsius Dauid in diem ante*
615 *sabbatum, quando fundata est terra?*

RpO. Sexto die deus fecit hominem ad imaginem suam et sexto
saeculo uenit dominus Ihesus Christus ut reformaretur homo
ad imaginem dei. Primum enim tempus, tanquam primus dies,
ab Adam usque ad Noe et secundum a Noe usque ad Abraham,
620 tertium usque ad Dauid, quartum usque ad transmigrationem
Babylonis, quintum usque ad predicationem Iohannis, sextum,
tanquam sextus dies, a Iohanne usque in finem. In hoc sexto die
Christus de uirgine natus est, hoc die spiritalis terra fundata est, id
est ecclesiae fundamentum, quod est Christus. |

66a

625 **67. INT.** Cum dominus ad Noe dixerit: *Erunt dies hominis centum*
uiginti annis, quomodo contra hoc decretum multo plures annos
postea homines uixisse reperiuntur?

Rp. Non sic praenuntiatum est quasi post haec homines centum
uiginti annos non essent uiuendo transgressuri. Sed intellegendum
630 est hoc deum dixisse, cum circa finem mundi quingentorum esset
annorum Noe, id est, quadringentos octoginta annos uitae ageret,
quos more suo quingentos scriptura uocat, nomine totius summae

604 cum – narret] cfr Gen. 1, 27 **606/607** non – terram] Gen. 2, 5
611/612 cum – hominem] cfr Gen. 1, 24-27 **614/615** laus – terra] Ps.
92, 1 **624** ecclesiae – Christus] cfr I Cor. 3, 11 **625/626** erunt – annis]
Gen. 6, 3

604/610 cum – fuerat] IVLIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 2 (= I, 10) **611/624** cum –
Christus] IVLIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 4 (= I, 2) **625/636** cum – delerentur] IVLIAN.
TOL., *Antik.* 8 (= I, 14)

623 spiritalis] spiritualis *Q*² **626** annis] anni *fons* **630** esset] esse *Q*¹

partem plerumque significans. Sexcentesimo quippe anno uitae
 635 Noe, secundo mense, factum est diluuium. Ac sic centum uiginti
 anni predicati sunt futuri hominum uitae periturorum, quibus
 transactis diluuiio delerentur.

68. INT. Cum in Genesi deus Abraham dicat: *Sciendo scies*
quia peregrinum erit semen tuum in terra non sua, et in seruitutem
redigent eos et affligentur quadringentis annis, quomodo econtra
 640 scribitur: *Habitatio filiorum Israel, qua manserunt in Aegypto, fuit*
quadringentorum xxx annorum?

RPO. Haec duo, si liquidius computentur, nec quadringentis
 xxx annis nec solum quadringentis annis filii Israel in Aegypto sub
 seruitute manserunt, si tamen a die ipso, quo Iacob uel filii sui
 645 in Aegyptum ingressi sunt, usque ipsum ad ultimum diem, quo
 inde Moyse duce regressi sunt, supputentur. Nam manifestum
 est omne tempus, quo Hebraei in Aegypto manserunt, secundum
 supputationem Eusebii CXV esse annos. A prima tamen promissione
 Abrahae, id est ab anno septuagesimo quinto uitae suae, usque ad 66b
 650 tempus illud, quando Iacob cum filiis suis Aegyptum ingressus est,
 fuerunt anni ducenti quindecim. Post ingressionem autem Iacob in
 Aegyptum usque ad tempus illud, quo omnes filii Israel in signis et
 prodigiis de Aegypto egressi sunt, computantur fuisse anni ducenti
 quindecim qui, in summa redacti, fiunt quadringenti triginta. Vt
 655 ergo utraque a se non discrepent, supputes a septuagesimo quinto
 anno aetatis Abrahae, quo ad eum prima die promissio facta est;
 usque ad exitum filiorum Israel de Aegypto annorum summam
 collegeris, ex quo ipse Isaac, semen utique Abrahae, ab Hismahel
 coepit affligi, quadringentos annos secundum quod dominus
 660 dixit inuenies. Quod dictum est ad Abraham: *Sciendo scies quia*
peregrinum erit semen tuum et reliqua, de populo Israel, qui erat
 in Aegypto seruiturus, apertissime prophetatum est. Non quod in
 eadem seruitute sub Aegyptiis affligentibus quadringentos annos
 ille populus fuerat peracturus, sed in ipsis quadringentos annos est
 665 praenuntiatum hoc futurum. Quemammodum enim scriptum est

637/639 sciendo – annis] Gen. 15, 13 **640/641** habitatio – annorum] Ex.
 12, 40 **660/661** sciendo – tuum] Gen. 15, 13

637/681 cum – Abrahae] IULIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 9 (= I, 17)

655 ante supputes si fons

de Thara, patre Abrahæ: *Et fuerunt dies Saræ in Charran quinque et ducenti anni*, non quia omnes ibi acti sunt, sed quia ibi completi sunt, ita et hic propterea interpositum est: *Et in seruitutem redigent eos et affligent eos quadringentis annis*, quoniam iste numerus in eadem
 670 afflictione completus est, non quia ibi uniuersus peractus est. Sane dicuntur anni propter numeri plenitudinem quadringenti, quamuis aliquantum amplius sint, siue ex hoc tempore computentur, quo ista promittebantur | Abrahæ, siue ex quo natus est Isaac propter
 675 supra diximus, a promissione Abrahæ usque ad exitum filiorum Israel anni .cccc.xxx. Quorum apostolus ita meminit: *Hoc autem dico: Testamentum confirmatum a deo post cccc xxx annos facta lex non infirmata ad euacuandam promissionem*. Iam ergo isti cccc xxx anni poterant nuncupari, quia non sunt multi amplius. Quanto
 680 magis cum aliquot iam ex isto numero præterissent, quando illa in uisu demonstrantur et dicta sunt Abrahæ?

67a

69. INT. Cum ante natiuitatem duorum fratrum Esau et Iacob in Genesi spiritus dei pro ipsis dicat: *Maioreseruiet minori*, quomodo iuxta ipsius libri historiam minor maiorem adorauit, id est quando
 685 Iacob de Mesopotamia rediit et Esau fratrem suum obuium habuit?

RPO. Hoc quod dictum est: *Maioreseruiet minori*, historiae ueritatem non impedit, sed figuraliter illud spiritus dei prædixit, iuxta quod populus Iudæorum maior populo christiano deseruit.
 690 Per Esau enim populus Iudæorum, Iacob populus christianus signatur. Et ideo contraria sibi non sunt, cum iuxta historiam minor maiorem adorauerit et iuxta allegoriam maior minori deseruit.

70. INT. Cum scriptum sit: *Erant omnia ualde bona*, quomodo in lege quaedam animalia uocantur immunda?

666/667 et¹ – anni] Gen. 11, 32 668/669 et² – annis] Gen. 15, 13
 676/678 hoc – promissionem] Gal. 3, 17 683 maior – minori] Gen. 25, 23
 684/686 quando – habuit] cfr Gen. 33, 3 687 maior – minori] Gen. 25, 23
 693 erant – bona] Gen. 1, 31 694 in lege – immunda] cfr Leu. 11, 1-46

682/692 cum – deseruit] IULIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 11 (= I, 19) 693/697 cum – cognoscitur] IULIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 12 (= I, 5)

666 saræ] tharæ fons 677 post cccc habet et Q² post facta add. est Q²

695 RP. Immunda appellata sunt usui, non creationi. Horum in cibum usus esse pro quibusdam figuris diuina interdictus lege cognoscitur.

71. INT. Cum deus auctor mali uel creator non sit, dicente Scriptura quod creauerit omnia bona ualde, quomo|do ipse 67b
700 dominus loquitur per Esaiam quasi econtrario dicens: *Ego dominus et non est alter, formans lucem et creans tenebras, faciens pacem et creans mala?*

RPO. Bonus deus, secundum quod in Genesi legitur, bona creauit cuncta. Mala autem, quae se creare dixit, non similiter per naturam
705 procreare perhibuit. Neque enim mala, quae nulla sui natura subsistunt, a deo creantur. Sed creare se mala dominus indicat, cum res bene conditas, nobis male agentibus, in flagellum format ut ipsa et per dolorem, quo feriunt, delinquentes male sint et per naturam, qua existunt, bona. Vnde et uenenum mors quidem est homini, sed
710 uita serpenti. Bene itaque dicitur: *Formans lucem et creans tenebras*, quia cum per flagella exterius doloris tenebrae creantur, intus per eruditionem lux mentis accenditur; *faciens pacem et creans mala*, quia tunc nobis pax cum deo redditur, cum haec, quae bene sunt condita, sed non bene concupita, in ea, quae nobis mala sunt,
715 flagella uertuntur. Per culpam quippe deo discordes existimus. Dignum ergo est ut ad pacem illius per flagella redeamus, ut, cum unaqueque res bene condita nobis in dolorem uertitur, correcta mens ad auctorem pacis humiliter reformetur.

72. INT. Quomodo repromissum est Abrahae quarta generatione
720 exire filios Israel de terra Aegypti, cum Moyses dicat: *Quinta generatione exierunt filii Israel ex | Aegypto?* 68a

RP. Si quartam generationem computes, de Leui eam tribu numerare incipies, quintam, de Iuda. Replica ergo genealogiam Leui. Leui genuit Caath, Caath genuit Amram, Amram genuit

698/699 dicente – ualde] cfr Gen. 1, 31 700/702 ego – mala] Is. 45, 6-7 710 formans – tenebras] Is. 45, 7 712 faciens – mala] Is. 45, 7
719/720 quomodo – Aegypti] cfr Gen. 15, 16 720/721 quinta – Aegypto] Ex. 13, 18

698/718 cum – reformetur] IULIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 16 (= I, 7) 719/737 quomodo – Phinees] IULIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 17 (= I, 18)

708 delinquentes male] delinquentibus mala *fons*

725 Aaron, Aaron genuit Eleazar, Eleazar genuit Finees. Caath cum
patre suo Leui ingressus est Aegyptum, rursus Eleazar cum patre
suo Aaron egressus est Aegyptio. A Caath usque Eleazar generatio
est quarta. Si ergo uis ostendere quomodo secundum Exodum
730 quinta generatione filii Israel egressi sunt de Aegyptio, tribus
tibi Iudae ordo numeretur. Iudas enim genuit Phares, Phares
genuit Esrom, Esrom genuit Aran, Aran Aminadab, Aminadab
Naasson, Naasson Salmon. Phares cum patre suo Iuda ingressus est
Aegyptum. Naasson princeps tribus Iuda in deserto scribitur, cuius
735 filius Salmon terram repromissionis intrauit. A Phares ergo usque
ad Naasson generationes quinque, quamuis nonnulli in Esrom
initium faciant et ad Salmon perueniant. Similiter et ab Amram
usque ad Finees.

73. INT. Cum in Genesi Iacob se deum uidisse testetur, quomodo
Iohannes euangelista dicit: *Deum nemo uidit umquam*, Iob etiam
740 sibi concordante, qui ait de sapientia: *Abscondita est haec ab oculis
omnium uiuentium*.

Rp. Vidit quippe Iacob deum, qui ait: *Vidi dominum facie ad faciem*.
Vidit Moyses deum, de quo scriptum est: *Loquebatur dominus ad
Moysen facie ad faciem* et cetera. Vidit et Iob deum, qui dixit: *Nunc*
745 *autem oculus meus uidet te*. Vidit Esaias, qui ait: *Vidi deum seden|tem* 68b
super solium excelsum et eleuatum. Sed patenter datur intellegi quia,
quamdiu hic mortaliter uiuitur, uideri per quasdam imagines deus
potest, sed per ipsam naturae suae essentiam uideri non potest; ut
anima gratiae spiritus afflata per figuras quasdam deum uideat, sed
750 ad ipsam essentiam non pertingat. Hoc est enim quod Iacob, qui
se deum uidisse testatur, hunc non nisi in angelum uidit. Hinc est
quod Moyses cum deo facie ad faciem loquitur dicens: *Si inueni
gratiam in conspectu tuo, ostende mihi te ipsum*. Certe enim si deum
non uideret, cum quo loquebatur, *Ostende mihi deum* diceret, non:
755 *Ostende temetipsum*. Si autem deus erat cum quo loquebatur, cur se

738 cum – testetur] cfr Gen. 32, 30 739 deum – umquam] Ioh. 1, 18; I Ioh.
4, 12 740/741 abscondita – uiuentium] Iob 28, 21 742 uidi – faciem]
Gen. 32, 30 743/744 loquebatur – faciem] Ex. 33, 11 744/745
nunc – te] Iob 42, 5 745/746 uidi – eleuatum] Is. 6, 1 752/753 si –
ipsum] Ex. 33, 13 755 ostende temetipsum] Ex. 33, 13

738/767 cum – separatur] IULIAN. TOL., *Antik*. 18 (= I, 20)

749 gratiae] gratia *fons*

petebat uidere quem uidebat? Sed ex hac eius petitione colligitur quia eum sitiebat per incircumscriptam naturam cernere, quem iam coeperat per quasdam imagines uidere. Si uero a quibusdam potest adhuc in hac corruptibili carne uiuentibus sanctis quodam
 760 contemplationis acumine uideri, ex hoc quoque beati Iob sententia, quam pretulimus, non abhorret nec illud euangelistae Iohannis: *Deum nemo uidit umquam*, quoniam quisquis sapientiam, quae deus est, uidet, huic uitae funditus moritur, ne iam eius amore teneatur. Nullus quippe eam uidet qui adhuc carnaliter uiuit, quia
 765 nemo potest amplecti deum simul et saeculum. Qui enim deum uidet, eo ipso moritur quo uel intentione cordis uel effectum operis ab huius uitae delectationibus tota mente separatur.

74. INT. Cum in ceteros patriarchas et prophetas Christi pollicentes aduentum Iacob specialiter de Christi incarnatione et
 770 gentium uocatione praedicit, dicens: | *Non deficiet princeps ex Iuda, nec dux de foemore eius, donec ueniat qui mittendus est, et ipse erit expectatio gentium*, quomodo Paulus in epistola ad Ephesios pro eodem sacramento incarnationis Christi dicit: *Aliis generationibus non fuit notum filiis hominum, sicut nunc reuelatum est sanctis eius*
 775 *apostolis et prophetis in spiritu esse gentes coheredes et concorporales et participes promissionis in Christo per euangelium?* 69a

Rp. Ad hoc respondendum quod caute Paulus signanterque testatus sit filiis hominum ignotum fuisse mysterium, non filiis dei, ad quos dicitur: *Ego dixi: Di estis et filii excelsi omnes*, quod
 780 scilicet hi qui spiritum adoptionis acceperint, de quibus patriarchae et prophetae fuerunt, dei scierunt sacramenta. Aut notandum non definite et generaliter dixisse Paulum aliis generationibus ignotum fuisse omnino sacramentum, sed sic quomodo nunc reuelatum est sanctis eius et apostolis, nescisse patriarchas ueteres et prophetas.
 785 Aliud est enim in spiritu uentura cognoscere, aliud ea cernere opere completa. Vnde et Iohannes propterea maior prophetis omnibus dicitur, quia quem ceteri prophetauerunt, ipse conspexerit et

762 deum – umquam] Ioh. 1, 18; I Ioh. 4, 12 770/772 non – gentium] Gen. 49, 10 773/776 aliis – euangelium] Eph. 3, 5-6 779 ego – omnes] Ps. 81, 6 780 qui – acceperint] cfr Rom. 8, 15 786/787 Iohannes – dicitur] cfr Matth. 11, 9-11; Luc. 7, 26-28

768/800 cum – nesciebant] IULIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 19 (= I, 22)

771 foemore] femore Q²

digito demonstrauerit. Hoc etiam sentiendum in eo, quod idem apostolus in eadem epistola hoc mysterium non solum gentibus, 790 sed et principatibus et potestatibus per ecclesiam manifestatum docet. Propter quod idem doctor exprimit: Si principatibus et potestatibus in celis ignorata fuit multiplex sapientia dei, quae nunc eis per ecclesiam reuelata est, quanto magis patriarchis et prophetis ignota fuit, quos supra non ignorasse mysterium Christi, sed ita 795 ut apostolos nescisse monstrauius? | Multiplex quippe sapientia dei per ecclesiam dei nunc et principatibus et potestatibus reuelata est. Quam diu deus futuram in sua mente decreuerat et nunc esse perfectam ex eo, quod uidemus, agnoscimus. Crux itaque Christi non solum nobis, sed et angelis cunctisque in caelo uirtutibus 800 profuit et aperuit sacramentum, quod antea nesciebant.

75. INT. Cum in Leuitico uel in aliis locis scripturarum Israhelitico populo prohibitum sit a deo ne sanguinem comederent, specialiter tamen in libro Leuitico, ubi dominus dicit filiis Israel: *Sanguinem uniuersae carnis non comedatis*, quomodo in libro Numeri de ipso 805 eodemque populo scribitur: *Non dormiet, donec comedat predam et sanguinem uulneratorum bibat?*

RPO. Dicant nunc Iudei quis est iste populus qui in usum habet sanguinem bibere? Hec quippe erant que in euangelio audientes scandalizati sunt et dixerunt: *Quis potest manducare carnem et 810 sanguinem bibere?* Sed populus christianus audit hec et amplectitur et sequitur eum qui dicit: *Nisi manducaueritis carnem meam et biberitis sanguinem meum, non habebitis uitam in uobis*. Bibere autem dicimus sanguinem Christi non solum cum sacramenta sumimus, sed et cum sermones eius recipimus, in quibus uita consistit, sicut 815 ipse dicit: *Verba quae locutus sum uobis spiritus et uita est*. Ergo ipse est uulneratus, cuius nos sanguinem bibimus, id est doctrine eius uerba suscepimus. Sed et illi nichilominus uulnerati sunt qui nobis uerbum eius praedicauerunt. Et ipsorum enim, | id est apostolorum 70a

787/788 quem – demonstrauerit] cfr Ioh. 1, 29 803/804 sanguinem – comedatis] Leu. 17, 14 805/806 non – bibat] Num. 23, 24 809/810 quis – bibere] Ioh. 6, 53 811/812 nisi – uobis] Ioh. 6, 54 815 uerba – est] Ioh. 6, 64

801/820 cum – bibimus] IULIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 20 (= I, 16)

818/819 id – uerba iter. Q

eius, uerba cum legimus et uitam ex eis consequimur, uulneratorum
820 sanguinem bibimus.

76. INT. Cum munda animalia diuina per Moysen lege decreta
sint, quomodo etiam ante diluuium de his, quae in arca recipienda
erant, immunda appellantur animalia?

Rp. Moyses, inspirante sancto spiritu, Pentateuchi scriptor et
825 conditor est. Et quia in Leuitico de mundis et immundis animalibus
erat proferenda discretio, etiam in Genesi, quia utriusque libri idem
auctor est, eadem animalia appellauit immunda.

77. INT. Cum in Exodo dominus nomen suum Moysi indicasset
dicens: *Haec dices filiis Israel: Qui est, misit me ad uos*, quomodo
830 in subsequentibus aliud sibi nomen esse quasi econtrario indicat
dicens: *Vade, dic filiis Israel: deus Abraham et deus Isaac et deus
Iacob?*

Rp. Mysterium susceptae incarnationis insinuat, quod de illis
secundum carnem generatus agnoscitur, quorum nomina sub
835 sacramento hic posuisse cognoscitur.

78. INT. Cum in Exodo inter decem praecepta quae data sunt,
quartum praeceptum reperitur esse: *Honora patrem tuum et
matrem tuam*, quomodo est mandatum primum?

Rp. Duae tabulae fuerunt in quibus Moyses decem praecepta
840 accepit. De ipsis quoque decem praeceptis tria, quae in capite
ponuntur, pertinent ad dilectionem dei, septem uero reliqua ad
dilectionem pertinent proximi. Tria ergo illa ad dilectionem dei
pertinentia, id est: *Dominus deus tuus deus unus est*, et: *Ne assumas
nomen domini dei tui in uanum*, et: *Vt dies sabbati sanctificetur*, | 70b
845 haec tria in una tabula fuerunt scripta. In secunda uero tabula,

821/822 cum – sint] cfr Leu. 11, 1-46 **822/823** quomodo – animalia] cfr
Gen. 7, 8-9 **829** haec – uos] Ex. 3, 14 **831/832** uade – Iacob] Ex.
3, 15 **837/838** honora – tuam] Ex. 20, 12 **838** est – lege] cfr Eph.
6, 2 **843** dominus – est²] Ex. 20, 2-3 (uide etiam Deut. 6, 4; Marc. 12, 29)
843/844 ne – uanum] Ex. 20, 7 **844** ut – sanctificetur] Ex. 20, 8

821/827 cum – immunda] IULIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 22 (= I, 15) **828/835** cum –
cognoscitur] IULIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 23 (= I, 24) **836/854** cum – mandatum]
IULIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 24 (= I, 26)

835 hic] hinc *Q'*

septem reliqua praecepta scripta sunt. Et ideo *Honora patrem tuum et matrem* inter septem praecepta primum mandatum scriptum est. Si autem tota decem praecepta in unum computes, quartum hoc praeceptum inter decem inuenies. A parentibus enim suis homo
 850 aperit oculos et haec uita ad dilectionem eorum sumit exordium, inde hoc mandatum primum est inter septem. Sed quomodo primum, quia quartum, nisi quia, ut dictum est, primum est in altera tabula? Vel quia decem praecepta, quae primitus data sunt, potest unumquodque ex illis appellari primum mandatum.

855 **79. INT.** Quomodo in Exodo scribitur: *Qui reddis peccata patrum in filiis*, cum econtra in Ezechiello dicatur: *Quid est quod inter uos parabolam uertitis in prouerbium istud in terra Israel dicentes: Patres comederunt uuam aceruam et dentes filiorum obstipuerunt? Viuo ego, dicit dominus deus, si erit ultra uobis parabola hec in prouerbium in*
 860 *Israel! Ecce omnes animae meae sunt: ut anima patris, ita et anima filii mea est. Anima quae peccauerit, ipsa morietur?*

Rp. Parentum quoque peccatis paruulos obligari, non solum primorum hominum, sed eciam suorum, de quibus ipsi nati sunt, non improbabiliter dicitur. Illa quippe diuina substantia:
 865 *Reddam peccata patrum in filios*, tenet eos utique antequam per regenerationem ad testamentum nouum incipiant pertinere. Quod testamentum prophetabatur, cum diceretur per Ezechiel non accepturos filios peccata patrum suorum nec ulterius futuram in | Israel parabolam illam: *Patres manducauerunt uuam aceruam* 71a
 870 *et dentes filiorum obstipuerunt*. In illo autem uno peccato, quod in omnes homines transiit, tam magnum est ut eo mutaretur et conuerteretur in necessitatem mortis humana natura. Reperiuntur et alia plura peccata parentum quae non ita possunt mutari in naturae reatum, tamen obligant filios, nisi gratuita gratia et misericordia
 875 diuina subueniat. Sed de peccatis aliorum parentum, quibus ab

846/847 honora – matrem] Ex. 20, 12
 856/861 quid – morietur] Ez. 18, 2-4
 18, 2

855/856 qui – filiis] Ex. 34, 7
 869/870 patres – obstipuerunt] Ez.

855/861 quomodo – morietur] IULIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 25 (= I, 28) 862/889
 parentum – audeo] AVG., *Enchir.* 13, 46-47

849 a parentibus scripsi, apparentibus Q 853 quae] hoc uerbum non habet
 fons 854 ille scripsi cum fonte, illis Q 871 post transiit habet et fons
 874 mutari in naturae reatum] mutare naturam reatu fons

ipso Adam usque ad patrem suum progeneratoribus suis quisque succedit, non inmerito disceptari potest utrum omnium malis actibus et multiplicatis delictis originalibus qui nascitur implicetur ut tanto peius, quanto posterius quisque nascatur, an propterea deus
 880 in tertiam et quartam generationem de peccatis parentum eorum posteris comminatur, quia iram suam quantum ad progeneratorum culpas non extendit ulterius, moderationem misericordiae suae insinuat, ne illi, quibus regenerationis gratiam non confertur, nimia sarcina ipsa sua aeterna sua damnatione premerentur, si cogerentur
 885 ab ipso initio generis humani omnium praecedentium parentum suorum originaliter peccata contrahere et poenas pro eis debitas pendere. An aliquid aliud de re tanta, scripturis sanctis diligentius perscrutatis atque tractatis, ualeat uel non ualeat inueniri, temere affirmare non audeo.

890 **80.** INT. Cum in Exodo dominus Moysi praecipiat dicens: *Solue calciamentum | de pedibus tuis. Locus enim, in quo stas, terra sancta* 71b
est, quomodo in eodem libro uescentibus pascha praecipitur: Manducabitis illud lumbis uestris accincti et calciamenta uestra in pedibus uestris, necnon et Paulus ad Ephesios calciatos pedes esse
 895 praecepiat in preparatione euangelii pacis?

Rp. Si et perfectis calciamenta non necessaria esse accipiamus, non erit forte contrarium quod pro diuersitate meritorum est institutum. Perfectiones etenim sunt qui sicut Moyses et Israel deum iam uidere merentur quam hi qui ad ipsam uisionem tendunt et,
 900 adhuc in uia positi, agnum in pascha calciatis pedibus manducare iubentur. His ergo adhuc forsitan calciamenta sunt necessaria, quibus in uia domini currentibus utilitas esse iudicantur bonorum patrum exempla. Qui sunt enim pedes nostri nisi opera? Quae uero calciamenta nisi pelles mortuorum animalium? Calciamenta
 905 autem pedes muniunt. Quae uero sunt mortua animalia, quorum pellibus nostri muniuntur pedes, nisi antiqui patres? Qui ergo ambulat adhuc, calciatur. Qui uero iam, Iordane transmisso, terram repromissionis intrauit, nudet pedes. Quod si etiam calciamenta

890/892 solue – est] Ex. 3, 5 **893/894** manducabitis – uestris] Ex. 12, 11
894/895 Paulus – pacis] cfr Eph. 6, 15

890/910 cum – deposuerit] IULIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 26 (= I, 23)

882/883 moderationem ... insinuat] moderatione *fon*s

propter uitia accipiantur, non hoc erit contrarium, cum nullus
910 deum uidere possit, nisi qui terrena et mortalia uitia deposuerit.

81. INT. Cum in Leuitico dominus fermentum penitus | abiecerit 72a
de sacrificiis dicens: *Omnis oblatio, quae offertur domino, absque
fermento sit nec quicquam fermenti ac mellis adolebitur in sacrificio
domini*, quomodo in subsequentibus super panes fermentatos
915 sacrificium iubet imponi?

Rp. Diligentius intuere quia non ad sacrificium, sed ad ministerium
sacrificii fermentatus panis assumitur. Quid ergo hoc sit, uideamus.
Dominus in euangelis humanam <doctrinam> pharisaeorum, qui
tradebant traditiones praecepta hominum, fermentum appellat,
920 cum dicit discipulis: *Observate a fermento phariseorum*. Similiter
ergo humana doctrina est, uerbi causa, grammatica ars uel rethorica
uel etiam dialectica, ex qua doctrina ad sacrificium quidem hec est:
in his que de eo sentienda sunt, nihil suscipiendum est. Sermo
uero lucidus et eloquentiae splendor ac disputationis ratio ad
925 ministerium uerbi dei decenter iubentur amitti.

82. INT. Quomodo legi praecipienti: *Diliges proximum tuum et
odio habebis inimicum tuum*, non est contrarium quod Christus
dicit: *Diligite inimicos uestros*?

Rp. Vnusquisque homo in quantum inimicus est, odio habendus
930 est, in quantum homo est, diligendus est. Haec, inquam, regula est
qua et oderimus inimicum propter id, quod in eo malum est, † et
socialem † rationalemque creaturam.

83. INT. Cum in libro Numeri scriptum sit: *Non est deus quasi
homo, ut mentiatur, nec ut filius hominis, ut mutetur*, | necnon et 72b

912/914 omnis – domini] Leu. 2, 11 **914/915** super – imponi] cfr Leu.
7, 13 **920** obseruate – phariseorum] Matth. 16, 6; Marc. 8, 15; Luc. 12, 1
926/927 diliges – tuum] Leu. 19, 18 **928** diligite – uestros] Matth. 5, 44;
Luc. 6, 27; ibid. 6, 35 **933/934** non – mutetur] Num. 23, 19

911/925 cum – amitti] IVLIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 31 (= I, 30) **926/932**
quomodo – creaturam] IVLIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 32 (= I, 33) **933/1012** cum –
sunt] IVLIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 34 (= I, 34)

918 doctrinam *addidi cum fonte, om. Q* **922** hec] hoc *fons* **923** eo]
deo *fons* **931** et²] et amemus propter Q², id est iniquitatem et diligamus
inimicum propter quod in eo bonum est id est *fons*

- 935 illud per Ezechielem: *Verbum, quod locutus fuero, implebitur, dicit dominus deus*, quomodo econtrario plerumque uidetur mutare sententiam, sicut in Niniuitis factum est, quando per Ionam dixit: *Adhuc quadraginta dies et Niniue subuertetur*, et statim sequitur: *Numquid et ego non parcam Niniuae ciuitati magnae?*, et de Dauid in
 940 regum, ubi tribus diebus promissa fuerat mors ut uastaret populum, et intra unum diem usque ad horam prandii cessauit?

Rp. Fortasse haec, quae per interrogationem dicuntur, non penitus pro definito accipienda sunt, sed talis figura uerbi sit, quae medium aliquid uideatur ostendere, non tamen definite et
 945 irreuocabili sententia declaret affectum quo temperantius aliquid dictum uideatur in eo quod scriptum est: *Ipse cum dixerit, non faciet?*, quia si scriptum esset: Ipse cum dixerit, omnimodis faciet. Sed recenseamus et ipsa Scripturae loca, quae uel in Iona uel in Regum libris posita sunt, ne forte et ibi, ut mos est Scripturae,
 950 diuini secreti aliquid habeat scriptum. Ergo in Iona: *Et factum est uerbum domini ad Ionam secundo dicens: Surge, uade in Niniuen ciuitatem magnam et predica in ea secundum praedicationem quam ego locutus sum ad te*. Et Ionas quidem praedicaui et dixit: *Adhuc tres dies*, uel sicut Hebraei scriptum habere se dicunt,
 955 *Adhuc quadraginta dies et Niniue subuertetur. Viri autem Niniuitae crediderunt deo et praedicauerunt ieiunium et induerunt se cilicio a minimo usque ad maiores ipsorum*. Et post pauca: *Et uidit, | inquit, 73a deus opera eorum, quia conuersi sunt a uiis suis malis, et poenituit super malitiam, quam locutus est facere eis, et non fecit*. Obserua
 960 igitur in his, quae assumpsimus de propheta, quod non inuenitur in sermonibus de quibus ad prophetam locutus est: *Adhuc tres dies et Niniue subuertetur*, ut sermo iste, qui dictus est et non est factus, ab Iona potius quam a deo prolatus esse uideatur. Sed et de secundo Regum libro proferamus quae scripta sunt, ubi cum Dauid

935/936 uerbum – deus] Ez. 12, 28 938 adhuc – subuertetur] Ion. 3, 4
 939 numquid – magnae] Ion. 4, 11 940 ubi – populum] II Reg. 24, 13
 941 intra – cessauit] II Reg. 24, 15 946/947 ipse – faciet¹] Num. 23, 19
 951/953 surge – te] Ion. 3, 1-2 954 adhuc – dies] Ion. 3, 4 955/957
 adhuc – ipsotum] Ion. 3, 4-5 957/959 et uidit ... deus – fecit] Ion. 3, 10
 961/962 adhuc – subuertetur] Ion. 3, 4 965/978 factum est ... uerbum –
 tuam] II Reg. 24, 11-16

945 irreuocabili sententia] irreuocabilis sententiae *fons* 947 quia] quam
fons

- 965 populum numerasset: *Factum est, inquit, uerbum domini ad Gad prophetam dicens: Vade et loquere ad Dauid: Tria ego leuabo super te, elige tibi unum ex his, quod faciam tibi. Et introiuit Gad ad Dauid et nuntiauit ei dicens: Aut ueniet tibi tribus annis fames super terram tuam, aut tribus mensibus ut fugias ante inimicos tuos, aut triduo*
- 970 *ut mors fiat in terra tua. Nunc ergo scito et uide quid respondeam ei qui misit me. Et dixit Dauid ad Gad: Angustiae mihi undique, sed incidam in manus domini magis, quia multae miserationes eius sunt, et in manus hominum non incidam. Et dedit dominus mortem Israel a mane usque ad horam prandii et mortui sunt ex populo a Dan usque*
- 975 *Versabee LXX^{ta} milia uirorum. Et extendit angelus domini manum suam in Hierusalem ut corrumperet eam. Et deprecatus est Dauid dominum super malitiam et ait dominus ad angelum qui exterminabat populum: Satis est, remitte manum tuam. Obserua ergo quomodo in his tribus comminationibus deus inuenitur dixisse de morte*
- 980 *trium dierum. In uerbis ergo Gad positum est, non in mandatis domini, et non* | *semper ea, quae prophetae dicunt, quasi a domino* 73b *dicta suscipiantur. Denique per Moysen multa quidem locutus est dominus, aliqua tamen Moyses ex propria auctoritate mandauit. Quod in euangelio dominus euidenti distinctione secernit, cum*
- 985 *dicit de repudio mulieris interrogatus quia: Ad duritiam cordis uestri scripsit uobis haec Moyses, ab initio non fuit sic. Vides ergo et hic deum quidem praecepisse nec fieri uoluisse diuortium, Moysen uero propter duritiam cordis eorum scripsisse dandum esse repudium. Ostendit haec et Paulus in litteris suis, cum dicit*
- 990 *de quibusdam: Dominus dicit et non ego, et de aliis: Haec autem ego dico, non dominus, et iterum in aliis: Praeceptum domini non habeo, consilium do, et iterum: Quae loquor, non loquor secundum deum. Vnde et similiter etiam in ceteris prophetis aliqua quidem dominus locutus est et non prophetae, alia uero prophetae et non dominus.*
- 995 *Et sic uidebitur obiectio intenta dissolui, cum non tamen sua quam prophetae uerba dominus reuocat ac mutat in melius. Sed magis arbitror absolutionem priorem totius scripturae sensibus conuenire, ex illis praecipue dictis, quibus patiens et multae misericordiae et*

986/987 ad – sic] Matth. 19, 8 990 dominus – ego] I Cor. 7, 10
 990/991 haec – dominus] I Cor. 7, 12 991/992 praeceptum – do] I Cor. 7, 25 992 quae – deum] I Cor. 11, 17 998
 patiens – misericordiae] Num. 14, 18; Ps. 85, 15; ibid. 144, 8; Ioel 2, 13

986 post initio add. autem Q² (cum fonte) 995 tamen] tam fons 998
 ex] et fons

1000 *poenitens super malitia* dicitur deus, uel his maxime quae generaliter
 ab Hieremia pronuntiantur, in quibus euidenter ostenditur pro
 multis miserationibus et incomprehensibili bonitate sua deus dicere
 et non facere, loqui et non permanere. Ait ergo per Hieremiam
 deus: *In finem loquar, hoc est, ex definito loquar, super gentem et*
 1005 *super regnum ut auferam et disperdam eos. Et si conuertatur gens illa a*
malitiis suis, poenitebit me de omnibus malis quae cogitau i fa|cere eis. 74a
Et in finem loquar super gentem et super regnum ut reaedificem eos et
plantem. Et si fecerint mala in conspectu meo, ut non audiant uocem
meam, poenitebit me de omnibus bonis quae locutus fueram facere
 1010 *eis.* Quomodo ergo possumus his, quae absolute per Hieremiam
 dicta sunt, preferre illa quae suspense per Balaam dicuntur, nisi
 quia negligentibus et contemptoribus illa confirmanda, haec uero
 perfectioribus secretius aduertenda sunt?

84. INT. Quomodo Esaias dicit pro Christo: *Qui peccatum non*
fecit nec inuentus est dolus in ore eius, cum Paulus econtra uideatur
 1015 *dixisse eum, qui non nouerat peccatum, pro nobis peccatum fecisse?*

Rp. Quod Esaias dicit: *Qui peccatum non fecit*, apertissime
 ostendit quia persona ipsius filii peccatis coinquinationis restitit.
 Ipse est enim agnus sine macula, sine peccato. Quod autem Paulus
 dicit: *Eum, qui non nouerat peccatum, pro nobis peccatum fecit*, hoc
 1020 ipsum, quod dixit: *Fecit*, ad patris personam retulit, id est, quia
 deus pater filium suum, qui peccatum non fecit, hostiam illum
 pro peccatis nostris fecit, cum eum pro salute mundi immolari
 permisit. Dicitur enim sic quod eum pater peccatum fecit, quia
 eum hostiam pro peccato fieri uoluit, sicut dicitur: *Peccatum populi*
 1025 *mei comedent*, cum non peccata comedantur, sed oblationes quae
 pro peccatis offeruntur.

85. INT. Quomodo Esaias dicit pro persona Christi: *Non erat species*
ei neque decor. Et uidimus eum et non erat aspectus, et desiderauimus

999 poenitens – malitiam] Oratio Manassae 7 1003/1009 in – eis] Ier.
 18, 7-10 1013/1014 qui – eius] Is. 53, 9 1015 eum – fecisse] II Cor.
 5, 21 1016 qui – fecit] Is. 53, 9 1019 eum – fecit] II Cor. 5, 21
 1024/1025 peccatum – comedent] Os. 4, 8 1027/1030 non – eum] Is.
 53, 2-3

1013/1026 quomodo – offeruntur] IULIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 42 (= I, 44)
 1027/1039 quomodo – credentes] IULIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 44 (= I, 42)

1007 fecerint Q², fecerit Q¹

1030 *eum, nouissimum uirorum et scientem infirmitatem nostram. Et quasi absconditus uultus eius et despectus, unde nec reputauimus eum, et econ|tra psalmista dicit: Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum?* 74b

RPO. Quod Esaias dicit quod quasi fedus apparuit, de interfecto-
 1035 ribus Christi hoc dicit, quibus Christus ipse uilis apparuit. Si enim cognouissent, numquam dominum gloriae crucifixissent. Quod autem psalmista dicit quod speciosus fuerit prae filiis hominum, ad fidem credentium reputatur, qui sic illum uidere meruerunt ut uerum illum deum et hominem fide integra faterentur. Restat igitur quia et fedus apud persequentes et speciosus existimatus est apud credentes.

1040 **86. INT.** Cum Dauid propheta dicat: *Peccatori autem dixit deus: Quare tu enarras iustitiam meam* et reliqua?, quomodo Paulus uideatur econtra praecipere, ubi etiam malos admittit dicens: *Siue per occasionem siue per ueritatem Christus annuntietur?* Et dominus: *Quae dicunt, facite, quae autem faciunt, facere nolite?*

1045 RP. Haec dicta sunt ne timeant qui audiunt a quocumque audiant, ut securi non sint qui dicunt bona et faciunt mala. Sed noluit deus sine correptione dimittere illos qui dicunt, ne per hoc solum, quod dicunt, securi sibi obdormiscant in mala uita et dicant sibi: Neque enim perdet nos deus, per quorum os uoluit tanta bona
 1050 loqui populo suo.

87. INT. Cum Salomon in Prouerbiis de uia iniquitatis loquatur dicens: *Omnis, qui ambulat in ea, non reuertetur*, quomodo Paulus a persecutione et blasphemia rediens dicit: *Qui fui blasphemus et persecutor*, et Petrus, a negatione ad fletum conuersus, respectum
 1055 Christi promeruit?

RP. Per se ipsum potest homo in illa uia | iniquitatis ambulare, 75a
 non potest autem per semetipsum redire, nisi gratia reuocatus.

1031 speciosus – hominum] Ps. 44, 3 **1033/1034** si – crucifixissent] I Cor. 2, 8 **1040/1041** peccatori – meam] Ps. 49, 16 **1042/1043** siue – annuncietur] Phil. 1, 18 **1044** quae¹ – nolite] Matth. 23, 3 **1052** omnis – reuertetur] Prou. 2, 19 **1053/1054** qui – persecutor] I Tim. 1, 13 **1054/1055** Petrus – promeruit] cfr Matth. 26, 75; Marc. 14, 72; Luc. 22, 61-62

1040/1050 cum – suo] IULIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 74 (= I, 75) **1051/1057** cum – reuocatus] IULIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 101 (= I, 104)

1046 post audiant add. et Q² ut – non] non ut securi fons

88. INT. Quomodo in Ecclesiastico habetur: *Si benefeceris, scito cui feceris, et erit gratia in donis tuis?* Cui contrarium uidetur illud
1060 esse praeceptum: *Ne eligas cui benefacias.*

Rp. Hunc locum in quo scribitur: *Ne eligas cui benefacias*, nihil mihi probabilius aliud occurrit quam quod Christus in euangelio dicit: *Cum facis prandium aut cenam, noli uocare amicos tuos neque fratres neque cognatos neque uicinos diuites, ne forte et ipsi te reinuient et fiat tibi retributio. Sed cum facis conuiuuium, uoca pauperes, debiles, clodos et beatus eris, quia non habent unde retribuunt tibi.* Ergo hoc
1065 est quod dicit: *Ne eligas cui benefacias*, quod et Christus modo confirmat dicens: *Noli uocare diuites.* Dicitur ergo: *Ne eligas cui benefacias*, ac si diceretur: Ne usus helemosynae tuae in diuitum
1070 personis expendas. Nam ut quidam sapiens dixit: Quid est aliud habenti dare quam perdere? Iam uero illud quod ait: *Si benefeceris, scito cui feceris*, sic intellegitur ut consideretur in largiendo aetas atque debilitas, nonnunquam etiam uerecundia, quae ingenuos prodit natales, ut senibus plus largiaris, qui sibi laborare iam
1075 non queunt et uictum quaerere. Similiter et debilitas corporis et reliqua.

89. INT. Quot sunt necessaria in ecclesia?

R. Quattuor.

90. INT. Quae?

Rp. Primum canon diuinus, in quo narratur et praedicatur
1080 uita aeterna. Secundo historia, in quo gesta rerum narrantur. Tertio | numerus, in quo cursus temporum et sollemnitates diuinae inuestigantur. Quarto grammatica, in qua recti eloquii
75b describendique ratio constat, sine qua nullus perfectus consistere
1085 potest.

1058/1059 si – tuis] Eccli. 12, 1 **1060** ne – benefacias] cfr Matth. 5, 44; Luc. 6, 27 **1061** ne – benefacias] cfr Matth. 5, 44; Luc. 6, 27 **1063/1066** cum – tibi] Luc. 14, 12-14 **1067** ne – benefacias] cfr Matth. 5, 44; Luc. 6, 27 **1068** noli – diuites] Luc. 14, 12 **1068/1069** ne – benefacias] cfr Matth. 5, 44; Luc. 6, 27 **1071/1072** si – benefeceris] Eccli. 12, 1

1058/1075 quomodo – corporis] IULIAN. TOL., *Antik.* 116 (= I, 120)
1077/1085 quot – potest] cfr Ps. BEDA, *Comp. hib.*, prol. (col. 647)

1069 post diuitum *add.* electis Q² **1074** post natales *add.* et Q²

91. INT. Quod Iohannes apostolus dicit: *Deum nemo uidit umquam*, maiori disputatione indiget, cum dominus et mundis corde deum uidendo promittat et de sanctis dicat quod: *Angeli eorum in caelis semper uident faciem patris*.

1090 Rp. Hanc autem sententiam et ibi in euangelio suo ponit idem Iohannes, ubi etiam, quomodo deus uideri possit, consequenter adiungit dicens: *Vnigenitus filius, qui est in sinu patris, ipse narravit*. Quod beatus Ambrosius ita exposuit: Et ideo deum nemo uidit umquam, quia eam, quae in deo habitat plenitudo diuinitatis,
1095 nemo conspexit, nemo mente aut oculis comprehendit. *Vidit* enim ad utrumque referendum est. Denique additur: *Vnigenitus, qui est in sinu patris, ipse narravit*. In hoc utique mentium magis quam oculorum uisio declaratur. Species enim uidetur, uirtus uero narratur; illa oculis, haec mente comprehenditur. Item
1100 beatus Augustinus in libro de uidendo deum de eadem disputans questione: Proinde, inquit, narrante unigenito, qui est in sinu patris, narratione ineffabili creatura rationabilis munda et sancta impletur dei uisione ineffabili, quam tunc consequemur, cum angelis facti fuerimus aequales, quia, sicut uidentur ista uisibilia
1105 corporis sensibus, deum nemo uidit umquam, quoniam, si aliquando eo modo uisus est, non sicut ista natura | uidetur, sed 76a uoluntate uisus est specie, qua uoluit, apparens, latente natura atque in se incommutabiliter permanente. Eo autem modo, quo uidetur sicut est, nunc fortasse uidetur ab angelis suis sanctis, a
1110 nobis autem tunc ita uidebitur, cum eis facti fuerimus aequales. Et post aliquanta exponens ait: Deum nemo uidit umquam uel in hac uita, sicut ipse est, uel etiam in angelorum uita, sicut uisibilia ista, quae corporali uisione cernuntur, quia unigenitus filius, qui est in sinu patris, ipse narravit. Vnde non oculorum corporalium, sed ad
1115 mentium uisionem pertinere dictum est quod narratur. Item post

1086/1087 deum – umquam] I Ioh. 4, 12 **1087/1088** dominus – promittat] cfr Matth. 5, 8 **1088/1089** angeli – patris] Matth. 18, 10 **1092** unigenitus – narravit] Ioh. 1, 18 **1095** uidit] I Ioh. 4, 12 **1096/1097** unigenitus – narravit] Ioh. 1, 18

1086/1137 quod – manet] BEDA, *In epist. cath.*, in I Ioh. 4, 12 (lin. 135-186)

1088 uidendo] uidendum *fons* (lin. 137) **1094** plenitudo] plenitudinem *fons* (lin. 143) **1105** post sensibus *habet* nota *fons* (lin. 154) **1114** ante oculorum *habet* ad *fons* (lin. 163)

multa: Ad eam uero uisionem, inquit, qua uidebimus deum sicuti est, munda corda commonuit. Quia enim corpora consuetudine loquendi uisibilia nominantur, propterea deus inuisibilis dicitur, ne corpus credatur esse, non quia corda munda suae substantiae
 1120 contemplatione fraudauit, cum haec magna et summa merces dominum colentibus promittatur ac diligentibus, dicente ipso domino quando corporalibus oculis uisibiliter apparebat et inuisibilem se contuendum mundis cordibus promittebat: *Qui diligit me, diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et ostendam me ipsum*
 1125 *illi*. Haec quippe natura eius aequaliter cum patre inuisibilis, sicut aequaliter incorruptibilis est, quae continuatim apostolus posuit dicens: *Regi autem saeculorum inuisibili, incorruptibili*, diuinam substantiam, qua potuit, hominibus praedicatione commendans. Deus ergo res est inuisibilis neque oculis, sed mente quaerendus
 1130 est. Sed quemammodum si solem istum uidere uellemus, oculum corporis purgaremus, unde | uideri lux possit, uolentes uidere deum, 76b oculum cordis, qua deus uideri potest, purgemus. *Beati enim mundo corde, quoniam ipsi deum uidebunt*. Verum quia haec uisio in futuro speratur, quid agendum est nobis, dum adhuc constituti in corpore
 1135 peregrinamur a domino, quo solacio utendum ubi diuina uisione necdum luce perfrui ualemus? *Si diligamus*, inquit, *inuicem, deus in nobis manet*. De eo quod dictum est: *Quoniam uidebimus eum sicuti est*, esse dei aeternum est atque incommutabilem permanere. Vnde ad Moysen dicit: *Ego sum qui sum*, et: *Dices filiis Israel: Qui est misit me ad uos*. Videbimus ergo eum sicuti est, quando hunc
 1140 in ipsa deitatis suae substantia contemplabitur, quod in hac uita nulli prorsus electorum conceditur, cum etiam ipse legislator deum, quem in angelica specie contemplari solebat, obsecrans dicit: *Domine, ostende mihi temetipsum ut uideam te*, ab eodem domino

1123/1125 qui – illi] Ioh. 14, 21 1127 regi – incorruptibili] I Tim. 1, 17
 1132/1133 beati – uidebunt] Matth. 5, 8 1136/1137 si diligamus ...
 inuicem – manet] I Ioh. 4, 12 1137/1138 quoniam – est¹] I Ioh. 3, 2
 1139 ego – sum²] Ex. 3, 14 1139/1140 dices – uos] Ex. 3, 14 1144
 domine – te] Ex. 33, 13

1137/1167 de – mentem] BEDA, *In epist. cath.*, in I Ioh. 3, 2 (lin. 44-72)

1117 munda] mundanda *fons* (lin. 166) commonuit] communuit *Q'*
 1132 qua] quo *fons* (lin. 180) 1141 contemplabitur] contemplabimur *fons*
 (lin. 48) 1143 dicit] dicensque *fons* (lin. 50)

- 1145 audierit: *Nemo uidet faciem meam et uiuet*. Cui tamen merito
magnae sanctitatis ait: *Ostendam me ipsum tibi*. Hinc Paulus ait:
Nunc uidemus per speculum in enigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem.
Vnde responsum est Moysi. Verum est, quia nemo potest faciem dei
uidere et uiuere, id est nemo potest eum in hac uita uiuens uidere
1150 sicuti est. Nam multi uiderunt, sed quod uoluntas dei elegit, non
quod natura formauit. Et illud quod Iohannes ait: *Videbimus eum*
sicuti est, non sicut eum homines uiderunt, quando uoluit, in specie
qua uoluit, non in natura qua in semetipso etiam, cum uideretur,
latuit, sed sicut est, quod ab eo Moyses petiit, cum diceret: *Ostende*
1155 *mihi temetipsum*. Quod enim dicit: *Loquebatur Moyses cum deo facie*
ad faciem, non ita intellegen|dum est ut eum, quem terra et caeli 77a
capere non poterant, ab uno homine potuit in sua maiestate uidere.
Nam et dei plenitudinem quisquam non solum oculis corporeis,
sed nec ipsa comprehendere potuit mente. Aliud est enim uidere
1160 atque aliud est totum uidendo comprehendere. Quando id
uidetur quod praesens est, quodcumque cernitur et sentitur;
totum autem comprehenditur uidendo quod ita uidetur ut nihil
eius lateat uidentem, aut cuius finem circumspicere possunt, sicut
te nihil latet praesentis uoluntatis tuae, circumspicere potes fines
1165 socii tui. Exempli gratia duo posui, quorum alterum ad mentis
obtutum, alterum ad corporales oculos pertinet uisus. Ad utroque
referenda sunt, id est ad oculos et ad mentem. *In quem desiderant*
angeli prospicere. Constat pro certo quia tanta eius, qui passus est
pro nobis, hominis Ihesu Christi posterior gloria successit ut etiam
1170 angelicae in caelo uirtutes, cum sint aeterna felicitate perfectae,
non solum immortale deitatis magnificentiam, sed et assu[m]ptae
humanitatis eius claritatem semper aspicere gaudeant. Verum

1145 nemo – uiuet] Ex. 33, 20 1146 ostendam – tibi] Ex. 33, 19 1147
nunc – faciem] I Cor. 13, 12 1151/1152 uidebimus – est] I Ioh. 3, 2
1154/1155 ostende – temetipsum] Ex. 33, 13 1155/1156 loquebatur –
faciem] Ex. 33, 11 1167/1168 in – prospicere] I Petr. 1, 12

1167/1181 in – distinxit] BEDA, *In epist. cath.*, in I Petr. 1, 12 (lin. 169-183)

1148 post unde habet quod fons (lin. 55) 1157 potuit] potuerit Q²
1165 socii] anuli fons (lin. 69) 1166 utroque] utrumque Q² (cum fonte,
lin. 71) 1166/1167 uisus ... referenda sunt] uisus enim ... referendus est
fons (lin. 71) 1171 immortale] immortalem fons (lin. 172) assumptae
scripsi cum fonte (lin. 173), assumptae Q

diligentius intuendum quomodo dicat: *In quem desiderant angeli
prospicere*, cum desiderare dici non soleat eius rei quam habemus,
1175 sed quam uolumus habere. Nam nemo desiderat quod habet.
Quomodo ergo in Christum prospicere desiderant, cuius cernere
faciem numquam cessant, nisi quia contemplatio diuinae praesentiae
ita supernae patriae ciues beatificat ut ineffabili nouoque ordine et
semper eius uisa gloria satientur et semper eius dulcedinem quasi
1180 noua insatiabiliter esuriant? | Sicut beatus papa Gregorius delicias 77b
cordis et corporis mirifice distinxit. Potest tamen quod ait: *In quem
desiderant angeli prospicere*, etiam de spiritu sancto recte intellegi,
de quo praemiserat: *Qui euangelizarunt in uos spiritum sanctum
missum de caelo*. Namque hoc beatus Petrus ad gratiam refert diuinae
1185 pietatis, quod eum, qui tantae maiestatis est et gloriae ut semper
eius uisio sicut et ipsius patris et filii, quae nimirum una eademque
est, desideratur ab angelis in caelis, causa salutis humanae ad terram
spiritum miserit atque illustrandis fidelium mentibus infuderit.
Religionis nostrae disciplina atque professio, quae ad contemplanda
1190 inuisibilia sacramentorum tendit arcana nec praesentes questus, sed
eternorum retributionem expetit praemiorum, certo ordine ac
ratione consistit.

92. INT. Quibus modis homo dicitur?

RP. Scriptura sacra tribus modis hominem appellat. Primo
1195 per naturam, ut: *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudine
nostram*. Secundo per culpam ut est: *Vos autem sicut homines
moriemini et sicut unus de principibus cadetis*, id est sicut delinquentes
obitis, et apostolus: *Cum sit inter uos zelus et contentio, nonne carnales
estis et secundum hominem ambulatis?* Tertio modo per infirmitatem
1200 ut: *Maledictus homo qui spem ponit in hominem*, id est in infirmitatem.

1173/1174 in – prospicere] I Petr. 1, 12 1181/1182 in – prospicere] I Petr.
1, 12 1183/1184 qui – caelo] I Petr. 1, 12 1195/1196 faciamus –
nostram] Gen. 1, 26 1196/1197 uos – cadetis] Ps. 81, 7 1198/1199
cum – ambulatis] I Cor. 3, 3 1200 maledictus – hominem] Ier. 17, 5

1181/1188 potest – infuderit] BEDA, *In epist. cath.*, in I Petr. 1, 12 (lin. 192-199)
1189/1192 religionis – consistit] CASSIAN, *Conl.* 14, 1 1194/1200
scriptura – infirmitatem] GREG. M., *Moral.* 4, 13, 25

1191 praemiorum scripsi cum fonte, proemiorum Q 1198 obitis] obibitis
Q² (cum fonte)

93. INT. Quibus modis spiritus hominis dicitur?

Rp. Spiritus hominis in sacro eloquio duobus modis poni solet: pro anima et pro effectu spiritali. Pro anima ut illud: *Inclinato capite, tradidit spiritum.* | Pro effectu spiritali uti est: *Qui facit* 78a
 1205 *angelos suos spiritus*, id est praedicatores suos spiritales.

94. INT. Quibus modis in sacro eloquio caro dicitur?

Rp. Tribus modis in sacro eloquio caro ponitur: iuxta naturam, iuxta culpam, iuxta corruptionem. Iuxta naturam, uti est: *Hoc nunc*
 1210 *os ex ossibus meis et caro de carne mea*, et: *Verbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis.* Caro uero iuxta culpam, ut: *Non permanebit spiritus meus in hominibus istis, quia caro sunt*, et illud: *Et memoratus est quia caro sunt, spiritus uadens et non rediens.* Et apostolus: *Vos autem in carne non estis, sed in spiritu.* Neque enim in carne non
 1215 erant quibus epistolas trans mittebat, sed, quia desideria carnis non perficiebant, iam liberi per uirtutem spiritus in carne non erant. Iuxta corruptionem seu culpam, ut alibi: *Caro et sanguis regnum dei non possidebunt.* Vnde et mox, quia carnem iuxta culpam diceret, subdidit: *Neque corruptio incorruptelam possidebit.* In illa quoque
 1220 gloria caro secundum naturam erit, sed secundum passionis desideria caro non erit, quia deuicto mortis aculeo in aeterna incorruptione regnabit. Quod alibi ait: *Non corpus, quod futurum est, seminat, sed nudum granum*, hoc insinuat quia, sicut granum cum culmo et foliis nascitur, quod sine culmo et foliis seminatur, sic et in
 1225 illa resurrectionis gloria non desinet esse quod erat, sed accipiet augmenta spiritalis decoris. Fatemur equidem carnem nostram post resurrectionem | futuram et eandem et diuersam: eandem per 78b
 naturam, diuersam per gloriam, eandem per ueritatem, diuersam per potentiam.

1203/1204 inclinatio – spiritum] Ioh. 19, 30 **1204/1205** qui – spiritus] Hebr. 1, 7 **1208/1209** hoc – mea] Gen. 2, 23 **1209/1210** uerbum – nobis] Ioh. 1, 14 **1210/1211** non – sunt] Gen. 6, 3 **1211/1212** et² – rediens] Ps. 77, 39 **1212/1213** uos – spiritu] Rom. 8, 9 **1216/1217** caro – possidebunt] I Cor. 15, 50 **1218** neque – possidebit] I Cor. 15, 50
1221/1222 non – granum] I Cor. 15, 37

1202/1205 spiritus – spiritales] GREG. M., *Moral.* 11, 5, 7 **1206/1221** quibus – regnabit] GREG. M., *Moral.* 14, 56, 72 **1221/1224** quod¹ – erat] GREG. M., *Moral.* 14, 56, 73 **1225/1228** fatemur – potentiam] GREG. M., *Moral.* 14, 57, 77

95. INT. Quare dictus est homo?
 1230 RP. Homo dictus ab humo, quia de limo terrae factus est.
96. INT. Quibus substantiis constat homo?
 R. Duobus: ex mortali et immortalī.
97. INT. Quomodo ex mortali et quomodo immortalī?
 RP. Anima tantum et corpore.
- 1235 98. INT. Quomodo anima et quomodo corpore?
 RP. Anima uero a deo solo esse data intellegitur, in qua uiuimus, mouemur et sumus. Anima proprie dicta est, eo quod animet corpus, id est uiuificet. Corpus autem eius ex ossibus et carnibus constat.
- 1240 99. INT. Quod continetur in hoc?
 RP. Ratio terrae in carne est, humoris in sanguine, aeris in spiritu, ignis in calore uitali.
100. INT. Homo cuius figuram tenet?
 RP. Homo mundi istius figuram tenet.
- 1245 101. INT. Quomodo?
 RP. Caeli et terrae, aeris et maris.
102. INT. Quomodo caeli, quomodo terrae, quomodo aeris, quomodo maris?
 RP. Caput namque ad caelum refertur, in quo sunt duo oculi
 1250 quasi duo luminaria solis et lunae. Pectus aeri coniungitur, quia sic inde emittitur inspiraminis flatus, sicut ex aere uentorum spiritus. Venter autem mari assimilatur propter collectionem omnium humorum quasi congregationes aquarum. Vestigia postremo terrae comparantur, eo quod sint ultima membrorum arida siue sicca, | 79a
 1255 sicut et terra.

1230 de – est] cfr Gen. 2, 7

1236/1237 in – sumus] cfr Act. 17, 28

1230 homo – est] cfr ISID., *Diff. II* 17, 47; GREG. M., *Moral.* 12, 32, 37; BEDA, *Hex.* 2, 5, 2 1231/1232 quibus – immortalī] ISID., *Diff. II* 17, 47 1233/1234 quomodo – corpore] cfr Ps. ISID., *Quaest.* 51 lin. 176-177
 1238/1239 corpus² – constat] ISID., *Diff. II* 17, 47 1241/1242 ratio – uitali] ISID., *Diff. II* 17, 48 1244 homo – tenet] cfr ISID., *Diff. II* 17, 43
 1245/1246 quomodo – maris] cfr ISID., *Diff. II* 17, 48-49 1249/1255 caput – terra] ISID., *Diff. II* 17, 48-49

1229 ante int. *habet* rp. Q

103. INT. Mens hominum ubi consistit?

Rp. In capitis arce mens collocata est tamquam in celo deus, ut ab alto speculetur omnia atque regat.

104. INT. Quomodo est homo factus?

1260 Rp. Factus est autem homo ad contemplationem caeli erectus et non sicut pecora, humo prona atque uergentia. In cuius sumitate caput est collocatum.

105. INT. Caput pro quod dicitur?

1265 Rp. Caput namque dictum quod ex eo capiant initium sensus ac nerui.

106. INT. Quid interpretatur christianus?

1270 <Rp.> Vocantur autem christiani deriuatio uocabulo ex nomine Christi. Nam sicut de Iudae nomine uocabulum traxerunt Iudaei, a quo in illa gente regiae stirpis dignitas claruit, ita a Christo christianae genti nomen inhesit, cuius est in gentibus et in Iudaeis praerogatiua dignitas et potestas.

107. INT. Es baptizatus?

Rp. Sic sum.

108. INT. Pro quid?

1275 Rp. Propter illa sex peccata quae commisit Adam, id est superbiam, sacrilegium, homicidium, fornicationem, furtum et auaritiam.

109. INT. Quid continetur in istis sex peccatis?

1280 Rp. Superbia, quiaplus uoluit in sua esse uoluntate quam in dei. Sacrilegium, quia deum non credidit ubique esse. Homicidium, quia semetipsum praecipitauit in morte. Fornicatio, quia integritatem mentis serpentina suasionem corruptus est. Auaritia, quia plus quam ei sufficere poterat appetiit.

1257/1258 in¹ – regat] ISID., *Diff. II* 17, 49 **1260/1262** factus – collocatum] ISID., *Diff. II* 17, 50 **1264/1265** caput – nerui] ISID., *Diff. II* 17, 50 **1266/1271** quid – potestas] ANON., *Pauc. probl.* (text. breu.), praef. (lin. 66-71) **1274/1276** pro – auaritiam] ANON., *Pauc. probl.* (text. breu.), praef. (lin. 71-74) **1277/1281** quid – est] ANON., *Pauc. probl.* (text. breu.), praef. (lin. 74-78)

1267 rp. *addidi*

1277 int. *om. Q¹*

1278 rp. *om. Q¹*

110. INT. Inter trinitatem et unitatem quod interest?

Rp. Inter trinitatem et unitatem haec distinctio est: quod unitas
 1285 propter inseparabilem deitatis substantiam, | trinitas uero propter 79b
 personarum diuersitate uocatur. In personis enim distinctio, in
 diuersitate nulla distinctio. Est enim gignens, genitus et procedens:
 gignens pater, genitus filius, procedens spiritus sanctus.

111. INT. Quomodo pater et filius et spiritus sanctus unus est
 1290 deus?

Rp. Deus nomen est potestatis, non proprietatis. Proprium
 nomen est pater patri et proprium nomen filio filius et proprium
 nomen est spiritu sancto spiritus sanctus. In hac trinitate unum
 deum colimus et adoramus et confitemur. Non enim prius aut
 1295 posterius, non maius aut minus, sed tote tres personae coaeterne
 sibi sunt et coaequales, quia semper fuit pater, semper habuit filium
 et semper fuit spiritus sanctus in una diuinitate, aequali gloria,
 coaeterna maiestate.

112. INT. Deus pro quid dicitur?

1300 R. Deus dicitur de potestate et amore.

113. INT. Pater pro quid dicitur?

Rp. Pater dicitur eo quod habeat filium, filius eo quod habeat
 patrem, spiritus sanctus eo quod ex patre filioque procedat.

114. INT. Trinitas pro quid dicitur?

1305 Rp. Trinitas propter personarum diuersitate uocatur.

115. INT. Vnitas pro quid dicitur?

Rp. Propter inseparabilem deitatis substantiam.

116. INT. Quibus modis creditur deus?

1310 R. Quinque, id est deum bonum, omnipotentem, sempiternum
 debemus credere.

1281/1282 auaritia – appetiit] ANON., *Pauc. probl.* (text. long.), Gen. 211
1284/1288 inter – sanctus] ISID., *Diff. II* 2, 3 **1287/1288** est – sanctus] cfr
 Ps. VEN. FORT., *Expos. fid.* 6 **1291/1293** deus – sanctus] cfr Ps. VEN. FORT.,
Expos. fid. 14 **1293/1296** in – trinitate ... non – coaequales] cfr Ps. VEN.
 FORT., *Symb. Athan.* 24 **1297/1298** et – maiestate] cfr Ps. VEN. FORT.,
Symb. Athan. 6 **1305** trinitas – uocatur] ISID., *Diff. II* 2, 3 **1307**
 propter – substantiam] ISID., *Diff. II* 2, 3 **1308/1310** quibus – credere]
 Ps. ISID., *Quaest.* 20 (lin. 65-67)

1287 diuersitate] diuinitate *fons* (lin. 4) **1293** spiritu] spiritui *intellege*
1306 pro] propter *Q*²

117. INT. Quot substantiae constant in filio dei?

Rp. Duae, id est diuinitas et humanitas, ut sicut ante carnis
assu[m]ptionem uerum deum, ita et postea uerum hominem
1315 natum esse credamus. Coepit esse quod non erat, sed non amisit
quod erat. Accepit enim humanitatem et non amisit diuinitatem. | 80a

118. INT. Pro quid Christus filius dei non de simplici uirgine, sed
de dispensata natus est?

Rp. Prima causa fuit ut per generationem Ioseph origo Mariae
monstraretur. Secunda causa fuit ut non lapidaretur a Iudaeis ut
1320 adultera. Tertia ut fugiens Aegyptum haberet solacium uiri. Ignatius
autem martyr quartam addidit causam ut partus, inquires, eius
celaretur diabolo, dum eum putat non de uirgine, sed de uxore
generatum.

119. INT. Pro quid Christus in Iordane ab Iohanne baptizatus
1325 est?

Rp. Prima causa fuit ut qui homo natus erat, omnem iustitiam
et humilitatem impleret. Secunda causa fuit ut baptismo suo
Iohannis baptisma confirmaret. Tertia causa fuit ut per lauacrum
suum aquas Iordanis sanctificaret, quia maledictae erant propter
1330 preuaricationem Adae. Quarta ut nullus dedignaretur a seruo suo
baptizari, dum ipse dominus a Iohanne baptizatus est.

120. INT. Quid est fides, spes et caritas?

<Rp.> Fides est diuinitatis confessio et religionis solidum
fondamentum. Spes est bonorum expectatio futurorum. Caritas est
1335 perfecta dilectio in deo et proximo.

121. INT. Dic mihi, spes, fides, caritas ubi coniunguntur et ubi
separantur, ubi singillatim ponuntur?

Rp. Fides credit tormenta impiorum et gaudia sanctorum. Spes
autem tantum ea, quae bona sunt, sibi sperat. His uero caritas

1324/1325 Christus – est] cfr Matth. 3, 13-17; Marc. 1, 9; Luc. 3, 21-22; Ioh.
1, 29-34

1311/1315 quot – diuinitatem] cfr Ps. VEN. FORT., *Expos. fid.* 30-31
1316/1323 pro – generatum] HIER., *In Matth.* 1 (lin. 72-79) **1324/1331**
pro – est] Ps. ISID., *Quaest.* 40 (lin. 140-146) **1332/1335** quid – proximo]
ISID., *Diff. II* 34, 139

1313 assumptionem *scripsi*, assuptionem Q **1324** pro] propter Q²
1328 baptisma : baptismum Q² **1333** rp. *addidi*

- 1340 sociatur quia bonarum rerum dilectio est. Fides et praesens et
praeteritum et futurum tempus habet. Credimus enim Christum
post resurrectionem ascendisse in caelum et nunc sedere ad
dexteram patris et iudicem esse uenturum. Spes igitur tantum ad
futurum pertinet tempus et ad ea | quae bona et utilia sunt et ad 80b
1345 eum qui ipsam spem gerit. Coniunguntur autem in resurrectione
quia fides, quod credit, uidebit et spes praemia, quae sperat, recipiet.
Tunc caritas dicet ad fidem et ad spem: Tu fides, quod credidisti,
uidisti et tu spes, quod sperasti, recepisti. Recedite uos, ego iam sola
regnabo. Hinc et apostolus: *Nunc autem manet fides, spes, caritas.*
1350 *His autem maior est caritas.*

122. INT. Ante omnem diem et ante omne tempus quas creaturas
ex nihilo condidit deus?

- ⟨RP.⟩ Angelicam uidelicet creaturam et lucem. Prima die condidit
lucem. Secunda die firmamentum caeli. Tertia die species maris
1355 et terrae. Quarta die illuminauit caelum de sole et luna et stellis.
Quinto die omnia uolatilia caeli et pisces maris de aqua fecit. Sexto
die omnia quadrupedia de terra facta sunt. Nouissime ad imaginem
et similitudinem suam consilio trinitatis condidit hominem, iuxta
illud: *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram*, ad
1360 aeternitatem et ad immortalitatem.

123. INT. Quo tempore factus est mundus et in quo mense et in
qua die mensis et in qua ebdomada?

- RP. Id indicat historia Genesis, dum dicitur: *Germinet terra
herbam uiurentem*. Indicatur ex traditione ecclesiastica mense martio,
1365 die dominico, octauo kalendas aprilis. In die dominico dixit deus:
Fiat lux. In die dominico resurrexit dominus a mortuis. In die
dominico factus est mundus.

124. INT. In quo tempore scripsit Moyses, in quo loco initiauit
scribere et pro quid et in qua lingua?

1349/1350 nunc – caritas] I Cor. 13, 13 **1353/1357** prima – sunt] cfr
Gen. 1, 1-25 **1359** faciamus – nostram] Gen. 1, 26 **1363/1364**
germinet – uiurentem] Gen. 1, 11 **1366** fiat lux] Gen. 1, 3

1361/1366 quo – lux] cfr ANON., *De oper. lin.* 61-65; ANON., *Pauc. probl.* (text.
breu.), 14

1353 rp. *addidi* **1359** *post nostram add.* id est Q²

1370 Rp. Quo tempore scripsit? Quando decalogum accepit scilicet
ad fidem nostram roborandam, quia Moyses, | eruditus arte 81a
geometrica uel aegyptiaca, uidens multos errores de factura mundi
apud philosophos, descripsit ut eradicaret illorum errores antiquos.
In cuius lingua? Id est in hebraea.

1375 **125. INT.** Quot sunt libri canonici?
R. LXXII.

126. INT. Quot sunt in uetus testamentum?
Rp. XLV.

127. INT. Quot sunt in nouum?
1380 Rp. XXVII.

128. INT. Vna substantia est patris et filii et spiritus sancti, et
quomodo filius sine patre et spiritu sancto suscepit carnem?

Rp. Neque persona patris neque spiritus sancti, sed filii persona
suscepit carnem. Et ut per haec intellegas creatorem, certe in anima
1385 est ratio et, cum sint unum, aliud anima agit, aliud ratio. Anima
uiuimus, ratione sapimus. Ita pater et filius et spiritus sanctus, cum
sint una substantia, tota trinitas operata est hominem, quem non
tota trinitas assumpsit, sed sola filii persona.

129. INT. Quomodo illud intellegendum quod legitur: *Sicut pater*
1390 *uitam habet in semetipso, sic dedit et filio uitam habere in semetipso?*

Rp. Scimus filium dei a se ipso non esse, sed a patre genitum esse,
patrem uero a nullo genitum esse, a nullo uitam accepisse. Dedit
pater filio uitam gignendo, non quod prius fuerit filius sine uita
et postea acceperit uitam, sicut nos, qui per peccatum amisimus
1395 uitam et per gratiam saluatoris recepimus.

130. INT. Quo pacto spiritus sanctus dicitur missus?

Rp. Sicut enim non secundum substantiam dicitur seu missus
seu minor filius, ita iste propter columbam uel ignem missus

1383 filius ... suscepit carnem] cfr Ioh. 1, 14 **1389/1390** sicut – semetipso]
Ioh. 5, 26 **1396** spiritus – missus] cfr I Petr. 1, 12 **1398** columbam]
cfr Matth. 3, 16; Marc. 1, 10; Luc. 3, 22; Ioh. 1, 32 ignem] cfr Act. 2, 3

1375/1380 quot – XXVII] Ps. ISID., *Quaest.* 3 (lin. 10-13) **1381/1388**
una – persona] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 6 **1389/1395** quomodo – recepimus]
ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 8 **1396/1404** quo – creaturam] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 9

1398 post ita et *add.* Q²

1400 dicitur, scilicet quia non in ea substantia, qua aequalis est patri,
apparuit, sed, ut dictum est, per subiectam creaturam inferiorem
ad manifestandum spiritum sanctum esse. Numquam enim illa
incomprehensibilis immutabilisque diuinitas, quae trinitas est
deus, ab oculis | carnalibus uideri potest, nisi, ut dictum est, per 81b
subiectam creaturam.

1405 **131.** INT. Quomodo intellegendum est quod Iohannes
euangelista de spiritu sancto dicit quod non loquatur a semetipso,
sed quodcumque audiet loquetur?

Rp. Non loquitur a semetipso, quia non est a semetipso. Pater
enim a nullo est natus, filius a patre est genitus, spiritus sanctus a
1410 patre non est genitus, sed a patre procedens. Ideo non loquetur a se
ipso, sed quaecumque audiet loquetur. Audire illi esse est, esse a se
non est, sed a patre, ideo quaecumque audiet loquetur.

132. INT. Quid est quod dicit apostolus: *Nam quid oremus
sicut oportet, nescimus, sed ipse spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus
1415 inenarrabilibus. Qui autem scrutatur corda, scit quid desideret spiritus,
quoniam secundum deum postulat pro sanctis?*

Rp. Modus iste locutionis frequenter in scripturis sanctis
inuenitur, sic deus ad Abraham: *Nunc cognoui quod timeas deum*,
hoc est cognoscere te feci. Hinc et apostolus: *Nunc cognoscentes
1420 deum, immo cogniti estis a deo*. Semper omnia in praesentia dei sunt.
Antequam fiant, praesentia sunt, futura iam facta sunt. Quomodo
dicit *Cogniti a deo*, nisi faciente deo ut cognoscamus deum? Sic
et scribitur spiritus sanctus gemere pro nobis, id est gementes nos
facere: infundit nobis caritatem in deum et proximum. Sicut laetus
1425 dies, quod laetos facit, aut tristis, quod tristes faciat, ita et hic
gemere dicitur spiritus sanctus, eo quod nos gementes facit.

1405/1407 Iohannes – loquetur] cfr Ioh. 16, 13 **1413/1416** nam – sanctis]
Rom. 8, 26-27 **1418** nunc – deum] Gen. 22, 12 **1419/1420** nunc –
deo] Gal. 4, 9 **1422** cogniti – deo] Gal. 4, 9

1405/1412 quomodo – loquetur] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 11 **1413/1426**
quid¹ – facit] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 12

1401 ad – esse] non enim sicut filius hominem assumpsit ut sic in aeternum
permaneat sic spiritus sanctus columbam uel ignem sed factae illae uisiones de
creatura inferiore ad manifestandum spiritum sanctum esse postea destiterunt
fons **1424** post facere *add.* et *Q*²

133. INT. Cur repromittat deus noster Ihesus Christus sanctis suis quod in resurrectione fulgeant sicut sol? Quare ipse dominus in resurrectione non refulsit?

1430 RP. | Clarificata carne utique resurrexit, sed noluit in ea clari- 82a
ficatione discipulis suis apparere, quia non poterant oculis talem
claritatem respicere, antequam moreretur pro nobis et resurgeret. Si
enim, quando transfiguratus est in monte, discipuli sui eum uidere
non potuerunt, sed prae timore in terram ceciderunt, quanto magis
1435 clarificata carne dominum uidere non potuissent.

134. INT. Si subito *uidit deus lucem quod esset bona*, an antea nesciuit et uisio ei contulit scientiam.

RP. Omne enim opus praecedit uoluntas, nam prius cogitamus
quid operari debeamus. Nemo enim ignorans aliquid facit, sed
1440 cogitat qualiter faciat quae facienda cogitando disponit. Et cum hoc
cadere in hominem non possit, ut aliquid ignorans faciat, quanto
magis in deum, qui omnia aeterno et stabili consilio, quae uoluit,
fecit nec aliter facta et aliter facienda uidit. Eo itaque modo uidit
facta, quo uiderat facienda.

1445 **135.** INT. Cum deus dixerit: *Generet terra herbam uiuentem et
afferentem semen et ligna fructifera*, ligna infructuosa uel spinas ac
tribolos quando fecit?

RP. Simul omnia deus fecit, dicente scriptura: *Qui uiuit in
aeternum, creauit omnia simul*. Nullatenus igitur dicenda sunt
1450 infructuosa ligna, quae aliquo modo hominibus afferunt adiumenta.
Quia reuera si non inuenimus in eis aliquid ad edendum, inuenimus
scilicet ad medicamentum, inuenimus ad adiutorium. Nam
quantae utilitates inueniantur in eis, tu ipse considera. Proinde quia
ad fruendum dederunt fructus, | ut ab omni ligno possimus habere 82b
1455 aliquid adiutorium, iure nullum lignum dicimus infructuosum.
Spinis uero et tribolos, quamuis pro peccato homini nascuntur ad

1427/1428 repromittat – sol] cfr Matth. 13, 43 1436 uidit – bona] Gen.
1, 4 1445/1446 generet – fructifera] Gen. 1, 11 1448/1449 qui –
simul] Eccli. 18, 1

1427/1435 cur – potuissent] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 14 1436/1444 si –
facienda] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 24 1445/1460 cum – productam] ANON.,
Quaest. Oros. 38

1453/1454 ad – ut ... possimus] a fruendo dicitur fructus et ... possumus *fontes*

laborem, dicente scriptura: *Spinas et tribolos pariet tibi*, tamen non est dicendum tunc aboriri ex terra, quia iam erant. Vtique ad pastus pecorum atque uolatilium facta sunt, non ad augendum hominis
1460 poenam productam.

136. INT. Quaecumque facit deus ut deus, quem astruis ita moueri ut non moueatur in tempore. Spiritus autem creatus quomodo mouetur in tempore ut non moueatur et loco?

RP. Deus, qui instituit tempora, et est ante tempora. Nihil in
1465 eo praeteritum et futurum, nullum consilium nouum nullaue noua cogitatio, quia scilicet, si nouum accidit deo aliquid, iam non immutabilis. Igitur immutabilis deus est, nihil illi accidit, nulla noua cogitatio, nullum nouum consilium, ideo non mouetur in tempore. Spiritus uero conditus, sicut est angelorum, quamquam
1470 sine tempore contemplantur dei aeternitatem, ueritatem, caritatem, tamen, quia ex tempore in inferioribus iussa dei perficiunt, iure creduntur moueri in tempore. Corpora uero sua in locum mouent, cum descendunt de caelo et ascendunt in caelum. Spiritus itaque hominum mouetur in tempore reminiscendo praeterita, futura
1475 expectando, aliqua noua discendo. Neque enim cum recordor aliquam lectionem aut aliquam ciuitatem, sic motus est spiritus meus cogitando ut non haec recorderar ex tempore. Ita motus est sine loco. Quoniam si in loco mouetur, aut in caelo aut in terra mouetur, | quia sine caelo et terra nullus est locus. Vbi enim fuit
1480 ipse spiritus in caelo an in terra ut uideret ipsam lectionem uel ipsam ciuitatem? Ergo si in nullo loco uidit ut recordaretur, in se ipso uidit. Quia id, quod initium habet, cogitatio est, omne, quod initium habet, et tempus habet. Igitur secundum supradictam rationem spiritus creatus per tempus moueri potest, non per
1485 locum, spiritus creator sine tempore et loco, corpus autem et loco et tempore moueri potest.

83a

137. INT. Quid significat quod Cain fratrem suum in agro interfecit?

1457 spinas – tibi] Gen. 3, 18 **1487/1488** Cain – interfecit] cfr Gen. 4, 8

1461/1486 quaecumque – potest] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 41 **1487/1492**
quid – loco] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 48

1460 productam] producta *fons* **1477** non] *hoc uerbum non habet fons*
fons tempore] tempore ita motus est et loco *fons* **1478** sine] et *fons*
quoniam] quod *fons*

1490 RPO. Iam superius diximus Cain significare Iudaeos, qui Christum occiderunt. Occiditur itaque Abel minor natu, occiditur Christus caput populis minoris natu a populo Iudaeorum maiore natu. Ille in agro, iste in Caluariae loco.

138. INT. Quid significat quod Noe per aquam et lignum liberatur?

1495 RPO. Aqua significat baptismum et lignum significat crucem. Sicut Noe per aquam et lignum liberatur, ita et ecclesia baptismo passionis Christi et signaculo liberatur.

139. INT. Quid significat arca de lignis quadratis constructa et intrinsecus et extrinsecus bitumine linita?

1500 RP. Sicut arca de lignis quadratis aedificatur, ita et ecclesia de sanctis construitur. Quadrata enim, in quacumque parte posueris, fortiter stant, et sancti in quibuslibet temptationibus stabiles permanent, non aduersantibus, non prosperitatibus cedunt. Bitumen enim significat caritatem per quam sancti nec illis
1505 scandalis, quae fiunt ab his | qui intus sunt, cedunt nec illis, quae 83b
fiunt ab his qui foris sunt, et seruant unitatem spiritus in uinculo pacis, tolerantes malos christianos qui sunt in ecclesia et hereticos qui sunt foris ecclesiam.

140. INT. Quid significat quod arca in longitudine habuit trecentos cubitos et in latitudine quinquaginta et in altitudine triginta?

1510 RP. Sancta ecclesia, ut faciat mandata dei, adiuuatur spiritu dei, dicente psalmographo: *Viam mandatorum tuorum cucurri, cum dilatasti cor meum*. Nisi dilatatum cor habuisset, uiam domini
1515 minime cucurrisset. Et unde dilatatur cor, nisi caritate spiritali? Hinc etiam beatus apostolus similiter psalmographi uoci consentit:

1491/1492 ille – agro] cfr Gen. 4, 8 **1492** iste – loco] cfr Matth. 27, 33; Marc. 15, 22; Luc. 23, 33; Ioh. 19, 17 **1493/1494** Noe – liberatur] cfr Gen. 6-8 **1498/1499** arca – linita] cfr Gen. 6, 14 **1509/1511** arca – triginta] cfr Gen. 6, 15 **1512/1513** uiam – meum] Ps. 118, 32

1493/1497 quid – liberatur] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 51 **1498/1508** quid – ecclesiam] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 52 **1509/1533** quid – refert] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 53

1491 populis] populi *Q*² **1500** quadratis *scripsi cum fonte*, quadris *Q*
1515 spiritali] spiritali *Q*²

Os nostrum patet ad uos, o Corinthii. Cor nostrum dilatatum est.
 Vnde, quaeso, dilatatum habet cor? *Gratia*, inquit, *dei diffusa est*
in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis. Ergo,
 1520 spiritu sancto accepto, operatur ecclesia cum delectatione praecepta
 dei, quae sine gratia spiritus nequaquam poterit operari. Hunc
 ergo spiritum septiformem scriptura sancta commendat. Septies
 igitur septem fiunt XLVIII, addito uno ut compleatur numerus.
 Vnde et dominus, ascendens in caelum, quinquagesimo die misit
 1525 spiritum sanctum ut corda credentium dilataret. Trecenti uero
 cubiti significant decem praecepta legis. Decies igitur triginta
 trecenti sunt. Sed hic praecepta non possunt impleri, nisi caritate
 faciente, id est spiritu sancto, qui significatur in latitudine quin|
 quaginta. Opera enim bona propter supernum finem facit ecclesia,
 1530 quem significant triginta cubiti altitudinis. Reuera enim spiritus
 est altitudo nostra. Ipse scilicet tricenarius doctrinam euangelicam
 consecrauit. Ipse est et super nos finis, ad quem omnia opera bona
 indubitanter ecclesia refert.

84a

141. INT. Quid significat quod de omni genere animalium atque
 1535 uolatilium immunda inducuntur in arcam et munda septena?

RP. Immunda illos homines significant qui ad scisma sunt faciles,
 munda uero homines sanctos qui spiritum septiformem accipientes
 ex fide uiuunt. Hinc etiam quidam poeta ait: Numero inpare
 gaudet.

142. INT. Quid significat quod Noe uir iustus plantauit uineam,
 1540 bibens uinum inebriatus est et nudatus in tabernaculo suo?

RP. Deus quodam modo plantauit gentem Iudaeorum segregando
 eam a cunctis gentibus. Vnde et circuncisionis signum et legem
 dedit, sacrificia instituit, se ipsum in carne uenturum in lege

1517 os – est] II Cor. 6, 11 **1518/1519** gratia ... dei – nobis] Rom.
 5, 5 **1521/1522** hunc – commendat] cfr Is. 11, 2-3 **1524/1525**
 dominus – sanctum] Act. 2, 1-4 **1534/1535** de – septena] cfr Gen. 7, 2-3
1540/1541 Noe – suo] cfr Gen. 9, 20-21

1534/1539 quid – gaudet] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 56 **1538/1539** numero –
 gaudet] VERG., *Ecl.* 8, 75 **1540/1547** quid – sua] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 60

1527 hic] haec *fons* **1529** post quinquaginta *habet* cubitorum *fons* **1530**
 quem] quod *fons* **1538** post numero *add.* deus *Q² (cum fonte)*

1545 praedixit. Sed quia in eum credere noluerunt, uineae suae uino, id
est malitia populi sui, passus est, crucifixus est, sputis illitus est. Sed
haec passus est in tabernaculo suo, id est in gente sua.

143. INT. Quid significat quod Cham, pater Chanaan, uidens
uerenda patris sui, exiens foras nuntiauit fratribus suis?

1550 Rp. In duobus filiis, maximo et minimo, duo populi figurati
sunt uestem portantes, sacramentum scilicet iam preteritae atque
transactae dominicae passionis. Nuditatem patris, id est passionem
Christi, honorauit medius filius, id est populus Iudaeorum, | ideo 84b
medius, quia nec primatum apostolorum tenuit nec ultimus in
1555 gentibus credidit. Nuditatem patris nuntiauit fratribus suis. Per eum
quippe manifestatum est et quodam modo puplicatum quod erat in
prophetis secretum. Ideo fit fratrum suorum seruus. Quid est enim
hodie aliud gens ipsa, nisi scriniaria christianorum, portans legem
et prophetas ad testimonium assertionis ecclesiae ut nos honoremus
1560 per sacramentum quod nuntiant illi per litteram?

144. INT. Quid significat quod dicit deus ad Abraham: *Egredere
de terra tua et de cognatione tua et de domo patris tui?*

Rp. Abraham personam portabat Christi. Sicut enim Abraham
dimisit terram et cognationem suam et domum patris sui et uenit
1565 in terram quam ignorabat, ita et Christus dimisit gentem suam,
scilicet Iudaeorum, et uenit ad populum gentium. Hinc temporalis
explanatio hoc habet: eximus de terra nostra quando diuitias mundi
huius facultatesque contemnimus ut, cognatione nostra diuitiisque
prioribus contemptis, quae nobis a natiuitate nostra coherentia
1570 uelut affinitate quadam et consanguinitate coniuncta sunt, de domo
patris nostri, id est de omni memoria mundi huius, quae oculorum
occurrit obtutibus, exeamus.

145. INT. Cur dictum est: *Oculum pro oculo, dentem pro dente* et
cetera quae ad uindictam dicuntur?

1548/1549 Cham – suis] cfr Gen. 9, 22 **1561/1562** egredere – tui] Gen.
12, 1 **1573** oculum – dente] Leu. 24, 20; Deut. 19, 21

1548/1560 quid – litteram] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 61 **1561/1572** quid –
exeamus] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 62 **1573/1576** cur – fieri] Ps. ISID.,
Quaest. 30 lin. 95-98

1545 uineae] uneae *Q'* **1557** ante ideo *add.* et *Q'* **1566** hinc] hic *fons*

1575 RPO. Vt esset timor in populo, ne cuiquam liceret alicui facere
quod sibi nollet fieri. Non ut peccaret qui uindicat, sed melius facit
qui non retribuit mala pro malis.

1580 146. INT. Dictum est ad Moysen a domino ut faceret | serpentem 85a
et exaltaret in heremo et ut ammoneret populum Israel ut, si
quis morsus esset a serpente, illum serpentem in ligno exaltatum
intenderet. Factum est. Mordebantur homines, intuebantur et
sanabantur.

RP. Qui sunt serpentes? Peccata de mortalitate carnis. Quis est
serpens exaltatus? Mors domini in cruce. Quia enim a serpente
1585 mors, per serpentis effigiem figurata est. Morsus serpentium loetalis,
mors domini uitalis. Attenditur serpens ut nihil ualeat mors. Sed
cuius mors est uita, si dici potest, immo quia dici potest, mirabiliter
dicitur. Numquid non erit dicendum quod fuit faciendum? Quid
autem pendet in ligno nisi peccatum ueteris hominis, quod dominus
1590 pro nobis ipsa carnis mortalitate suspendit? In cuius mortis figuram
Moyses serpentem exaltauit super lignum. Persuasionem quippe
serpentis homo in damnationem cecidit, itaque ad significandam
ipsius domini mortem conuenienter serpens exaltatur in ligno.
Non igitur mirum si maledictum de maledicto uicit qui mortem
1595 de morte superauit.

147. INT. Quot modis intellegitur lex esse diuisa?

RP. Prima pars legis de deo, sicut scriptum est: *Audi, Israel,*
dominus deus tuus deus unus est. Secunda praeceptorum, quia ad
proximorum dilectionem pertinere uidetur. Tertia in neomeniis
1600 et sabbatis et escis et circumcisione, quae usque ad Iohannem
fuerunt.

148. INT. Quid habent psalmi proprium praeter ceteras
scripturas?

RP. Omnes scripturae quaedam habent propria, unde etiam
1605 nomina acceperunt, et multa communia. Nam libri Moysi lex

1578/1582 dictum – sanabantur] cfr Num. 21, 8-9 1591/1592 per –
cecidit] cfr Gen. 3, 1-6 1597/1598 audi – est] Marc. 12, 29

1576/1577 non – malis] AMBROSIAS., rec. I, 69 col., 2264 1578/1588
dictum – faciendum] AVG., *In euang. Ioh.* 12, 11 1588/1590 quid –
suspendit] AVG., *Ad Gal.* 22, 9 1590/1593 in – ligno] AVG., *Ad Gal.* 22,
11 1594/1595 non – superauit] AVG., *Ad Gal.* 22, 16 1596/1601
quot – fuerunt] AMBROSIAS., rec. II, nou. test. 15 col., 2395

dicuntur, cum et | futura Christi praedicant et multas historias 85b
narrant, quia maxime praecepta continent dei et horum causa
etiam historiae ipse narrantur. Prophetarum quoque quamvis et
historias aliquas dicant, mores instruant, tamen in qua parte plus
1610 habent, inde etiam nominati sunt. Ita et psalmi, quamvis historias
replicant et futura predicant et doceant quomodo uiuendum sit,
tamen quoniam omnia propter laudem dei et docent et memorant
et prophetant, merito secundum hebraeos uolumen hymnorum,
hoc est laudationum, psalterium appellatur, quod confirmat ille
1615 titulus qui in septuagesimo secundo psalmo laudes Dauid asserit
defecisse.

149. INT. Quomodo soluetur hoc ipsum quod postquam defecisse
dicuntur laudes Dauid, iterum inueniuntur psalmi Dauid?

Rp. Soluetur, si sciamus in quo psalmo finiuntur, in septuagesimo
1620 scilicet primo, qui *Salomonis* titulatur, et ad Salomonem omnino
non pertinent, sed ad Christum. Merito ergo laudes Dauid in laude
Christi finite sunt, quia lex et prophetarum usque ad Iohannem.

150. INT. Quae est doctrina psalmodum?

Rp. Prorsus omnia docet quibus ad uitam peruenitur aeternam.
1625 Ostendunt quomodo quis incipere debeat, qualiter proficere et ad
perfectionem usque protendere, qualiter in ea perseuerare debeat,
quemadmodum, si lapsus fuerit, emendare, quomodo plangere
et modum poenitentiae custodire, orare quoque in tribulatione
et laudare deum in laetitia atque in omnibus gratias agere. Hinc
1630 maxime discimus et docemur et caetera quae numerare | perlongum
est.

151. INT. Quibus modis dicitur iustitia?

86a

Rp. Quinque: prima iustitia ueteris testamenti, secunda iustitia
noui testamenti, tertia iustitia iudicandi, quarta in misericordia,
1635 quinta iustitia que uidetur ab hominibus.

152. INT. Quot sunt genera iustorum?

Rp. Duo in hac uita sunt genera iustorum: unum uidelicet bene
uiuentium, sed nulla docentium, aliud uero recte uiuentium et

1614/1616 ille – defecisse] cfr Ps. 71, 20 **1620** Salomonis] Ps. 71, 1

1617/1622 quomodo – Iohannem] cfr Ps. REM. AVT., *In psalm.*, praef. col.,
135C **1632/1635** quibus – hominibus] Ps. ISID., *Quaest.* 31 lin. 99-
102 **1637/1641** duo – infundunt] GREG. M., *Moral.* 27, 8, 12

1621 pertinent] pertinet *fons* **1624** docet : docent *Q*²

eadem recte docentium. Sicut in caeli facie stellae prodeunt quas
 1640 nullae pluuiæ subsecuntur, aliae prodeunt quæ arentem terram
 magnis imbribus infundunt.

153. INT. Inter impios et peccatores quid interest?

Rp. Impius in scriptura sacra proprie infidelis appellatur. Haec
 namque propterea ab impiis peccatores discernit, quia, cum omnis
 1645 impius sit peccator, non tamen omnis peccator est impius. Peccator
 est etiam qui pius est fide, unde Iohannes ait: *Si dixerimus quia
 peccatum non habemus, ipsi nos seducimus*. Impius uero proprie
 dicitur qui a religionis pietate separatur. De talibus enim propheta
 ait: *Non resurgent impii in iudicio*.

1650 **154. INT.** Quot modi sunt conuersorum?

⟨Rp.⟩ Tres modi sunt conuersorum: inchoatio, medietas atque
 perfectio. Inchoationem autem inueniunt blandimenta dulcedinis,
 in medio quoque tempore certamina temptationis, ad extremum
 uero perfectionem plenitudinis. Prius ergo dulcia sunt que illos
 1655 consolentur, postmodum amara que exerceant et tunc demum
 suauia atque | sublimia quæ confirmant. Nam et sponsam suam 86b
 uir quisque prius dulcibus blandimentis fouet, quam tamen iam
 coniunctam asperis increpationibus probat, probatam uero securis
 cogitationibus possidet.

1660 **155. INT.** Quibus modis crux tollitur?

Rp. Duobus: cum aut per abstinentiam afficitur corpus aut per
 compassionem proximi affligitur animus.

156. INT. Vnum praemium est omnibus?

Rp. Vnus denarius non unum praemium, sed una liberatio de
 1665 gehenna. Quomodo ad indulgentiam diuersorum criminum rei

1646/1647 si – seducimus] I Ioh. 1, 8 **1649** non – iudicio] Ps. 1, 5

1643/1649 impius – iudicio] GREG. M., *Moral.* 25, 10, 25 **1651/1659**
 tres – possidet] GREG. M., *Moral.* 24, 11, 28 **1660/1662** quibus – animus]
 GREG. M., *In euang.* 2, 32, 3 **1664/1668** unus – tribut] HIER., *Adu. Iouin.*
 2, 32

1651 rp. *addidi* **1652** inchoationem] in inchoatione *fons* **1658** *post*
 coniunctam *add.* sibi *Q*² **1663** praemium *scripsi*, proemium *Q*¹, premium
*Q*² **1664** praemium *scripsi*, proemium *Q*¹, premium *Q*²

dimittuntur e carcere et unusquisque pro labore et operibus suis in hoc uel illud statuitur, ita et denarius, quasi indulgentia ueri principis, omnes baptismo iubet e carcere egredi. Ita nostri et laboris est pro diuersitate uirtutum diuersa nobis praemia praeparare tributi.

1670 **157. INT.** Quot genera sunt apostolatus uel quale nomen sit apostolus uolo cognoscere.

Rp. Apostolus interpretatur missus. Apostolorum genera sunt quattuor: a deo, <et a deo et per hominem>, et per hominem, et per se. A deo enim missus est Moyses. A deo et per hominem, sicut
1675 Ihesus Naue. Per hominem tantum sicut nostris temporibus multi fauore uulgi in sacerdotium subrogati sunt. Ex se enim sicut sunt pseudoprophetae.

158. INT. Quomodo possumus scire qui mittatur a deo?

<Rp.> Illum cognosce missum a deo quem non paucorum
1680 hominum laudatio uel potius adulatio elegit, sed illum quem et uita et mores optimi commendant, et populi ac sacerdotum maioris partis | iudicio comprobatur, et qui non appetit praeesse 87a nec pecuniam dat ut episcopatus honorem acquirat. Nam de his qui praeesse festinat, quidam patrum eleganter expressit: Sciat se
1685 non esse episcopum qui praeesse desiderat, non prodesse.

159. INT. Quibus modis locutio diuina distinguitur?

Rp. Duobus: aut per semetipsum dominus in mente loquitur aut per creaturam angelicam.

160. INT. In scriptura sacra nubes quid significant?

1690 Rp. Aliquando per nubes mobiles quique homines, aliquando prophetae, aliquando autem apostoli designantur. Per nubes mobilitas humanae mentis exprimitur, sicut Salomon ait: *Qui obseruat*

1692/1693 qui – metet] Eccle. 11, 4

1670/1677 quot – pseudoprophetae] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 64 **1678/1586**
quomodo – prodesse] ANON., *Quaest. Oros.* 65 **1686/1688** quibus –
angelicam] GREG. M., *Moral.* 28, 1, 2 **1689/1704** in – imbrem] GREG. M.,
Moral. 27, 9, 15

1666 carcere] care *Q*¹ **1668** ante baptismo *add.* in *Q*² **1669** praemia
scripsi, proemia *Q*¹, premia *Q*² tributi: *hoc uerbum non habet fons* **1673**
post deo¹ *add.* a deo *Q*² et a deo et per hominem *addidi* *post* hominem²
add. per hominem *Q*² **1673/1674** a¹ – se : a deo non per hominem a
deo sed per hominem per hominem tantum et ex se *fons* **1679** rp. *addidi*
1683 his] eo *fons* **1684** festinat] festinant *temptaui*

uentum, non seminat et qui considerat nubes, numquam metet.
 Ventus proculdubio inmundus spiritus. Nubes uero subiectos
 ei homines appellat, quotiens huc illucque impellit et reuocat,
 1695 quotiens temptationes eius in eorum cordibus suggestionum
 flatibus alternant. Qui igitur uentum obseruat non seminat, quia
 temptationes uenturas obseruat, metuit et cor ad bona opera
 non proponit. Et qui considerat nubes, non metet, quia is, qui
 ante humanae mobilitatis terrorem trepidat, mercede se aeternae
 1700 retributionis priuat. Nubes prophete praefigurantur, sicut per
 psalmistam dicitur: *Tenebrosa aqua in nubibus aeris*, id est occulta
 scientia in prophetis. Per nubes quoque apostoli designantur, sicut
 per Esaïam dicitur: *Mandabo nubibus ne pluant super eam imbrem.*
 Sancti praedicatores, ali|quando sunt nubes, aliquando operarii. 87b
 1705 Nubes uidelicet per doctrinam, operarii per uitam. Nubes quia
 uerbis pluunt, operarii quia non desinunt agere quod locuntur.

161. INT. Quid significat in scriptura panis?

Rp. Panis in scriptura sacra aliquando ipse dominus, aliquando
 spiritalis gratiae, aliquando diuinae doctrinae eruditio, aliquando
 1710 hereticorum praedicatio, aliquando subsidium uitae praesentis,
 aliquando iocunditas humanae dilectionis accipitur. In pane
 dominus designatur, sicut in euangelio dicit: *Ego sum panis uiuus,*
qui de caelo descendi. Rursum per panem gratia doni spiritalis
 accipitur, sicut per Dauid de sancta ecclesia dicitur: *Pauperes eius*
 1715 *saturabo panibus*, quia in illa positae mentes humilium spiritalium
 implentur refectione donorum. Rursus per panem diuinae doctrinae
 eruditio designatur, sicut per prophetam dicitur: *Qui habitatis in*
terra austri, cum panibus occurrite fugienti. In terra austri habitant
 qui in ecclesia superni spiritus caritate perflantur. Fugit autem qui
 1720 huius mundi mala euadere cupit. Qui ergo in terra austri habitat,
 fugienti cum panibus occurrat, id est his, qui iam sancto spiritu intra

1702 tenebrosa – aeris] Ps. 17, 12 **1704** mandabo – imbrem] Is. 5, 6
1713/1714 ego – descendi] Ioh. 6, 51 **1715/1716** pauperes – panibus] Ps.
 131, 15 **1718/1719** qui – fugienti] Is. 21, 14

1705/1707 sancti – locuntur] GREG. M., *Moral.* 27, 30, 54 **1709/1738**
 panis – panem] GREG. M., *Moral.* 23, 25, 49

1697 quia] qui Q², quia qui *fons* **1710** gratiae] gratia *fons* **1722** his] is
intellege cum fonte

ecclesiam plenus est eum, qui mala sua euadere nititur, elocutionis
 1725 alloquio consoletur. Rursum per panem hereticorum praedicatio
 designatur, sicut per Salomonem mulier hereticae ecclesiae tipum
 gestat, unde dicitur: *Panis occultus libenter editur*, uel sicut in
 nostra translatione scriptum est: *Aquae furtiuae dulciores sunt et*
panis abscondi|tus suauior. Sunt enim nonnullae hereses quae aperte 88a
 metuunt praedicare quod sentiunt et apud infirmorum mentes
 1730 uerba sua tanto magis condunt quanto quasi amplius reuerenter
 abscondunt. Vnde non inmerito dicitur: *Panis occultus libenter*
editur. Miseris enim cordibus occulta hereticorum uerba eo magis
 sapiunt quo cum reliquis communiter non habentur. Rursum per
 panem subsidium uitae praesentis accipitur, sicut Iacob ad Laban
 1735 transiens ait: *Domine deus, si dederis mihi panem ad manducandum,*
uestem ad induendum! Rursum per panem iocunditas humanae
 dilectionis accipitur. Vnde Hieremias propheta de synagoga dicit:
Omnis populus eius gemens et quaerens panem.

162. INT. Quid est angusta uia?

1740 <Rp.> Angusta uia est de huius mundi concupiscentia nihil habere,
 aliena non appetere, propria non tenere, laudes mundi despicere et
 pro dei amore gloriam fugere, despectum sequi, adulantes despicere,
 despicientes honorare, mala nocentium ex corde dimittere et erga
 eos dilectionis gratiam immobilem corde retinere.

1745 **163. INT.** Quae sunt bona summa? Quae media?

Rp. Bona etenim summa sunt spes, fides, caritas. Quae, cum
 ueraciter habentur, in malum flecti non possunt. Bona autem
 sunt media prophetia, doctrina, curationum uirtus et cetera quae
 ita inter utrumque sunt posita ut aliquando per haec sola aeterna
 1750 patria, aliquando uero gloria terrena requiratur. | Medias ergo has 88b
 uirtutes dicimus quas ad quodcumque mens appetit inclinamus.

1726 panis – editur] Prou. 9, 17 1727/1728 aquae – suauior] Prou. 9, 17
 1731/1732 panis – editur] Prou. 9, 17 1735/1736 domine – induendum]
 Gen. 28, 20 1738 omnis – panem] Thren. 1, 11 1739 angusta uia]
 cfr Matth. 7, 14

1740/1744 angusta – retinere] GREG. M., *Moral.* 27, 37, 61 1745/1751
 quae¹ – inclinamus] GREG. M., *Moral.* 27, 46, 76

1740 rp. *addidi*

164. INT. Quibus modis queritur anima iusti?

Rp. Duobus modis queritur anima hominis iusti : quaeris animam iusti, cum imitari cogitas; quaeris animam iusti, cum occidere
1755 cogitas.

165. INT. Quid significat: *Osculetur me osculo oris sui*?

Rp. Quasi dicat: Tangat me de dulcedine praesentiae unigeniti filii, redemptoris mei.

166. INT. Quod est quod dicit apostolus: *Carnis curam ne feceris*
1760 *in desideriis*?

Rp. Quae igitur fieri in desiderio prohibentur, in necessitate conceduntur. Sic enim necesse est ut arce quisque continentiae teneat quatenus non carnem, sed uitia occidat. Sine dolore namque amittitur quicquid sine amore possidetur. Quae uero ardentem
1765 diligimus habita, grauiter suspiramus ablata.

167. INT. Vbi sunt tres dies inuestigabiles?

Rp. Lex in utero Moysi, Iohannes in utero Helisabeth, Christus in utero Mariae.

168. INT. Quot uitales spiritus creauit omnipotens deus?

Rp. Tres: unum qui carne non tegitur, id est angelorum; alium
1770 qui carne tegitur et cum carne non moritur, id est hominum; tertium qui carne tegitur et cum carne moritur, id est iumentorum et brutorum animalium. Homo itaque sicut in medio creatus est ut esset inferior angelo, superior iumento. Ita aliquid habet commune
1775 cum infimo, aliquid cum summo: immortalitatem scilicet spiritus cum angelo, morta<lita>tem uero carnis cum iumento.

1752 queritur – iusti] cfr Prou. 29, 10 **1756** osculetur – sui] Cant. 1, 1
1759/1760 carnis – desideriis] Rom. 13, 14 **1766** tres – inuestigabiles] cfr Rom. 11, 33

1753/1755 duobus – cogitas] Avg., *In psalm.* 69, 3 **1756/1758** quid – mei] GREG. M., *Moral.* 27, 17, 34 **1759/1763** quod¹ – occidat] GREG. M., *Moral.* 30, 18, 62-63 **1763/1765** sine – ablata] GREG. M., *Moral.* 31, 13, 21 **1766/1768** ubi – Mariae] Ps. BEDA, *Coll.* 115 (= PL 94, 543D) **1769/1776** quot – iumento] GREG. M., *Dial.* 4, 3, 1-2

1759 feceris] feceritis Q² **1762** arce] arcem fons **1767** helisabeth] helibeth Q¹ **1776** mortalitatem scripsi cum fonte, mortatem Q

169. INT. Quomodo intellegendum est quod dicitur in euangelio : *Angeli eorum semper uident faciem | patris?* Quomodo enim aut semper assistere aut uidere faciem patris possunt, si ad ministerium pro nostra salute exterius mittantur? 89a

1780 Rp. Neque enim sic a diuina uisione foras exeunt ut internae contemplationis gaudiis priuentur, quia, si conditoris aspectum exeuntes amitterent, nec iacentes erigere nec ignorantibus uera nuntiare potuissent fontemque lucis, quem egredientes ipsi 1785 perderent, cecis nullatenus propinarent. In hoc itaque est nunc natura angelica a naturae nostrae condicione distincta: quod et loco circumscribimur et cecitatis ignorantia coartamur, angelorum uero spiritus loco quidem circumscripti sunt, sed tamen eorum scientia longe super nos incomparabiliter dilatatur. Interius quippe 1790 exteriusque sciendo distenti sunt, quia ipsum fontem scientiae contemplantur. Quid enim de his, quae scienda sunt, nesciunt qui scientem omnia sciunt? Eorum itaque scientia comparatione nostra ualde dilatata est, sed tamen comparatione diuine scientiae angusta, sicut et ipsorum spiritus comparatione quidem nostrorum 1795 corporum spiritus sunt, sed comparatione summi et incircumscripti spiritus corpus sunt. Et mittuntur et assistunt, quia et per hoc, quod circumscripti sunt, exeunt, et per hoc, quod intus quoque presentes sunt, numquam recedunt. Et faciem ergo patris semper uidet et tamen ad nos ueniunt, quia et ad nos spiritali praesentia 1800 foras exeunt, et tamen ibi se, unde recesserant, per aeternam contemplationem seruant.

170. INT. Quibus modis consistit homo?

Rp. Quattuor: uento et humo, aere et igni.

171. INT. | Quot helementa sunt ex quibus constat homo? 89b

1805 RPO. Quattuor: oculi ad ignem, aures ad aerem pertinere noscuntur, olfaciendi gustandique sensus naturae humidae datur, tactus ex terra sentitur. Ignis tamen omnia penetrat ut motum in eis faciat.

1778 angeli – patris] Matth. 18, 10

1778/1801 quomodo – seruant] GREG. M., *Moral.* 2, 3, 3 1804/1808
quot – faciat] AVG., *Gen. ad litt.* 3, 4

1779 uidere] uide Q' 1780 mittantur] mittuntur *fons* 1793 nostra]
nostrae *fons* 1797 circumscripti *scripsi cum fonte*, circumscripta Q

172. INT. Quanta continet ignis?

1810 RP. Quattuor, id est urit, calificat, illuminat. Vrit uitia, calificat frigidam animam, sanctificat peccata, illuminat cor.

173. INT. Quot columnae continent hominem?

RP. Quattuor: prudentia, fortitudo, temperantia, iustitia. Prudentia est iustificationes dei prouidere, iustitia est legis diuinae
1815 praecepta implere, temperantia est uiam regalem directis incedere gressibus, fortitudo est firmiter in fine usque ad certum perseuerare. Temperantia libido frenatur, fortitudine aduersa tolerantur, iustitia iniqua puniuntur, per prudentiam mala euitantur: stultitia, luxuria, fornicatio.

1820 **174.** INT. Quibus modis dicitur fornicatio?

RP. Duobus modis: uel corporaliter uel spiritaliter. Spiritaliter ut: *Fornicati sunt in adinuentionibus suis*, corporaliter ut illud apostoli: *Qui autem fornicatur, in corpus suum peccat*.

175. INT. Omne quod dicitur quota qualitate distinguitur?

1825 RP. Omne enim quod dicitur quadripartita potest qualitate distingui: aut enim mala male aut bona bene <aut mala bene aut bona male. Male enim malum dicitur>, cum res peruersa suadetur, sicut scriptum est: *Benedic deo et morere*. Bene bonum dicitur, cum recta praedicantur, sicut Iohannes ait: | *Agite poenitentiam*, 90a
1830 *appropinquabit enim regnum celorum*. Malum bene dicitur, quando per os dicentis idcirco uitium exprimitur ut reprobetur, sicut Paulus ait: *Femine eorum immutauerunt naturalem usum in eum usum qui est contra naturam*. Quo loco execranda quoque uirorum facinora subdidit, sed caute incauta narrauit ut multos ad honestatis formam
1835 inhonesta narrando reuocaret. Male autem bonum dicitur, cum rectum aliquid recto studio non profertur, sicut, illuminato ceco, pharisaei dixisse perhibentur: *Tu sis discipulus eius*. Quod utique

1822 fornicati – suis] Ps. 105, 39 **1823** qui – peccat] I Cor. 6, 18 **1828**
benedic – morere] Iob 2, 9 **1829/1830** agite – celorum] Matth. 3, 2; ibid.
4, 17 **1832/1833** femine – naturam] Rom. 1, 26 **1837** tu – eius] Ioh.
9, 28

1809/1811 quanta – cor] Ps. ISID., *Quaest.* 32 lin. 103-107 **1817/1818**
temperantia – euitantur] AVG., *Gen. ad litt.* 12, 26 **1824/1841** omne –
prophetauit] GREG. M., *Moral.* 23, 1, 5

1809 continet] continent Q² **1810** calificat ... calificat] caleficat ... caleficat
Q² **1826** post bene¹ add. malum male dicuntur Q³ **1826/1827** aut³ –
dicitur addidi cum fonte

maledictionis studio dixerunt, narrationis quoque uoto, sicut
Caiphas ait: *Expediit unum mori pro populo ut non tanta gens pereat.*

1840 Bonum quippe, sed non bene locutus est quia, dum crudelitatem
necis appetiit, rede[m]ptionis gratiam prophetauit.

176. INT. Quot continet omnis scriptura uel quibus modis?

Rp. Tria sunt in sacra scriptura, id est carmen et lamentationes
et uae: carmen ad gaudium futurae uitae, lamentationes ad fletum
1845 poenitentiae, uae ad supplicia sempiterna.

177. INT. Quid significat quod dicitur in euangelio: *Ingredietur
et egredietur et pascua inueniet?*

Rp. Qui ingredietur adhuc in saeculo est et ex creaturis intellegit
creatorem. Qui autem egredietur, transcendit uniuersam creaturam
1850 et, omnibus quae uideri possunt pro nihilo computatis, | inuenit 90b
pascua super caelos et sermone dei uescitur et dicit: *Dominus regit
me et nihil mihi deerit.* Sicut enim mane uirens herba et suis floribus
uernans delectat oculos conspicientium paulatimque marcescens
amittit pulcritudinem et in foenum, quod conterendum est,
1855 uertitur, ita omnis species hominum uernat in paruulis, floret in
iuuenibus, uiget in perfecta aetate uiri, sed repente, dum nescit,
incanescit caput, rugatur frons, cutis prius extenta contrahitur et
extremo fine, id est senio, uix moueri potest ita ut non cognoscatur
quis prior fuerit, sed pene in alium commutatur.

1860 **178.** INT. Quid significat quod dicit in psalmo: *Myrra et gutta et
casia?*

Rp. Myrra mortis est indicium, gutta exinanita diuinitatis forma
et seruilis suscepta dignatio, casia est genus herbae quae aquis
inundantibus nutriri dicitur, redemptionem humani generis per
1865 aquam baptismi datam significat.

1839 expediit – pereat] Ioh. 11, 50 (cfr etiam ibid. 18, 14) **1843/1844**
carmen – uae] cfr Ez. 2, 9 **1846/1847** ingredietur – inueniet] Ioh. 10, 9
1851/1852 dominus – deerit] Ps. 22, 1 **1860/1861** myrra – casia] Ps. 44, 9

1846/1852 quid – deerit] HIER., *In Mich.* 1, 2, 11/13 (lin. 567-568.573-577)
1852/1859 sicut – commutatur] HIER., *Epist.* 140, 9, 3 **1862/1865**
myrra – significat] ORIG., *In cant.* 2, 10, 10

1838 narrationis quoque] non orationis *fons* **1841** redemptionis *scripsi*,
redeptionis Q *post* redemptionis *add. unum quod non bene legitur uerbum*
Q² **1861** casia] cassia Q² **1864** *post* dicitur *add. et* Q²

179. INT. Diabolus qua lingua dicitur uel quid intellegitur?

RP. Diabolus hebraice dicitur deorsum fluens. In quocumque enim opera diaboli fuerint inuenta, sine dubio diabolus est appellandus. Operis enim nomen est, non naturae.

Summary

The present work is an edition and study of an exegetical treatise transmitted through Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, MS 29. This Latin commentary on the Old and New Testaments discusses, *inter alia*, the nature of the Trinity, the resurrection, baptism, Christ, and the devil. The work is thought to have been written about 800-975 at a continental centre under insular influence.

1867 diabolus – fluens] ISID., *Etym.* 8, 11, 18
AMBROSIAS., rec. I, 90 (col. 2282)

1867/1869 in – naturae]

Prophecy and poetry in the Psalms-commentaries of St Bruno and the pre-scholastics*

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Late in the eleventh century and through the twelfth, there was an outpouring of biblical exegesis in the schools of Northern France, and an ever-growing number of commentaries circulated among the cathedrals and monasteries. In their writing and, presumably, in their lectures, masters now brought the techniques of the liberal arts to bear on the Bible, thereby creating various scholarly hermeneutics or exegetical methods.¹ For Beryl Smalley, whose work was central in iden-

* This essay has benefited greatly from my ongoing conversations with several mentors and colleagues, whom it is a pleasure to acknowledge: Alastair Minnis, Denys Turner, Margot Fassler, Marcia Colish, Suzanne LaVere, Cédric Giraud, Burton Van Name Edwards, John Wei, Annika Ekman, and Alexander Andrée. The generosity of the librarians for Medieval Studies at Yale, Susanne Roberts and Emily Horning, has been of the utmost importance to my work. The plates that accompany this essay are reproduced with the permission of the Bibliothèque municipale de Troyes. Finally, I must note my deep gratitude for the example provided in the writing of Beryl Smalley, who remains without an equal in the field of medieval biblical studies.

¹ Though techniques taught in the liberal arts curriculum were used by certain patristic and earlier medieval biblical exegetes, late-eleventh-century commentators applied them more consistently than had their predecessors. What had been isolated instances of arts-based interpretation thus became hermeneutics. On this point, see M. T. GIBSON, "The *artes* in the eleventh century", in *Arts libéraux et philosophie au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1969, pp. 120-126 and 148-153; EAD., "Lanfranc's commentary on the Pauline Epistles", *Journal of Theological Studies*, n. s. 22 (1971), pp. 86-112; see also Charles M. RADDING, "The geography of learning in early eleventh-century Europe: Lan-

tifying this phenomenon, no two writers achieved such an approach to the biblical text more fully than Hugh (d. 1141) and Andrew (d. 1175), canons regular of the Abbey of St Victor.² As the basis for their particular scholarly approach to the Bible, as Smalley articulated it, these Victorines “distinguished with unusual care between the senses [of Scripture].” With history, allegory, and tropology thus delineated, Hugh and Andrew were able to focus on the literal meaning of the text and the intentions of its authors.³ Smalley’s work has been followed by a large and rich body of scholarship, providing both editions of Victorine texts and studies of the development of their exegetical method.⁴ Yet, though this scholarly

franc of Bec and Berengar of Tours revisited”, *Bullettino dell’Istituto italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 98 (1992), pp. 145-172. Gibson and, especially, Radding suggest that this flowering of the liberal arts in biblical studies could have been due to the influence of Italians, like Lanfranc, moving through northern Europe. My own work with the school of Rheims suggests that certain exegetes, especially Bruno le Chartreux, were developing hermeneutic strategies they found already in their exegetical sources, e.g., Remigius of Auxerre. See my “*Grammatica* and the authenticity of the Psalms-commentary attributed to Bruno the Carthusian”, *Mediaeval Studies*, 71 (2009), 63-97; and “Poetry and commentary in the medieval school of Rheims”, my contribution to a forthcoming volume of the proceedings of a 2010-2011 working group at the Institute for Advanced Studies, Jerusalem.

² Smalley’s chapters on these Victorine writers form the centerpiece of her classic work, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd rev. edn., Oxford, 1984, pp. 83-195.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁴ Andrew’s works now fill eight volumes of the *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, nos. 53-53G, edited variously by Frans VAN LIERE, Mark ZIER, Michael SIGNER, Rainer BERNDT, and Charles LOHR. Secondary studies are numerous, but see especially Boyd Taylor COOLMAN, “*Pulcrum esse*: The beauty of Scripture, the beauty of the soul, and the art of exegesis in Hugh of St. Victor”, *Traditio*, 58 (2003), pp. 175-200; ID., *The Theology of Hugh of St. Victor: An Interpretation*, Cambridge, 2010; Margot FASSLER, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris*, Cambridge, 1993; Michael SIGNER, “From theory to practice: The *De doctrina christiana* and the exegesis of Andrew of St. Victor”, in *Reading and Wisdom: The De doctrina christiana of Augustine in the Middle Ages*, ed. by E. D. ENGLISH, Notre Dame, 1995, pp. 84-98; Frans VAN LIERE, “Andrew of St. Victor (d. 1175): Scholar between cloister and school”, in *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Premodern Europe and the Near East*, ed. by J. W. DRIJVERS and A. A. MACDONALD, Leiden, 1995, pp. 187-195; ID., “The school of St. Victor in perspective”, *Medieval Perspectives*, 11 (1996),

focus on the Victorine hermeneutic has done much to refine our understanding of medieval biblical studies, its narrowness has the potential to obfuscate the complexity of other exegetical trends. For, though the Victorines were doubtless influential, theirs was not the only academic approach to the Bible developed in this period.⁵

The Victorine hermeneutic of the early twelfth century was applied most often to the historical books of the Old Testament, the Octateuch and the books of Kings.⁶ For other books, the development of other exegetical methods was necessary. The Psalter-commentary composed by Bruno le Chartreux (d. 1101), *magister* at the cathedral school of Rheims from c. 1060 until 1079,⁷ stands at the head of a tradition of exegesis of the Psalms wherein was cultivated just such an alternative scholarly hermeneutic, a different way of reading the biblical text than that of the Victorines.⁸ Though fur-

pp. 209-222; Grover ZINN, "Hugh of St. Victor's *De scripturis et scriptoribus sacris* as an *accessus* treatise for the study of the Bible", *Traditio*, 52 (1997), pp. 111-134.

⁵ For a valuable discussion of medieval biblical hermeneutics, as distinct from the exegetical content of biblical commentaries, see Gilbert DAHAN, "Une herméneutique médiévale?" cap. in *Lire la Bible au Moyen Âge*, Geneva, 2009, pp. 7-53.

⁶ Alastair Minnis's early observation regarding the utility of the four senses of Scripture as an interpretive paradigm seems appropriate here: Minnis quipped that the example of Jerusalem treated according to the four senses was so frequently repeated in the Middle Ages possibly because it is one of the few cases wherein all four senses can be read intelligently. MINNIS, "'Authorial intention' and 'literal sense' in the exegetical theories of Richard FitzRalph and John Wycliff: An essay in the history of biblical hermeneutics", *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, C:75:1 (1975), pp. 1-31.

⁷ Bruno's commentary (STEGMÜLLER, no. 1816) is preserved only in Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 240 (341). It can be placed at the head of this tradition of commentaries on both stylistic grounds and in its use of sources: unlike later commentators in this group, Bruno had direct access to the recension of the authentic Psalms-commentary of Remigius of Auxerre, preserved now only in Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 132 (saec. x^{1/2}), and Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 312 (saec. xii); other, related Psalms-commentaries appear to take their Remigian material only from Bruno's commentary or from some intermediary making use of Bruno's text. For a full discussion, see "*Grammatica* and authenticity", *op. cit.*

⁸ I have discussed this hermeneutic in part, focusing on Bruno's commentary, in "*Grammatica* and authenticity", *op. cit.*, though my main purpose

ther editorial work will be necessary before the relationships between these texts can be established firmly, the body of exegesis that comes after Bruno is large and exercised considerable influence; it includes Psalms-commentaries by Roscellinus of Compiègne (d. c. 1125),⁹ Gilbertus Universalis (d. 1134),¹⁰ Gilbert of Poitiers (or “de la Porrée”; d. 1154),¹¹

there was to correct the work of Father Damian Van den Eynde, who argued that the attribution of this commentary to Bruno was spurious. VAN DEN EYNDE, “Literary note on the earliest scholastic *Comentarii in Psalmos*”, *Franciscan Studies*, n. s. 14 (1954), pp. 121-154; ID., “Complementary note on the early scholastic *Commentarii in Psalmos*”, *Franciscan Studies*, n. s. 17 (1957), pp. 149-172. Minnis broached the possibility that a scholarly hermeneutic was developed in these commentaries, but questions of authenticity and a dominating interest in thirteenth-century exegesis dissuaded him from studying them in depth. See MINNIS, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, rpt. 2nd edn., Philadelphia, 2010, pp. 40-42. Marcia Colish treats many of these texts in her magisterial *Peter Lombard*, Leiden, 1994, vol. 1, pp. 155-188, though she does not note that they are all related to one another. Instead, Colish considers some exemplary of “monastic exegesis” (Bruno, Lietbertus) and others of “scholastic exegesis” (the Ps.-Bede, the *Glossa ordinaria*, the Lombard).

⁹ Roscellinus’s commentary (STEGMÜLLER, no. 7516), which is unedited, survives in six manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 83; Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1507; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 547; Paris, BnF lat. 436; London, Lambeth Palace, MS 176; London, Lambeth Palace, MS 360. I am grateful to Constant Mews, who has supplied me with his unpublished edition of selections from this commentary; in what follows, I have made use of MS Troyes 1507.

¹⁰ The commentary by Gilbertus Universalis is similarly unedited, surviving only in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 17 (STEGMÜLLER, no. 2541). The text is incomplete, ending with Gilbertus’s commentary on Ps. 78.

¹¹ Gilbert of Poitiers’s Psalms-commentary (STEGMÜLLER, no. 2511) is currently being edited by Theresa Gross-Diaz, who also provides a thorough study of this text in *The Psalms Commentary of Gilbert of Poitiers: From “Lectio Divina” to the Lecture Room*, Leiden, 1996. Gilbert’s prologue and commentary on Pss. 1-3 have been edited from Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS F.97.Sup, and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 89, in “Il commento ai Salmi di Gilberto della Porrée”, ed. M. FONTANA, *Logos*, 13 (1930), pp. 283-301; the prologue and commentary on Ps. 1 alone appear in “Il presunto commento ai Salmi di S. Lorenzo Giustiniani opera di Gilberto Porretano”, ed. A. PAGLIARI, *Aevum*, 36 (1962), pp. 414-429. The manuscripts of Gilbert’s commentary are listed by Nikolaus M. HÄRING, “Handschriftliches zu den Werken Gilberts Bischof von Poitiers”, *Revue d’histoire des textes*, 8 (1978), pp. 133-194; Häring’s list is supplemented by GROSS-DIAZ, *Psalm Commentary*, pp. 160-180. I have made use of the text as it is presented in Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 815.

Lietbertus of St Ruf (d. 1110),¹² Honorius Augustodunensis (d. c. 1151),¹³ and Peter Lombard (d. 1160),¹⁴ as well as one commentary attributed to either John of Rheims (d. c. 1125), who was among Bruno's pupils, or Master Ivo II of Chartres (d. after 1160), who studied with Gilbert of Poitiers.¹⁵ Other commentaries in this tradition appeared spuriously in sixteenth-century editions under the names of early medieval writers: one is attributed to Bede,¹⁶ another to Haimo of

¹² A portion of the commentary by Lietbertus of St Ruf (STEGMÜLLER, no. 5340), covering only Pss. 1-75, is printed in *PL* 21, coll. 645-960. On the attribution of this text, see André WILMART, "Le commentaire sur les Psaumes imprimé sous le nom de Rufin", *Revue bénédictine*, 31 (1914-19), pp. 258-276.

¹³ Portions of Honorius Augustodunensis's commentary (STEGMÜLLER, no. 3568) are printed in *PL* 172, coll. 269-312 (Pss. 1, 50-51, and 100-101), and in *Thesaurus Anecdotorum novissimus*, ed. by B. PEZ, Augsburg, 1719-1728, vol. 5, pp. 675-732 and 1621-1876 (Pss. 31-37 and 78-117).

¹⁴ Peter Lombard's commentary (STEGMÜLLER, no. 6637) is printed in *PL* 191, though the editorial additions of the 1541 printing are not distinguished from the authentic, medieval material in Migne's text. I have therefore made use of Herbert of Bosham's *de luxe* manuscript of the Lombard for my quotations: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.5.4, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E.inf.6. On these manuscripts, see Christopher DE HAMEL, "Manuscripts of Herbert of Bosham," in *Manuscripts at Oxford: R. W. Hunt Memorial Exhibition*, ed. by A. C. DE LA MARE and B. C. BARKER-BENFIELD, Oxford, 1980, pp. 39-41.

¹⁵ Smalley first drew attention to the commentary by John or Ivo in her essay "Master Ivo of Chartres", *English Historical Review*, 50 (1935), pp. 680-686; see also VAN DEN EYNDE, "Literary Note," pp. 128-132; Teresa WEBBER, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c. 1075-c. 1125*, Oxford, 1992, pp. 102-111. This text and its relationship to the commentaries by Lietbertus of St Ruf and Bruno le Chartreux, are discussed in my essay, "John of Rheims and the Psalter-commentary attributed to Ivo II of Chartres", *Revue bénédictine*, 122 (2012), forthcoming. There I also present an edition of the commentary's prologues and gloss on Ps. 1.

¹⁶ The Ps.-Bede is printed in *PL* 93, coll. 479-1098, beginning with the "Praefatio altera" and including only the sections labeled "Commentarius": the "Explanationes" and "Argumenti" are early modern editorial additions (STEGMÜLLER, no. 1665). On the Ps.-Bede, see G. MORIN, "Le pseudo-Bède sur les Psaumes et l'*Opus super Psalterium* de maître Manegold de Lautenbach", *Revue bénédictine*, 28 (1911), pp. 331-340; Bernhard BISCHOFF, "Zur Kritik der Heerwagenschen Ausgabe von Bedas Werken (Basel, 1563)", in *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, Stuttgart, 1966, vol. 1, pp. 112-117.

Halberstadt,¹⁷ and a third to Remigius of Auxerre; another unedited commentary is attributed to Remigius in Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 99.¹⁸ Further, as we will see below, though it is not a continuous commentary, the *Glossa ordinaria in Psalmos* also participates in this tradition.¹⁹

Bruno's influence upon these texts, whether direct or mediated, was twofold: firstly, the content of Bruno's exegesis, including his selection and articulation of patristic interpretations, had authority for subsequent writers, and, secondly, the hermeneutic developed in Bruno's commentary influenced the later exegetes' approach to the text of the Psalter. According to the hermeneutic found in these texts, the Psalms are best treated as a collection of poems, and their author, David,

¹⁷ The Ps.-Haimo is printed in *PL* 116, coll. 191-696 (STEGMÜLLER, no. 1357); on the possible attribution of this text to Anselm of Laon, see André WILMART, "Un commentaire des Psaumes restitué à Anselme de Laon", *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 8 (1936), pp. 325-344. The printing of this commentary by Erasmus in 1533 is discussed by Marjorie O'ROURKE BOYLE, "For peasants, psalms: Erasmus' *editio princeps* of Haimo (1533)", *Mediaeval Studies*, 44 (1982), pp. 444-469; though O'Rourke Boyle cites Wilmart and notes that the attribution of this text to Haimo of Halberstadt is spurious, she mistakenly attributes it instead to Haimo of Auxerre.

¹⁸ One Ps.-Remigius is printed in *PL* 131, coll. 145d-884 (STEGMÜLLER, no. 7211), while the other is unedited, surviving only in MS Admont 99 (also listed in STEGMÜLLER as no. 7211). For the Ps.-Remigian commentary in *PL* 131, Migne reprinted a text published by Eucharis Cervicorn of Cologne in 1536. The introduction to Cervicorn's edition identifies the source of the Psalms-commentary as a manuscript from Altenberg: this manuscript, or any other containing the commentary that Cervicorn printed, has yet to be identified. My thanks to Burton Van Name Edwards for supplying me with this information; see his forthcoming essay, "The revival of medieval biblical exegesis in the early modern world: The example of Carolingian biblical commentaries."

Likewise, though he criticizes the schoolmen, Gerhoh of Reichersberg (d. 1169) draws on this body of exegesis in the course of his own, monumental Psalms-commentary (*PL* 193, coll. 619-1814, and *PL* 194, coll. 9-998b; STEGMÜLLER, no. 2476).

¹⁹ I have consulted the *Glossa ordinaria* in Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MSS 511 and 726, as well as in the facsimile reprint of the *editio princeps*, ed. by M. T. GIBSON and K. FROEHLICH, Turnhout, 1992, 4 vols. For the relationship of the *Glossa* to this body of continuous-format commentaries, see KRAEBEL, "Grammatica and authenticity", pp. 96-97, n. 98.

should be understood as a prophetic poet.²⁰ Considering the Psalms as poetry allows these exegetes to bring the analytical techniques taught in the arts curriculum, especially *grammatica*, to bear on their understanding of the biblical text; considering David as a prophet and a poet requires them to include what might otherwise be seen as pertaining to the realm of the spiritual senses within their literal interpretation of his text.

In what follows, we will first consider the different ways that commentaries in this tradition adapted and developed the material that they found in their sources: we will see evidence for the complex networks of influence that exist among them. We will then focus on the hermeneutic that these exegetes developed in their commentaries on the Psalms: their theory of authorship, i.e., their understanding of David's role in the creation of meaning in the Psalms, and the ways in which they developed this understanding of David as author into an exegetical strategy by means of the tools of *grammatica*. We will see, in sum, a variety of evidence bespeaking the unity of this body of texts as a distinct scholarly tradition of biblical exegesis.

I

The Psalms-commentaries composed in the tradition following after Bruno are complexly interrelated, and it is often difficult to discern which other commentaries are being used by any single exegete in this group. This tightly twined brier of textual connections has come about, in part, as an apparent result of the energy and industry characterizing the exegetical activity of this period: while exegetes in other milieux are content to base their writing on a small number of authoritative, usually patristic sources,²¹ these writers seem to have gathered together and examined as many sources, *antiqui et*

²⁰ For the early history of the idea of David as a prophet, see James L. KUGEL, "David the Prophet", in *Poetry and Prophecy: The Beginnings of a Literary Tradition*, ed. by J. L. KUGEL, Ithaca, 1990, pp. 45-55.

²¹ The biblical commentaries of the Carolingian exegete Hrabanus Maurus, for example, consist largely of excerpts collected from patristic antecedents:

moderni, as they could find, including other texts within this same body of Psalms-commentaries.²² Further, and concomitantly, it seems that no author in our group was a simple slave to his sources – though glosses of individual words or verses by patristic and other medieval writers were certainly at times quoted verbatim in these commentaries, there was also a variety of ways in which these exegetes could, while privileging the interpretations of their sources, find room for the expression of their own interpretive creativity. Tracing out some of the more pronounced ways in which this negotiation of influence might be manifest in these Psalms-commentaries will also allow us tentatively to suggest some lines of filiation: to begin to group at least some of them into families, awaiting full critical editions before the relationships that exist among them can be established with any certainty.²³

see Silvia CANTELLI BERARDUCCI, *Hrabani Mauri opera exegetica: Repertorium fontium*, Turnhout, 2006, 3 vols.

²² For useful discussions of how medieval exegetes conceptualized their relationship to their patristic sources, see Lesley SMITH, “What was the Bible in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries?” in *Neue Richtungen in der hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Bibelexegese*, ed. by R. E. LERNER, Munich, 1996 (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs Kolloquien, 32), pp. 1-15; EAD., “The theology of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Bible”, in *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration, and Use*, ed. by R. Gameson, Cambridge, 1994 (Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 2), pp. 223-232; see also Teresa WEBBER, “The patristic content of English book collections in the eleventh century: Towards a continental perspective”, in *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes, and Readers. Essays presented to M. B. Parkes*, ed. by P. R. ROBINSON and R. ZIM, Aldershot, 1997, pp. 191-205; Bernice KACZYNSKI, “The authority of the Fathers: Patristic texts in early medieval libraries and scriptoria”, *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 16 (2006), pp. 1-27.

²³ Several historians have attempted to articulate the relationships that exist among these texts, frequently aiming to identify a single source for each commentary, and their conclusions have often been based simply on the comparison of brief, scattered passages. As I noted in my earlier essay, “*Grammatica* and authenticity”, pp. 75-76, n. 36, confusion concerning the identity of the authentic Remigian Psalms-commentary and the various pseudo-Remigian texts (as well as the other pseudonymous texts in this group), has also led to outright errors in the determination of such lines of influence. Hermann LÖBBEL, *Der Stifter des Carthäuser-Ordens der heilige Bruno aus Köln*, Münster, 1899 (Kirchengeschichtliche Studien, 5:1), pp. 207-218; Josef Rupert GEISELMANN, “Zur frühmittelalterlichen Lehre vom Sakrament der Eucharis-

One way in which these commentators appear persistently to have drawn upon other exegesis in this same tradition was by treating their contemporary source or sources as indicators of what interpretive issues were pertinent for specific psalms and verses.²⁴ For example, a clear sub-group of the commentaries under consideration takes Ps. 21, 26-27a, "Apud te laus mea in ecclesia magna: uota mea reddam in conspectu timen-tium eum. Edent pauperes et saturabuntur," as an occasion to offer their own articulation of the sacramental theology of the Eucharist. As Constant Mews has demonstrated, the discussions they present a propos these verses are not uniform: the exegetes refine one another's theological language and, on some points, they simply disagree.²⁵

tie", *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 116 (1935), pp. 323-403, at pp. 373-386; VAN DEN EYNDE, "Literary note"; ID., "Complementary note"; Wilfried HARTMANN, "Psalmenkommentare aus der Zeit der Reform und der Frühscholastik", *Studi Gregoriani per la Storia della "Libertas Ecclesiae"*, 9 (1972), pp. 315-366. By taking into consideration how these various texts mediate the transmission of sources to one another, as well as the distribution and dating of their manuscripts, together with the study of their verbatim borrowings and adaptations of exegetical content and style, I hope to overcome some of the problems that I have encountered in this earlier scholarship.

I would also stress, though, that the developing textual culture of the schools in this period still had a strong element of the oral or, as C. Stephen Jaeger has argued, the charismatic appeal of the individual master. The exegesis of the Psalter in the cathedral schools did not exist solely as a series of written commentaries, and we might expect some phrases or discrete glosses of biblical diction simply to be in the air, as it were. The same brief glosses might therefore very well appear in commentaries that, for other reasons, seem more likely than not to have no direct textual relationship. JAEGER, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideas in Medieval Europe, 950-1200*, Philadelphia, 1994; see too Constant MEWS, "Orality, literacy, and authority in the twelfth-century schools", *Exemplaria*, 2 (1990), pp. 475-500.

²⁴ Smalley describes this practice with regard to the relationship between Gilbertus Universalis's commentary and that of Bruno: "[Gilbertus] brings forward subjects as they are suggested to him... by St Bruno's commentary on the text; his choice is therefore to some extent restricted." SMALLEY, "Gilbertus Universalis, Bishop of London (1128-34), and the problem of the 'Glossa ordinaria'", *Recherches de théol. anc. méd.*, 7 (1935), pp. 235-262, and 8 (1936), pp. 24-60, here vol. 8, p. 55.

²⁵ MEWS, "Bruno of Rheims and Roscelin of Compiègne on the Psalms", in *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century*, ed. by M. W. HERREN *et al.*, Turnhout, 2002 (Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 5, 2), pp. 129-

This type of relationship is especially apparent in the prologues or *accessus* to the commentaries by Bruno le Chartreux and Roscellinus of Compiègne, who was likely Bruno's student at Rheims.²⁶ Mews has shown that Bruno's is the earlier of these two texts: while the phrasing of Bruno's interpretations often remains close to his patristic and earlier medieval sources, Roscellinus adapts these authoritative interpretations and adds "extended digressions" of his own.²⁷ In his prologue, Bruno has indicated certain topics that are to be considered in such a prefatory discussion, and Roscellinus takes up all of them, roughly following Bruno's order of presentation. Both exegetes begin with a discussion of the psalter and why the Psalter takes its name from this instrument, and they go on to consider the *pars philosophiae* to which the Psalter pertains, the variety of different types of prophecy (discussed further in Section II below),²⁸ and the use of the preterite to describe events prophesied as occurring in the future. Both offer similar discussions of David's *intentio* in the Psalms, though Bruno foregrounds his treatment of this topic, positioning it early in his prologue, while Roscellinus reserves it for final consideration, immediately before beginning his commentary on Ps. 1. Throughout, Roscellinus presents more elaborate discussions than those found in Bruno's commentary: thus, for example, while both writers adapt Cassiodorus, quoting a lost Hieronymian source, for their definition of a psalter, Roscellinus

152. Mews focuses on the commentaries of Bruno and Roscellinus; their discussions of Ps. 21 could fruitfully be compared further with those found in the commentaries of Gilbertus Universalis (MS Laon 17, fols. 39ra-40ra), the Migne Ps.-Remigius (*PL* 131, 257a and 258d-260c), and the Admont Ps.-Remigius (MS Admont 99, fol. 21rv). See also Gary MACY, "Some examples of the influence of exegesis on the theology of the Eucharist in the eleventh and twelfth centuries", *Recherches de théol. anc. méd.*, 52 (1985), pp. 64-77.

²⁶ See MEWS, "Bruno of Rheims", *op. cit.* Roscellinus's prologue may be found in MS Troyes 1507, fols. 24r-25v; Bruno's is *PL* 152, coll. 638a-639d.

²⁷ MEWS, "Bruno of Rheims", p. 130.

²⁸ Roscellinus offers the discussions of the *pars philosophiae* and *genera prophetiae* in the opposite order.

discusses not only the significance of the instrument's "higher chamber", but also its ten strings.²⁹

Cassiodorus
CCSL 97, ed. by
ADRIAEN, p. 11

Psalterium est, ut Hieronymus ait, in modum deltae litterae formati ligni sonora concauitas, obesum uentrem in superioribus habens, ubi chordarum fila religata disciplinabiliter plectro percussa, suauissimam dicuntur reddere cantilenam.

Bruno le Chartreux
PL 152, col. 638a

Psalterium est quoddam musicum instrumentum quod ex superiori cauitate resonat. Et quia instrumento tali psalmorum melos canebatur, ab instrumento suo nomen recte totum opus istud accepit. Sicut enim psalterium a superiori resonat, ita et opus hoc totum de superiori, id est de Dei laude, resonat.

Roscellinus of
Compiègne MS Troyes
1507, fol. 24r

Primum considerandum est quare prophetia ista psalterium uocetur, cuius uocabuli causa haec est: psalterium enim quoddam musicum instrumentum in modum deltae litterae compositum esse dicitur, decem chordas habens, quae a superiori concauitate resonat. [...] Cordas quoque decem super se extensas habere uidetur, cum decem precepta legis, quae completa dulcem laudem Deo reddunt, a se in ecclesiam suam dirigit.

While the fact that a psaltery has ten strings is made clear in the Psalter itself (Pss. 32, 2; 91, 4; 143, 9), Roscellinus appears to have taken this observation, along with its allegorical significance, from another Psalter-commentary produced in Rheims in this period – that is, the commentary attributed to John of Rheims or Ivo II of Chartres.³⁰ Not only does Roscellinus include this discussion of the psaltery's strings, which

²⁹ Many of the details of Cassiodorus's discussion are recapitulated by Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologiae* III.xxi.6, ed. by W. LINDSAY, Oxford, 1911. My thanks to Stephen A. Barney for bringing this passage to my attention.

³⁰ For the origin of this commentary in Rheims, see my "John of Rheims", *op. cit.* On the psaltery's ten strings, John or Ivo writes, "Psalterium enim est quoddam musicum instrumentum concauum lignum in superiori parte habens et cordas decem, quae cordae inferius reperiuntur sonum superius emittunt. Et hoc figurat nobis quod laudes Dei canere non possumus nisi per decem cordas, id est per decem ueteris legis praecepta, quae decem praecepta spiritualiter accepta continent in se quicquid habetur in lege noua." The text of the prologue is presented in Appendix II of my essay, "John of Rheims."

continues beyond the quotation given here, but his treatment of the instrument's chambers, omitted from the quotation, is also more elaborate than Bruno's. In this "digression", Roscellinus identifies the upper chamber with Christ, the head of the Church, while the lower chamber (only implied in the Cassiodoran-Hieronymian definition) represents the earthly Church: together the two constitute one instrument, a figure of Christ's one, mystical body.

The application of the academic prologue form to biblical exegesis, early examples of which may be seen in Bruno's and Roscellinus's commentaries,³¹ was novel in the late-eleventh century, and so, with earlier sources thus lacking, it should be unsurprising that these Psalms-commentators depended upon more recent exegesis for this material.³² Furthermore, the type of comment found in these prologues, providing a framework for the interpretation of the text and, at times, dictating methods for how proper interpretations might be reached, also appears in the shorter prefaces with which the commentators began their exegesis of each individual psalm, as well as within that exegesis itself. Thus, for example, explaining the repetition in Ps. 1, 4a, "Non sic impii, non sic," the Ps.-Remigius in MS Admont 99 notes, "Repetitio enim in diuina pagina duplici de causa fit: aut pro nimia cordis affectione, ut *Deus, Deus meus* [Pss. 21, 2; 42, 4; et 62, 2] et similia, aut pro indignatione, ut hic."³³ Such glosses too, often not to be found in patristic sources, were eagerly copied among the Psalms-commentaries composed in the tradition after Bruno.

³¹ Gilbert Dahan identifies Roscellinus's and Bruno's commentaries as the earliest biblical exegesis to make use of the "type C" prologue form. See *Lire la Bible*, pp. 64 and 76.

³² On the biblical exegetes' adaptation of the "type C" style *accessus* from commentaries on the central texts of the liberal arts curriculum, see R. W. HUNT, "The introductions to the *artes* in the twelfth century", in *Studia medievalia in honorem R. M. Martin*, Bruges, 1948, pp. 85-112; MINNIS, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, pp. 40-72; Gilbert DAHAN, "Les prologues des commentaires bibliques (XII^e-XIV^e siècle)", in *Les prologues médiévaux*, ed. by J. HAMESSE, Turnhout, 2000, pp. 427-470; GROSS-DIAZ, *Psalms Commentary*, pp. 66-96; see also my discussion in "Grammatica and authenticity", pp. 88-90.

³³ MS Admont 99, fol. 3r.

The Admont Ps.-Remigius provides another example of this sort of borrowing, particularly useful because it sheds light on the relationship that exists between this text and the commentaries of Bruno and Gilbertus Universalis. In explaining the *titulus* that prefaces Ps. 2, "Psalmus Daud," Bruno and Gilbertus provide a distinction that may subsequently be applied in the interpretation of the *tituli* in the remaining psalms. The Admont exegete also shows awareness of this distinction.

Bruno le Chartreux PL 152, coll. 643d- 644a	Gilbertus Universalis MS Laon 17, fol. 3va	Ps.-Remigius A MS Admont 99, fol. 3r
<p>Sciendum est autem titulos psalmoreum intentiones uel per rei gestionem uel per uocis interpretationem uel etiam per utrumque designare. Per rei gestionem, cum aliquid gestum quod ad figuram pertinet denotatur, ut quando dicitur: <i>Dauid psalmus, cum fugerit a facie Absalon</i> [Ps. 3:1], quod ad Christi figuram factum est. Per uocis interpretationem, quando sola uocis interpretatione sine rei gestione psalmi designatur intentio, ut in hoc secundo psalmo, cuius titulus talis est: <i>Psalmus Dauid</i>.</p>	<p>Tituli autem duplici modo considerantur, scilicet aut secundum rei gestionem aut secundum uocum interpretationem, aut secundum utrumque.</p>	<p>Iste titulus apponitur secundum solam interpretationem et innuit nobis quia omnes uoces huius psalmi adtribuendae sunt Dauid, id est Christo.</p>

These quotations present what appears to be the degradation of a practical, exegetical definition as it is rearticulated by successive commentators. Bruno first gives a clear distinction between two methods for determining the meaning of a psalm based on its *titulus*: the latter can bespeak what appears to be a hidden, spiritual meaning either allegorically through the historical scene it describes or by means of the significance intrinsic to the words chosen in the *titulus* (e.g., as here, a psalm attributed to David should be read as having

been written in the voice of Christ).³⁴ For some *tituli*, both approaches are necessary. When he deploys the same distinction, Gilbertus is considerably more pithy, and his articulation introduces a heightened potential for misreading: it is not clear that all of the options Gilbertus presents should lead to a Christological interpretation – indeed, to read a *titulus* “secundum uocum interpretationem,” when Bruno’s illustrations are lacking, might suggest a Hebraizing approach. Finally, the Admont Ps.-Remigius, in so far as he specifies that this *titulus* is to be read “secundum solam interpretationem,” seems to be aware that there are other ways to read a *titulus*, but he does not specify here what these might be.³⁵ In this example, then, Bruno’s pedagogical priorities are apparent:³⁶ he not only wishes to convey exegetical content, but he also seeks to communicate to his readers *how* he has reached an interpretation. The ambiguities and omissions of the later texts bespeak their authors’ comparatively narrower goals.

If the foregoing example appears to require that Bruno’s commentary be antecedent to those of the Admont Ps.-Remigius and Gilbertus Universalis, it does not illustrate precisely how the latter two texts are related to one another and to Bruno’s exegesis. However, other examples that do suggest the details of their relationship are abundant. While their writing on the *titulus* to Ps. 2 would make it difficult to see the Admont text as the source for Gilbertus, other similarities between Bruno and the Admont commentary would appear to disallow the converse arrangement, i.e., that the Ps.-Remigius took his

³⁴ The relationship between these allegories and the commentaries proper is discussed in Section III below.

³⁵ This distinction is invoked again as the Ps.-Remigius introduces Ps. 3, and there he specifies that the *titulus* is to be read “secundum interpretationem et secundum rem gestam” (MS Admont 99, fol. 4r). This reading too may be found in both Bruno and Gilbertus. Yet, because the Admont commentator failed to rehearse the entirety of the distinction a propos the earlier psalm, the reader of MS Admont 99 remains unaware that these are the two interpretive options for a *titulus*.

³⁶ See E. Ann MATTER, “Exegesis and Christian education: The Carolingian model”, in *Schools of Thought in the Christian Tradition*, ed. by P. HENRY, Philadelphia, 1984, pp. 90-105, at p. 100; KRAEBEL, “*Grammatica* and authenticity”, p. 83.

“Brunonian” material from Gilbertus’s commentary. Whole phrases from Bruno’s text that do not appear in Gilbertus’s exegesis are reproduced in the Admont commentary: such is the case, for example, in their writing on the Eucharist a propos Ps. 21, 26-27.

Bruno le Chartreux
PL 152, col. 725bc

Panis autem et uinum non quantum ad naturam, sed quantum ad speciem et odorem, a Christiana ueritate dicuntur. Illi namque qui carnem in utero Virginis assumptam Verbo suo personaliter et ineffabiliter unire potuit, qui etiam mortalia corpora nostra imperii sui potentia faciet immortalia, panis et uini materiam in sui corporis et sanguinis naturam transferre possibile est.

Ps.-Remigius A
MS Admont 99, fol. 21r

Panis autem et uinum a Christiana ueritate dicuntur, non quod naturam panis et uini post consecrationem in se retineant, nisi quantum ad speciem et saporem et odorem. Illi namque qui carnem in utero Virginis assumptam Verbo suo personaliter et ineffabiliter unire potuit, qui etiam mortalia corpora nostra potentia sua faciet immortalia, panis et uini materia in sui corporis et sanguinis naturam transferre possibile est.

The theology of such passages is discussed at length by Mews,³⁷ and for our present purposes it is sufficient to note that nothing in Gilbertus’s commentary could account for this discussion in the Admont text. Some details of his diction, however, such as “retineat”, do suggest that Gilbertus had a source in common with the Ps.-Remigius; on this verse, Gilbertus writes, “Corpus et sanguis Domini cooperatione totius Trinitatis in aliam naturam commutatur, licet odorem et figuram priorem retineant, ne abhorreat usus humanus.”³⁸ In light of the previous example, then, it seems most likely that a fourth text, now lost or yet to be identified, stood between Bruno’s exegesis, on the one hand, and, on the other, the commentaries of Gilbertus and the Ps.-Remigius.³⁹ This com-

³⁷ MEWS, “Bruno of Rheims”, *op. cit.*

³⁸ MS Laon 17, fol. 39rb.

³⁹ I am indebted to Annika Ekman, who originally suggested this scenario to me. Her argument for the existence of a common source may be found in EKMAN, “Two commentaries on three psalms: The exposition of the first three psalms by two twelfth-century commentaries”, MA Thesis, Stockholm University, 2009, pp. 25-33. She is currently pursuing such lines of enquiry as a doctoral student at the University of Toronto.

mentary could account for the “Brunonian” material that is common to Gilbertus’s and the Admont Ps.-Remigius’s commentaries, as well as their shared glosses that do not derive from Bruno’s text.⁴⁰

If the commentaries by Gilbertus Universalis and the Ps.-Remigius in MS Admont 99 appear to relate to Bruno’s exegesis in similar ways, we may likewise identify another distinct sub-group of commentaries that follow Bruno’s exegesis, i.e., those of the Ps.-Haimo, Gilbert of Poitiers, and Peter Lombard, as well as the *Glossa ordinaria in Psalmos*. These texts illustrate well another way in which commentators coming after Bruno could draw upon his text and upon one another’s as well: in much the same way that Bruno’s prologue set a certain pattern to which Roscellinus closely adhered, so too does the selection of patristic and earlier medieval sources in Bruno’s text appear to have established conventions reflected in the work of later exegetes. When Bruno chose to follow a specific source regarding a particular verse in the Psalter, most of the other exegetes under consideration also seem to have favored that source’s interpretation of that verse. The commentaries of Bruno, the Ps.-Haimo, Gilbert of Poitiers, and the Lombard on Ps. 121, 1-2 reflect this trend clearly.⁴¹

⁴⁰ See also the example of the commentators’ glosses on Ps. 6, 1, taken by VAN DEN EYNDE, “Complementary note”, pp. 152-153, to show Bruno’s “improvement” upon a statement in MS Admont 99. Study of this passage likewise reveals both Gilbertus and the Admont exegete elaborating upon what they found in a “Brunonian” source: both Gilbertus and the Admont exegete independently borrow from Bruno’s diction (e.g., Gilbertus’s and Bruno’s “usque in diem iudicii” and the Ps.-Remigius’s and Bruno’s “poena purgatoria”), while also sharing some phrases not found in Bruno’s text (e.g., “arguas, id est conuincas me peccasse... in die iudicii.”) Bruno’s commentary is *PL* 152, col. 656cd; for Gilbertus’s, see MS Laon 17, fol. 9vab; for the Ps.-Remigius, MS Admont 99, fol. 6v.

⁴¹ In this and all subsequent quotations, the biblical text being glossed is presented in italic print to distinguish it from the commentary. Such biblical lemmata are often underlined in manuscripts of these commentaries.

Bruno le
Chartreux
PL 152,
coll. 1318d-1319a

Laetatus sum, etc. Ac si dicat: Per hoc quod oculos in montes leuauī, ad hoc iam deueni quod *laetatus sum in his*, id est in consideratione horum *quae dicta sunt mihi*, a **Scripturis prophetarum et apostolorum**, scilicet dictum est quod nos fideles post mortem carnis *ibimus in domum Domini*, **id est in caelestem Hierusalem**. *Laetatus sum*, inquam, *quia ibimus*. Non solum autem nunc spem habeo nos illuc ituros esse, sed etiam ex quo de hoc *laetatus sum*, *pedes nostri stantes erant*, **id est affectiones** spei nostrae iam *erant firmiter* habitantes, *O Hierusalem, in atriis tuis*, **id est in amplitudine tua**; quod est dicere: Ex quo laetati sumus, spe iam in te habitauimus, quae pro tua amplitudine atria habere diceris.

Ps.-Haimo
PL 116,
coll. 634d-635a

Ac si ita diceret: Vos exuti a uitiiis, qui iam diuinum auxilium sanctorum intercessione accepistis, gaudete de securitate aeternae habitationis, exemplo mei, qui *laetatus sum in his quae dicta sunt mihi a Spiritu sancto uel a quolibet propheta*, ut a Moyse poterat uel Dauid accepisse: haec quidem sunt mihi dicta: *In domum Domini ibimus*, **id est ad caelestem habitationem** perueniemus, ego et alii mihi consimiles, qui iam, uitiiis relictis, sanctorum intercessione diuinum acceperunt auxilium sicut ego. Licet ego dicam quasi futurum, *in domum Domini ibimus*; tamen iam inhabitato mente in illa domo: hoc est, pedes nostri, **id est nostrae affectiones**, *stantes erant*, id est **firmiter** collocatae et bene erectae, *O Hierusalem caelestis, in atriis tuis*, **id est in tua amplitudine**. Hierusalem determinat se non dicere de terrestri, sed de caelesti Hierusalem.

Gilbert of Poitiers
MS Troyes 815,
fol. 187r

Laetatus sum in his, id est pro his, *quae dicta sunt mihi a Spiritu sancto, a prophetis, ab apostolis, qui priores uiderunt patriam et inuitant ut curramus ad eam*. Quae sunt illa? Quod scilicet *ibimus in domum Domini*, non manufactam. **Quam Hierusalem? Non utique illam quae occidit prophetas, sed quae de uiuis lapidibus aedificatur ut ciuitas, id est ad similitudinem ciuitatis**. Quae est illa? *Cuius participatio eius est in idipsum*. Idipsum dicitur quod nullam habet mutabilitatem, quod de nulla creatura potest dici. Illius tamen stabilitatis particeps est ciuitas illa quia ita dicitur *participatio eius est in idipsum*. Ibi namque bonum singulorum et unum erit et idipsum omnium. Nec modo hoc, modo illud, sed semper idipsum. Vnde conuersus ad illam, iam spe firmus ait, *O Hierusalem, pedes nostri in atriis tuis erant stantes*. A par-

Peter Lombard
MS Oxford Auct.
E.inf.6,
fol. 106va

Laetatus sum, id est spem habui et gaudium, *in his quae dicta sunt mihi, a Spiritu sancto, et a prophetis et ab apostolis, qui priores uiderunt patriam et inuitant ut curramus ad eam*. Quae sunt illa? Quod, scilicet *ibimus in domum Domini*, non manufactam. Et cum haec dicerentur, *Stantes errant*, et caetera. *Pedes nostri, id est affectus, erant stantes in atriis tuis*, *O Hierusalem*. Haec est domus Domini, in qua iam stabant pedes. Qui currit ita cogitet, quasi iam ibi sit spe et ibi stet. Stantes ideo dicit, quia omnia ibi stant. Nihil transit uel cadit, ibi non pertransit Belial, ibi non est macula in luna, ibi Rachel non dolet uel timet. Vnde alibi: *Qui posuit fines tuos pacem* [Ps. 147, 3]. Et nota quod ait, *In atriis, a parte totum accipit*. Atria quidem sunt introitus, sed hic etiam pro penetralibus accipiuntur. In atriis cuius Hieru-

<p>te totum signifi- cat. Atrium enim proprie est introi- tus domus, hic au- tem de penetrali- bus intelligitur. Deinde quasi quis quaereret unde scis quod in illam Hierusalem ibimus, respondit, <i>Illuc enim ascenderunt tribus.</i></p>	<p>salem? Non illius quae prophetas occidit, quae ser- uit cum filiis suis, quae corporeis pa- rietibus erigitur, sed illius <i>Hierusa- lem quae aedifica- tur non saxorum molibus, sed de uiuis lapidibus</i> quae uirtutum soli- ditate consurgit.</p>
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Bruno's commentary on these verses is indebted largely to the Ps.-Hieronymian *Breuiarium in Psalmos*,⁴² from which Bruno derives the notion that the things "quae dicta sunt mihi" are recounted "a Scripturis prophetarum et apostolorum" and the gloss "domum Domini, id est in caelestem Hierusalem." He divides the Ps.-Jerome's gloss of Ps. 121, 2, "Firmi in amplitudine eius," into the adverb "firmiter" and the note, "in atriis tuis, id est in amplitudine tua." The remainder of Bruno's exegesis here appears to consist of transitional phrases, adapting his source to his own more prosaic style, and in material original to his commentary.

Of the remaining three exegetes, the Ps.-Haimo is by far the closest to Bruno's glosses, and, indeed, it appears that the Ps.-Haimo may not, apart from Bruno or some intermediary, have had further sources for his commentary on this verse. Like Bruno, he prefaces Ps. 121, 1a with a transitional formula that refers back to his writing on the previous psalm – Bruno simply paraphrases Ps. 120, 1, while the Ps.-Haimo refers to the extirpation of vices that he has discussed in his prefaces to Pss. 119-120.⁴³ In the Ps.-Haimo's exegesis, we find the Ps.-Hieronymian glosses that were present in Bruno's

⁴² PL 26, col. 1207b. "*Laetatus sum in his quae dicta sunt mihi. Dicta mihi fuerant per legem et prophetas atque apostolos. Sed et ego dico ea quae per speculum contemplatus fueram, et nunc facie ad faciem uideo [cf. I Cor. 13, 12]. Et quanam, inquis? In domum Domini ambulabimus, id est in caelestem Hierusalem, ut ciues efficiamur sanctorum et domestici Dei. Stantes erant pedes nostri in atriis tuis, Hierusalem. Firmi in amplitudine eius. Sed ne istam terrenam putares, audi quid subiecit.*"

⁴³ Bruno and the Ps.-Haimo treat the Gradual Psalms, Pss. 119-133, as a set or sequence within the Psalter. Bruno's commentary on these psalms is

commentary, and the similarities in the Ps.-Haimo's diction (*firmiter, in tua amplitudine*, etc.) suggest strongly that he is simply adapting what he has found in his "Brunonian" source. One additional gloss not in Bruno's exegesis is the Ps.-Haimo's suggestion that the things "quae dicta sunt mihi" may be said "a Spiritu sancto," though the Ps.-Haimo goes on immediately to provide Bruno's Ps.-Hieronymian interpretation as an alternative. The Ps.-Haimo may have adapted this note from Cassiodorus,⁴⁴ but it is so brief and straightforward that it may simply be of his own devising.

The Ps.-Haimo's additional note, "a Spiritu sancto," is preserved in the two other continuous commentaries in this sub-group, those of Gilbert of Poitiers and Peter Lombard, composed, respectively, before 1117 and in the early 1130s.⁴⁵ Unlike the Ps.-Haimo, Gilbert includes the gloss "ab apostolis" following "quae dicta sunt mihi," taken up in turn from Gilbert's commentary by the Lombard. The reference to both the prophets and the apostles was, as we have seen, incorporated into Bruno's commentary from the *Breuiarium*, but it seems unlikely that Gilbert took his gloss from either Bruno or the Ps.-Jerome. Rather, he appears to have found it in Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, which is also the source for the novel gloss that follows his reference to the apostles: "qui priores uiderunt patriam et inuitant ut curramus ad eam." While this gloss is indeed Augustinian, Gilbert has had to distill his pithy expression from Augustine's more discursive, homiletic prose.⁴⁶ His neat phrasing, both here and in his

discussed in the introduction to *Le commentaire des Psaumes des montées, une échelle de vie intérieure*, trans. P. PRADIÉ, Paris, 2006.

⁴⁴ CCSL 98, ed. by M. ADRIAEN, pp. 1149-1150. "Sed perscrutandum est quis haec prophetae dixerit? Scilicet Spiritus sanctus, qui cordi eius tacita uoce loquebatur."

⁴⁵ On the dating of Gilbert's commentary, see GROSS-DIAZ, *Psalms Commentary*, 27-35; on the dating of the Lombard's, see COLISH, *Peter Lombard*, vol. 1, p. 23.

⁴⁶ To create this gloss, Gilbert has brought together phrases that are scattered over a two-hundred-word-long discussion in Augustine's commentary, rearranging them in an order that shows the clear influence of the Bruno-Ps.-Haimo tradition. CCSL 40, ed. by E. DEKKERS and I. FRAIPONT, p. 1802. "Et inuitant nos ut curramus ad illam... priores uiderunt ipsam patriam... iucundatus sum in prophetis, iucundatus sum in apostolis."

own, original glosses (e.g., “A parte totum... de penetralibus intelligitur”), is adapted readily by the Lombard.

Intriguingly, though the Lombard is indebted to Gilbert for much of his phrasing and diction, this passage also contains a gloss that suggests the Lombard’s familiarity with either Bruno’s or the Ps.-Haimo’s commentary, or with another text closely related to theirs. Bruno and the Ps.-Haimo gloss “pedes nostri” as “affectiones nostrae,” while the Lombard similarly writes, “Pedes nostri, id est affectus.” Gilbert’s text contains no such gloss. The identification of *pedes* with *affectiones*, though drawn originally from Augustine’s *Enarrationes*, appears throughout this body of exegesis with much greater frequency than it does in that patristic commentary, and it seems that later commentators did not need an immediate source to generate this gloss for any particular verse wherein feet are mentioned.⁴⁷ When he comments upon the first appearance of *pedes* in the Psalter, a propos Ps. 13, 3, Bruno provides his reader with an explanation: “Affectiones dicuntur pedes, quod affectionibus graditur animus sicut pedibus corpus.”⁴⁸ This reasoning is not reproduced in other Psalms-commentaries, and the gloss occurs so frequently that it is unclear that these exegetes were necessarily aware of Bruno’s explanation when they deployed the gloss in their own texts. Yet this parallel between the Lombard and the Ps.-Haimo is

⁴⁷ I have been able to locate only two instances of this gloss in Augustine’s text: on Ps. 64, 2 (“Exeuntium pedes sunt cordis affectus”) and Ps. 94, 2 (“Pedes enim nostri in hoc itinere, affectus nostri sunt.”) *CCSL* 39, ed. by DEKKERS and FRAIPONT, pp. 824 and 1331. See also Augustine’s gloss on Ps. 38, 2 (“Intus autem et pedes et scalae et pennae affectus sunt bonae uoluntatis.”) *CCSL* 38, p. 402. Likewise, Cassidorus appears to deploy a similar gloss only once, on Ps. 35, 12 (“*Pes* autem pro affectu mentis est positus.”) *CCSL* 97, ed. by ADRIAEN, p. 323. In contrast, “pedes” is glossed as “affectiones” no fewer than twelve times in the Ps.-Haimo’s commentary – noteworthy especially when we observe that the word “pedes” appears in the Psalter only eighteen times. *PL* 116, coll. 235a, 251c, 276d, 296c, 332d, 384c, 438d, 572a, 593c, 612bc, 619d, 635a. The Ps.-Haimo also once glosses “pedibus” as “affectionibus.” *PL* 116, 619d. On the later-medieval use of the *pedes-affectus* gloss, see Vincent GILLESPIE, “Mystic’s foot: Rolle and affectivity”, in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England II*, ed. by M. Glasscoe, Exeter, 1992, pp. 199-230.

⁴⁸ *PL* 152, col. 685b.

℣. Obstat anima amore trino: in se
habet in penus: non pot' uolare: amor
scs ad superna leuat: ad celestem ierlm. io
iste qui ascendit in hoc psalmo: ipsam ie
rlm descendit.

℣. Dicta. Apphs. a poplis. qui bores uide
runt patriam: 7 mutant ut eunt ad
eam.

℣. Stantes. quia omnia ibi stant. melius
transit. t' eunt.

℣. Irlm. trina pfecta erat. non edificabatur:
celestis in edificatur: p'duntur de montib;
lapides. p' p'dicantes aquadrantur ut t'rent
in sempiternam structionem.

Latus sum **cantic. g.** ℣. Torus: ascensionis qu
dus. homo loquitur: cuius
conuersatio in celis:.

℣. P' legem yphas atq: aplos.
ego dico ea p' speculum con
uis que dicta sunt in in
templaueram: que nunc facie ad faciem
uideo.

in domum domini ibimus.
℣. firmi.

℣. qui currit ita cogitet. q'si ia ibi p'et.

Stantes erant pedes in i'ina
℣. Celestem ierlm. ut ciues efficiamur
scor. 7 domestici ei. ℣. Cuius ierlm. in q'
triss tuus ierlm.

Hierusalem
℣. Corchie de lapidib: uiuis. sup funda
p'bas occidit. si q' edificatur de uiuis lapidib;
que edificatur ut ciuitas!
mentum. a. 7. p. v. f. a. l. x. i.

℣. Ierlm. hoc: domus dñi.

℣. Ut ciuitas. in em corp' ei
uitas. f. ei simit. cuius partici
patio. quod de nulla carnali.

suggested by various other examples throughout their commentaries, in toto sufficient to suggest that the Lombard drew upon more commentaries in our group than Gilbert's alone.

Finally, then, we can assess how the various borrowings and adaptations of patristic sources found in these texts are taken up in the *Glossa ordinaria in Psalmos*. Though this book of the *Glossa* is traditionally associated with Anselm of Laon and may indeed have had its origin in his classroom, recent work, especially that of Theresa Gross-Diaz, has suggested that the *Glossa* as we now have it was produced in the decades immediately following Anselm's death, i.e., in the 1120s or 1130s. This conclusion is supported by the manuscript evidence, as the earliest copies of the *Glossa ordinaria in Psalmos* date from the 1130s or later.⁴⁹ My own work with the *Glossa*, as the following discussion will reveal, points toward the existence of two recensions of the glossed Psalter, both of which are closely related to the commentaries composed in the tradition following Bruno.

Many of the notes found in the commentaries of Bruno, the Ps.-Haimo, Gilbert, and the Lombard on Ps. 121, 1-2 are taken up in the *Glossa*.⁵⁰ Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS

⁴⁹ GROSS-DIAZ, *Psalms Commentary*, pp. 122-148. A critique of Gross-Diaz's conclusions has been offered by Titus LENHERR, "Die 'Glossa ordinaria' zur Bibel als Quelle von Gratians Dekret", *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*, n. s. 24 (2000), pp. 97-129. On the dating of the *Glossa*, see also DE HAMEL, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade*, Woodbridge, 1984; the review of De Hamel's book by Patricia STIRNEMANN in *Bulletin monumental*, 143 (1985), pp. 363-367; STIRNEMANN, "Où ont été fabriqués les livres de la Glose ordinaire dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle", in *Le XII^e siècle: Mutations et renouveau en France dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle*, ed. by F. GASPARRI, Paris, 1994, pp. 257-301; M. T. GIBSON, "The glossed Bible", in *Biblia Latina cum Glossa ordinaria*, ed. by GIBSON and FROELICH, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. x-xi. Previous scholarship on the *Glossa* is brought together and presented by Lesley SMITH, *The Glossa Ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary*, Leiden, 2009 (Commentaria, 3); see also SMITH, "Medieval glossed Psalters: Layout and use", *Bodleian Library Record*, 21 (2008), pp. 48-61.

⁵⁰ While the *Glossa* is formally distinct from these commentaries, its format is not without considerable precedent. See GIBSON, "The twelfth-century glossed Bible", *Studia Patristica*, 23 (1989), pp. 232-244; EAD., "The place of the *Glossa ordinaria* in medieval exegesis", in *Ad litteram: Authoritative Texts and their Medieval Readers*, ed. K. EMERY and M. D. JORDAN, Notre Dame,

511, for example, was given to Clairvaux by Prince Henry, son of Louis VI, when the prince joined the Order *c.* 1146, and it was produced, therefore, earlier than this date – perhaps as early as the late 1130s (Plate I).⁵¹ In this manuscript, fol. 171v, the now-familiar phrase, “a prophetis, apostolis, qui priores uiderunt patriam et inuitant ut curramus ad eam,” is presented as an interlinear gloss distinct from a second, shorter interlinear gloss on the same phrase, “a Spiritu sancto.” This separation may be based on the Lombard’s phrasing: “a Spiritu sancto, et a prophetis et ab apostolis,” which similarly appears to reflect the Ps.-Haimo’s assertion that these are two alternative readings of the Davidic phrase. As in Gilbert and the Lombard, so too in MS Troyes 511 is the phrase “in domum” glossed, interlinearly, “non manufactam,” while the Gilbertine and Lombardic phrase, “In atriis: a parte totum, atria introitus hic pro penetralibus,” is provided in the left margin. Another note, found in the Lombard’s commentary but not in Gilbert’s, is reproduced as an interlinear gloss on “stantes” in MS Troyes 511: “qui currit, ita cogitet, quasi iam ibi stet,” reproducing the Lombard’s presentation of this Augustinian interpretation.⁵²

A different process of adaptation is discernable in another, roughly contemporary manuscript of the glossed Psalter, Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 726, fol. 243v, dateable palaeographically to the middle of the twelfth century (Plate II).⁵³ There appear to be two major differences between the content of the *Glossa* in MS Troyes 511 and in this manuscript: firstly, MS Troyes 726 contains less material in common with Gilbert and the Lombard than does MS Troyes 511, and, secondly, the compiler of the *Glossa* represented in MS 726 has attempted to identify patristic sources for

1992, pp. 5-27; EAD., “Carolingian glossed Psalters”, in *The Early Medieval Bible, op. cit.*, pp. 78-100.

⁵¹ On the dating of this manuscript, see the discussion in DE HAMEL, *Glossed Books*, pp. 5-6.

⁵² CCSL 40, ed. by DEKKERS and FRAIPONT, p. 1802. “Ergo qui currunt, quid debent cogitare? Quasi ibi iam sint et ibi stent.”

⁵³ For a description of this manuscript, see Jean-Paul BOUHOT, Jean-François GENEST, and André VERNET, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XI^e au XVIII^e siècle*, vol. 2, *Les manuscrits conservés*, Paris, 1997, pp. 134-135.

the comments he includes.⁵⁴ Thus the interlinear gloss, "Qui currit... ibi stet," though representing the Lombard's phrasing rather than Augustine's, is attributed to the latter, as is the interlinear gloss, "Cuius Ierusalem? ...lapidibus," though here again the phrasing in the *Glossa* is closer to the Lombard than to Augustine.⁵⁵ The Gilbertine-Lombardic gloss, "In atriis... pro penetralibus," not traceable to a patristic source, does not appear in MS Troyes 726. Other glosses attributed to patristic sources appear in MS 726 and not in MS 511, such as the interlinear "firmi," modifying "pedes" and attributed to Jerome. Most revealing, however, is the compiler's treatment of the Ps.-Hieronymian gloss we have seen develop throughout the tradition from Bruno to the Lombard. The glossator supplies a verbatim quotation from the Ps.-Jerome in an interlinear note: "Per legem et prophetas atque apostolos." Yet the gloss as it had developed in the tradition of continuous commentaries is also preserved in MS Troyes 726, though here it is moved to the left margin and attributed to Augustine: "Dicta a prophetis, a populis,⁵⁶ qui priores uiderunt patriam et inuitant ut curramus ad eam."

These two manuscripts of the glossed Psalter, then, demonstrate several different ways in which the selection and articulation of patristic authorities could provide a pattern for later commentators within this tradition. Throughout this family of texts, for example, Bruno's adaptation of the Ps.-Jerome is preserved, though it has acquired various Augustinian additions, and, in MS Troyes 726, this Ps.-Hieronymian-Augustinian assemblage has itself become a discrete gloss. Apart perhaps from the Ps.-Haimo, all of the commentators in this

⁵⁴ SMITH, *Glossa Ordinaria*, p. 58, notes that manuscripts of the glossed Psalter tend to include such attributions more frequently than do other glossed biblical books.

⁵⁵ CCSL 40, ed. by DEKKERS and FRAIPONT, p. 1803. "Nonne illa est Hierusalem, cui dixit Dominus: *Hierusalem, Hierusalem, quae interficis prophetas, et lapidas missos ad te* [Matth. 23, 37]? Quid magnum ergo iste concupiscebat, stare inter illos qui interficiebant prophetas et lapidabant missos ad se? Absit ut de ista Hierusalem sic cogitet qui sic amat, qui sic ardet, qui sic uult peruenire ad illam Hierusalem matrem nostram [Gal. 4, 26], de qua dicit Apostolus: *Aeternam in caelis* [II Cor. 5, 1]."

⁵⁶ Thus in MS Troyes 726: perhaps a scribal error for *apostolis*.

family have returned to the *originalia* to adapt and refine the exegesis they found in their immediate antecedents, and, therefore, though the interpretations they present are all quite similar, each exegete nevertheless also has his own distinct style, his own way of negotiating his sources.

The *Glossa in Psalmos* and the commentaries of Gilbert and the Lombard survive, collectively, in over two hundred manuscript witnesses, and they served to disseminate this tradition of Psalms-exegesis throughout Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵⁷ Yet they were not the sole means by which this exegesis moved beyond the cathedral schools of Northern France. The Ps.-Remigius preserved in MS Admont 99, discussed above, appears to have served as the source for two other Psalms-commentaries likely produced in a German, monastic milieu: those of the Ps.-Bede and the Ps.-Remigius printed in *PL* 131. The manuscript traditions of these texts suggest that they were written for and circulated among reformed German monasteries early in the twelfth century, and their use of the Admont Ps.-Remigius, together with the latter's survival in but a single manuscript also of German, monastic provenance, may be taken as evidence that the Admont text was intended to translate the exegesis of the French schools to the German cloisters.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ See the lists of Gilbert's commentaries by Häring and Gross-Diaz, cited above, n. 11. A handlist of manuscripts of the *Glossa* is currently being prepared by Mark Zier; for a discussion of the manuscripts of the Lombard's commentary, see Patrizia STOPPACCI, "Le *Glossae continuae in Psalmos* di Pietro Lombardo. *Status questionis*: studi pregressi e prospettive di ricerca", in *Pietro Lombardo: Atto del XLIII Convegno storico internazionale*, Spoleto, 2007, pp. 289-331.

⁵⁸ MS Sankt Gallen 312, a twelfth-century German production and the only other manuscript of the recension of Remigius of Auxerre's Psalms-commentary found in MS Rheims 132, may be taken as another witness of this move from French cathedral schools to reformed German cloisters.

On the reception of pre-scholastic and scholastic material in German monasteries, see MEWS, "Monastic educational culture revisited: The witness of Zwiefalten and the Hirsau reform", in *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. by G. FERZOCCO and C. MUESSIG, London, 2000, pp. 182-197; ID., "Scholastic theology in a monastic milieu in the twelfth century: The case of Admont", in *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture: Reform and Renewal in Twelfth-Century Germany*, ed. by A. I. BEACH, Turnhout, 2007, pp. 217-239; on the circulation of these Psalms-commentaries in Germany, see HARTMANN, "Psal-

This family of texts also provides a striking example of another feature found more generally in this body of commentaries, one that exegetes were eager to borrow from Bruno and elaborate for themselves. Perhaps following the figurative language they found throughout the Psalter, commentators in the tradition after Bruno create their own, elaborate similes as a means of making plain their interpretation of David's verse.⁵⁹ One such *similitudo* is developed by the Ps.-Bede and the Migne Ps.-Remigius as part of their explanation of Ps. 13, 2, "Dominus de caelo prospexit super filios hominum." On this verse, Bruno and the Admont Ps.-Remigius write:

Bruno le Chartreux
PL 152, col. 684c

Et bene dicit, *prospexit super*. Nam qui aliquem de superiori domo per fenestram prospicit superior est, non ex toto se abscondens, nec ex toto manifestans: ita et diuinitatis clementia per Dominicum hominem se ex parte manifestauit inferioribus, cum tamen nulli cognita esset penitus.

Ps.-Remigius A
MS Admont 99, fol. 12v

Sed Dominus, id est uerbum mihi personaliter unitum, *prospexit*, id est quodammodo se manifestauit, *de caelo*, id est de me qui sum sedes eius scilicet per doctrinam et miracula, *super filios hominum*, id est super illos qui iam non homines sed tantum filii hominum, id est sanctorum, fuisse reputantur.

I have found little other evidence that the Migne Ps.-Remigius or the Ps.-Bede had immediate knowledge of Bruno's commentary: almost all of their "Brunonian" glosses correspond just as well, or better, to glosses reproduced in the Admont text. Yet the image of someone looking "de superiori domo per fenestram," invoked in Bruno's text but omitted in the Admont Ps.-Remigius's, re-appears in the later pseudonymous commentaries in a considerably more elaborate fashion.

menkommentare", *op. cit.*; see also, more generally, Rodney THOMSON, "The place of Germany in the twelfth-century renaissance", in *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture*, pp. 19-42.

⁵⁹ Marcia Colish has identified another example of this practice, which she calls "analogy," in the Lombard's commentary: "*Psalterium scholasticorum*: Peter Lombard and the emergence of scholastic Psalms exegesis", *Speculum*, 67 (1992), pp. 531-548, at pp. 543-544.

Ps.-Remigius M
PL 131, col. 208cd

Est autem per similitudinem dictum. Solent potentes et duces exercitus loca eminentiora ascendere, et deorsum aspicere qui sint prompti ad pugnam, qui non, qui strenue se habeant, qui prae ignauia sonitum tubae audire non ualeant. Et illi duces, in alto positi, **ex parte uideri solent et ex parte non uideri**: ita et diuinitas Verbi latuit in Christo per humanitatem, apparuit autem per diuinitatem, faciens opera quae nemo alius fecit. Ad hoc diuinitatem, quae per se inuisibilis erat et incomprehensibilis, per humanitatem meam uideris ostendere: *ut uideat*, id est, uidere faciat et probet, *si est* de illo populo *intelligens Deum*, scilicet conformando se mihi Dominico homini per fidem. Aut non tantum *intelligens*, sed etiam *requirens*, scilicet opere. Ad hoc enim suam humanitatem hominibus exemplo proposuit, ut per eum cognoscerent si diuinitatem intelligere et operibus quaerere homines possent. Quod enim homo Christus fecit, homini possibile esse ostendit. Sed non inuenit, quia *insipiens* ille populus *dixit in corde suo*, id est cogitauit, quod grauius fuit quam ore dicere, *Non est Deus*.

Ps.-Bede
PL 93, col. 553ab

Sciendum autem quod secundum quod uox capitis est agit hic ipsum caput de solis Iudaeis, et hoc per quamdam similitudinem alicuius potentis regis uel imperatoris, qui collecto exercitu suo ab aliqua alta turri uel specula inspiceret, qui se ibi uiriliter haberet, quis uero torperet. Ingreditur quasi conferendo Deum Patrem imperatori, se turri, Iudaicum uero populum exercitui, et dicit in tertio uersu ita: *Domini* Pater *respexit de caelo*, **id est, de me quem fecit caelum suum, ubi sederet**. Deus enim erat in Christo reconcilians sibi mundum, quasi de alta quadam specula et supereminenti prospectu, id est, discretionem habuit super *filios hominum*, id est super Iudaeos, qui fuerunt filii uerorum hominum, id est patriarcharum et prophetarum carnaliter, non spiritualiter; et ad hoc prospexit, *ut uideat*, non ipse quem nihil latet: sed ut alios uidere faceret, per me cum eis conuersatum, *si est* inter eos *intelligens Deum* mente, *aut requirens* eum in opere. Sed non est inuentus in eis *intelligens aut requirens*, quia ille populus insipiens uere qui medicum non cognouit, et uisitationis tempus non aduertit dixit, et per affectum me contemnendo, et in corde cogitando: Hic *non est Deus*.

In his commentary on other psalms, the Migne Ps.-Remigius borrows entire paragraphs verbatim from the Admont text, including the latter's commentary on Ps. 143, 10-Ps. 150, yet certain elements of his diction here suggest that he may have had Bruno's text to hand as well: his "ex parte uideri solent et ex parte non uideri" appears to adapt Bruno's "non ex toto se abscondens, nec ex toto manifestans," lacking in the Admont text. This parallel suggests that it was from Bruno's commentary, or from some other intermediary, that the Migne

Ps.-Remigius took the idea for this simile. There is no such evidence to support the Ps.-Bede's knowledge of Bruno. Other details of the Ps.-Bede's commentary on this psalm, such as his inclusion of an alternative interpretation, added at the end of his commentary on Ps. 13 and not to be found in Bruno, the Admont text, or the Migne Ps.-Remigius, suggest that he followed after the Migne Ps.-Remigius and adapted his simile from that text.⁶⁰ Details of his diction, however, suggest that the Ps.-Bede also had immediate access to the Admont text (e.g., "respexit de caelo, id est de me... ubi sederet," cp. to Admont's "de caelo, id est de me qui sum sedes eius"). It therefore appears that the Migne Ps.-Remigius made use of the Admont text and that of Bruno (or another commentary closely related to his), while the Ps.-Bede drew on both the Migne and Admont Ps.-Remigiuses.⁶¹

The imaginative similes found throughout these commentaries, exemplified well by the Migne Ps.-Remigius and the Ps.-Bede on Ps. 13, 2, provide a convenient transition to the next topic that we shall consider, the commentators' hermetic or exegetical strategies. For it appears to have been their interest in the figurative language of the Psalter that led these exegetes to create for themselves such elaborate figures. We shall see in the following discussion that this interest in

⁶⁰ The alternative reading is *PL* 93, coll. 555d-556a, beginning, "Potest quoque, ut superius diximus, psalmus iste in persona Prophetarum mistim de gentibus et de Iudaeis sic legi...". The phrase "ut superius diximus" refers to the preface to the Ps.-Bede's commentary on this psalm, wherein he noted the possibility of this alternative reading. *PL* 93, col. 552d, "Potest etiam dici quod sit uox Prophetarum ante aduentum Christi exprobandis similiter duritiam Iudaeorum et diuturnam infidelitatem gentium ut exhortetur utrosque. Iudaeos ad hoc, ut cum uenerit Sanctus sanctorum qui auferat iniquitatem ab eis, ipsum gaudentes suscipiant et tempus uisitationis suae agnoscant. Gentes autem ut quem corporali praesentia uidere non meruerunt, qui dixit, *Non sum missus nisi ad oues quae perierant domus Israel* [Matth. 15, 24], annuntiatum per apostolos benigne suscipiant."

⁶¹ It should also be noted that, while the Migne Ps.-Remigius presents this simile in the course of his commentary on the psalm, i.e., after his gloss of Ps. 13, 1, the Ps.-Bede uses it to introduce his commentary and end his prologue. Here he seems to be guided by the Migne Ps.-Remigius's quotation of Ps. 13, 1 at the end of his discussion of Ps. 13, 2, suggesting further the priority of the Migne Ps.-Remigius's text to that of the Ps.-Bede.

the Psalter's figurative language – in the Psalter *qua* poetic text – is a central, unifying feature of this body of commentaries.

The foregoing examples have illustrated, in part, the various ways in which the authors of these commentaries made use of one another's texts in the creation of their own exegesis, resulting in a complex network of intertextual borrowing and adaptation. Before concluding this section of our study, however, we should contrast these texts with other Psalms-commentaries produced in the same period, demonstrating that our commentaries do indeed form a distinct body of texts. Two ready counter-examples are the commentaries attributed to Bruno di Segni and Odo Astensis, dateable to roughly the same period as the texts studied above: this Bruno died in 1123, and the text attributed to Odo professes in turn to be closely modeled upon Bruno di Segni's commentary.⁶² The contrasts between these two texts and the commentaries following after Bruno le Chartreux are apparent from the start: Bruno di Segni and Odo compose their prologues in a homiletic style, framing them as epistles and making no use of the academic prologue form found in the work of Bruno, Roscelinus, *et al.* Similarly, the content of their exegesis, though it may at times overlap with that of Bruno le Chartreux and the other commentators discussed above, shows no sign of the same thoroughgoing correspondences and borrowings evinced in the latter group.⁶³ In his writing on Ps. 13, 2, for

⁶² Bruno di Segni's commentary (STEGMÜLLER, no. 1852) is printed in *PL* 164, coll. 695-1228; Odo's is STEGMÜLLER, no. 6051; *PL* 165, coll. 1141-1298. The most extensive work on these commentaries is by Réginald GRÉGOIRE, *Bruno de Segni: Exégète médiéval et théologien monastique*, Spoleto, 1965; ID., "Le commentaire du Psautier du moine Odon", *Benedictina*, 14 (1967), pp. 203-224; ID., "Note sur Bruno de Segni", *Recherches de théol. anc. méd.*, 37 (1970), pp. 138-142; see also Hélène TOUBERT, "Contributions à la iconographie des Psautiers: Le commentaire des Psaumes d'Odon d'Asti illustré à l'abbaye de Farfa", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Âge-temps modernes*, 88 (1976), pp. 581-619.

⁶³ For the purposes of the present essay, I have compared the passages selected from Psalms-commentaries discussed here (Pss. 1, 4; 2, 1-3; 5, 8; 6, 1; 13, 2; 21, 6-7; 50, 1 and 8; 62, 7; 71, 8; 72, 23; 121, 1-2; plus prologue material) with the relevant passages in the commentaries of Bruno di Segni and Odo Astensis. No significant common material could be found.

example, Bruno di Segni shows no interest in exploring the poetic possibilities of the Psalmist's phrase. His focus is rather on the moral failures that God describes:

*Dominus de caelo prospexit super filios hominum, ut uideat si est intelligens aut requirens Deum. Et quales eos inuenit? Sequitur: Omnes declinauerunt, simul inutiles facti sunt. Probatum est igitur a diuina auctoritate quia non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum. Simul autem declinauerunt, quia a ueritate recedentes, omnes pariter ad errorem transierunt. Inutiles igitur facti sunt, quoniam neque Deo neque sibi ipsis utilia agunt.*⁶⁴

I have elsewhere pointed toward a similar contrast between the Psalms-commentary of Bruno le Chartreux and the extant notes on the Psalms associated with Lanfranc of Bec and Berengarius of Tours.⁶⁵

Much-needed editorial work and the discovery of further, similarly related commentaries may complicate or clarify further the details of the intertextual relationships suggested above. But the counter-examples of Bruno di Segni and Odo Astensis reinforce what the evidence presented here has suggested, that the commentaries of Bruno le Chartreux and the exegetes following after him form a distinct body of texts. We shall now turn to consider not simply the exegetical content, but also the hermeneutics or interpretive methodologies that these texts share.

II

The dominant hermeneutic in the tradition of Psalms-commentaries coming after Bruno is grammatical, i.e., it seeks to apply to biblical exegesis the interpretive strategies fostered in the study of the first liberal art, called *grammatica* or *litteratura*.⁶⁶ As in commentaries on the Latin texts of the arts

⁶⁴ PL 164, col. 736ab.

⁶⁵ "Grammatica and authenticity", pp. 91-93.

⁶⁶ On grammar and the division of the arts, see Martin IRVINE, *The Making of Textual Culture: "Grammatica" and Literary Theory, 350-1100*, Cambridge, 1994 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 19); Martin IRVINE with David THOMSON, "Grammatica and literary theory", in *The Cambridge History*

curriculum, such as the poetry of Virgil, the hermeneutic found in these Psalms-commentaries stems from a particular understanding of the text's author.⁶⁷ It is in their prologues that these exegetes first express their interest in David as an inspired, prophetic writer. Adapting a remark found first in Cassiodorus, but here taken from Remigius of Auxerre as an intermediary,⁶⁸ Bruno notes,

Plurima quidem prophetiae genera esse sciendum est. Prophetia namque alia per facta, sicut de transitu filiorum Israel caeterisque eorum factis, quae omnia, sicut dicit Apostolus, in figura contingebant illis [I Cor. 10, 11]. Alia per dicta, sicut Deus Moysi caeterisque prophetis pluribus per angelos futura locutus fuisse legitur. Alia per reuelationem, sicut Ezechieli et Danieli in portentis somniorum multa reuelata fuisse dicuntur. Alia uero per occultam sancti Spiritus inspirationem, sicut Dauid prophetae mystica Dominicae passionis caeterorumque actuum, non factis aut dictis qualibetue reuelatione intimata fuerunt, sed per occultam sancti Spiritus inspirationem.⁶⁹

This distinction is taken up by other exegetes of the Psalter after Bruno, and its importance for these commentators is suggested by their willingness to repeat the definition multiple times in their prefatory discussions. Thus the Ps.-Haimo draws on this distinction once when noting the relationship between *uisio* and *prophetia*, and a second time when discussing the *genera prophetiae* proper,⁷⁰ while, in the commentary attributed to John of Rheims or Ivo II of Chartres, the exegete begins with a Remigian distinction of the *genera* in his Pre-

of *Literary Criticism*, vol. 2, *The Middle Ages*, ed. by A. J. MINNIS and I. JOHNSON, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 15-41.

⁶⁷ The category *nomen auctoris* was a common part of the "type C" academic prologue, and it could include a biographical discussion of the author and the conditions under which his work was composed. See HUNT, "Introductions", *op. cit.*, and MINNIS, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, esp. cap. 1.

⁶⁸ For Cassiodorus's prose, see *CCSL* 97, ed. by ADRIAEN, pp. 7-9; for Remigius's, see MS Rheims 132, fol. 1r.

⁶⁹ *PL* 152, col. 639ab.

⁷⁰ *PL* 116, col. 195ac. The Ps.-Haimo's first discussion begins, "Prophetia idem est quod et uisio" (col. 195a), and his second, "Prophetia est diuina inspiratio" (col. 195b).

face I, evoking it again in his more novel Preface II in order to distinguish David from other prophets.⁷¹

Yet it should not be surprising that these commentators insisted upon making this distinction clear to their readers, even to the point of being repetitious: this understanding of David's status as a prophet was paramount to their conception of David as an author and of his relationship to his text. In particular, understanding how David wrote the Psalms, how the text came to contain Christological prophecy, was a prerequisite for determining how the Psalms were to be read. Old Testament histories (unlike the Psalter, Bruno suggests) may be read simply for the sake of understanding the events that they narrate, such as the sacrifice of Isaac, with the divinely intended prophetic meaning kept apart, as an allegory or figure, from that historical understanding (*prophetia per facta*). In such cases, the prophetic significance is not intrinsic to the story as the human author records it, but rather inheres in the actual events that are being narrated.⁷² Likewise, the prophetic significance of some revelations is contained not in the human author's words, but rather in the signs that the divine shows to the author. The visionary's understanding of the prophetic import of such signs can vary: John, for example, benefits in the Apocalypse from having many of his visions explicated by an angel (cfr Apoc. 1, 20). With regard to the Psalter, however, Bruno asserts that David's divine inspiration was critical to the composition of the Psalms as texts. David's choice of words and his poetic phrasing, his composition *ad litteram*, are bound inseparably to a Christological meaning.

Before exploring the implications of this theory of authorship for the commentaries that follow such prologues, we should address the one place in the Psalter where it appears

⁷¹ See my "John of Rheims", *op. cit.*, Appendix II. The Remigian distinction begins "Prophetia est inspiratio diuina" (Preface I), and the discussion of David compared to other prophets begins "Propheta, humani generis reparationem" (Preface II).

⁷² Still useful on this point is Erich AUERBACH, "Figura", in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, tr. by R. MANHEIM and C. GARVIN, New York, 1959, pp. 11-76. Auerbach draws attention to the ways in which such figural interpretation preserves the details of the historical narratives of the Old Testament.

quite possible to discover *prophetia per facta*. As noted above, Bruno, Gilbertus Universalis, and the Admont Ps.-Remigius appear to introduce to their commentaries the possibility of figural interpretation similar to *prophetia per facta* in their gloss on the *titulus* of Ps. 2. In this regard, these exegetes wrote under the strong influence of patristic and earlier medieval interpretations of the *tituli* found prefacing Pss. 2-150. For example, Cassiodorus's typological interpretation of the *titulus* of Ps. 50, "In finem psalmus David, cum uenit ad eum Nathan propheta quando intrauit ad Bethsabée," looking to the authority of Jerome and Augustine, suggests that David is a type of Christ and Bethsabée a type of the Church.⁷³ Remigius of Auxerre adds further details to enrich this reading, such as his interpretation of Urias, whose death David arranges, as a type of the devil.⁷⁴ Authoritative patristic and earlier medieval sources consistently offered such typological readings to later commentators.

As Alastair Minnis has noted, this interpretive tradition was too strong to be ignored by exegetes in the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries.⁷⁵ Bruno, for example, includes all of the details of Remigius's typological reading in his preface to Ps. 50: David can be read as a figure of Christ, Bethsabée the Church, and Urias the devil.⁷⁶ Bruno justifies the potentially jarring association of the devil with the innocent Urias by means of a codicologically informed quotation, which he appears to have drawn from Remigius: "Non enim magis ignominiosum est quam quod saepe diaboli nomen litteris aureis, Dei autem nomen atramento, id est colore nigro, describitur."⁷⁷ Yet there are nevertheless several major differ-

⁷³ CCSL 97, ed. by ADRIAEN, pp. 451-452.

⁷⁴ MS Rheims 132, fol. 81rab. The association of Urias with the devil comes from Jerome's etymology of Urias as *lux mea Dei*, for, as Remigius states, "[Diabolus] lucem sibi deitatis usurpare audet" (fol. 81rb). For Jerome's etymology, see, inter alia, *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*, CCSL 72, ed. by P. DE LAGARDE, p. 109.

⁷⁵ *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, p. 105.

⁷⁶ On Bruno's use of Remigius's commentary, see "Grammatica and authenticity", pp. 75-78.

⁷⁷ PL 152, col. 861b; MS Rheims 132, fol. 81rb. Remigius appears to be drawing on a *quaestio* that has been attributed to Bede: for an edition,

ences between Remigius's discussion and those of Bruno and his contemporaries. Unlike Remigius, Bruno only poses this typological reading as an alternative interpretation, following his elaborate description of the historical circumstances to which the *titulus* refers, the conditions under which the psalm was composed. This typology, Bruno writes, "tametsi ad huius intentionem psalmi non uidetur attinere, non tamen dicenda est audientium utilitate carere," i.e., it can potentially serve as a spiritually or meditatively useful way to consider the psalm, even though it is contrary to David's authorial intention.⁷⁸

More significantly, once Bruno's discussion of the *titulus* is concluded, this typological reading of the psalm does not impact his interpretation of the verses that follow – he remains focused on teasing out the *intentio auctoris*. When Christology does appear in Bruno's exegesis of Ps. 50, its treatment is representative of how apparently spiritual readings may be incorporated into an interpretation of the Psalter as a prophetic text composed "per occultam sancti Spiritus inspirationem." Commenting on Ps. 50, 8b, Bruno mentions Christ for the first time in his exegesis of the psalm:

*Manifestasti spiritu prophetico incerta et occulta mysteria sapientiae tuae, id est Filii tui; quod est dicere: Reuelasti mihi Spiritu sancto mysteria incarnationis et passionis Filii tui, et quod mundum morte sua reparaturus esset, quae incerta multis sunt, qui, tametsi a prophetis audierunt, non tamen horum plenarie per Spiritum fidem habent, et occulta sunt multis qui nihil penitus inde audierunt. Ac si diceret: Vt per fidem horum mysteriorum saluaretur a peccato originali, gratuita pietate ista mihi manifestasti.*⁷⁹

This theme appears again as Bruno explains Ps. 50, 13b, "Et spiritum sanctum tuum ne auferas a me," where he offers a similar interpretation. As a prophet, David has been shown the *occulta mysteria Filii Dei*, Christ's Incarnation and man-

see Eric KNIBBS, "The manuscript evidence for the 'De octo quaestionibus' ascribed to Bede", *Traditio*, 63 (2008), p. 177.

⁷⁸ PL 152, col. 860c. MINNIS, *Theory of Authorship*, p. 105, discusses similar moves in the preface to Ps. 50 by Honorius Augustodunensis.

⁷⁹ PL 152, col. 863d.

kind's Redemption, and he knows that, without God's mercy, "in eius [i.e., Christi] aduentum nihil utilitatis habebō, nisi hic peccati remissionem per poenitentiam adeptus fuero."⁸⁰ As Bruno suggested in his prologue, therefore, David, as a prophetic writer, is able to incorporate his foreknowledge of the life of Christ into his poetry in an active, intentional way, and the exegete's literal interpretation thus blurs seamlessly into a Christological reading.

This sort of interpretation, wherein Christological, prophetic knowledge is folded in, as it were, to the reading of David as an historical author, is employed consistently throughout. Bruno thus focuses on David's authorial intentions, and, while his preface to Ps. 2, quoted above, would suggest that those intentions may sometimes be discerned by allegorizing the *res gestae* of a psalm's title, Bruno nevertheless tends, as in Ps. 50, to set such allegories apart and treat them as largely irrelevant to the psalm's authorially intended meaning. More frequent use is made of the other way of interpreting a *titulus*, i.e., "per uocis interpretationem, quando sola uocis interpretatione sine rei gestione psalmi designatur intentio."⁸¹ Specifically, Bruno writes, when the title of a psalm is simply "psalmus Daud," then "tractatus iste attribuendus est Christo. [...] Psalmus autem iste [i.e., Ps. 2] uox capitis est de passione sua Iudaeos et gentes tribulantes se increpantis."⁸² Bruno believes that David has displayed the prophetic foreknowledge referenced briefly in Ps. 50, 8 and 13 throughout all of the verses of psalms like Ps. 2, composing them entirely in the voice of Christ, and, in his exegesis, Bruno therefore consistently treats the lyric voice of such psalms as belonging to Christ. (An example of this sort of exegesis appears in the following section.⁸³) David's authorial and prophetic intentions remain the focus of Bruno's exegetical efforts.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ *PL* 152, col. 865d, glossing Ps. 50, 13.

⁸¹ *PL* 152, col. 643d.

⁸² *PL* 152, col. 644a.

⁸³ See also the example from the Ps.-Haimo's commentary discussed in "Grammatica and authenticity," 87-88.

⁸⁴ For Bruno's interpretation of a psalm in which the *res gestae* are interpreted allegorically as part of the authorially intended meaning, see my essay,

While the discussion of prophecy found in Bruno's prologue was drawn from a tradition of patristic and earlier medieval literature, Bruno appears to have been particularly intent on the interpretative implications of the sort of prophecy that David composed, the bearing David's circumstances as an author should have upon a proper understanding of his text. When he wrote the Psalter, David was not shown images pregnant with prophetic meaning, nor, according to Bruno, ought a figurative interpretation of the events of the author's life be considered in the interpretation of his writings. Rather, David, properly called "Propheta" in the same way that Paul is called "Apostolus," had received, compared to other prophets, an especially complete understanding of the life of Christ, and he was able to weave that knowledge into the fabric of his text carefully and intentionally. The exegete's attention must therefore focus on the letter of David's text, which will contain meanings that, for other books of the Bible, would appear to be proper sometimes to a literal-historical register and at other times to a spiritual-allegorical one.

III

The ability of Bruno and the Psalms-commentators writing after him to slip between interpretations that we might consider sometimes literal, sometimes spiritual – their ability to read David as a prophetic author – was facilitated by their understanding of the specific type of text that he wrote, i.e., poetry. Considering the Psalms as poems (*carmina*, *hymni*, *cantica*), our commentators could approach them with the techniques of the arts curriculum, just as they were trained to do with other poetic texts.⁸⁵ Unlike other poems, however,

"The place of allegory in the Psalter-commentary of Bruno the Cartusian", *Medieval Studies*, 73 (2011), forthcoming.

⁸⁵ See IRVINE, *Making of Textual Culture*, *op. cit.*; GIBSON, "The *artes*", *op. cit.* It seems especially noteworthy that some of the commentators associated with the exegesis of the Psalter in this milieu, such as Anselm of Laon, are also known to have commented on texts in the arts curriculum: see Christopher BASWELL, *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the Aeneid from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer*, Cambridge, 1995 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 24), esp. pp. 63-68; Mary DICKEY, "Some commentaries on the *De*

the figurative language of the Psalter hid a divinely inspired, prophetic meaning.⁸⁶

As with their understanding of David as author, these commentators provided the framework for their approach to the Psalms *qua* poems in their prologues. One feature common to almost all of the Psalter-commentaries that follow after Bruno is their prefatory acknowledgment that the Psalms, as hymns, are metrical compositions. For this point, Bruno appears to have seized upon a definition he found prefacing the *Commentum* of Remigius: “[Psalmi] dicuntur autem hymni, quod laudem Dei metrice in sua lingua canunt. Nam hymnus est laus cuiuscumque metri ratione composita.”⁸⁷ Bruno clarifies this definition in his own *accessus*, drawing also on a verse by the sixth-century poet Arator: “Hymni uero laudes Dei metrice factae proprie dicuntur, psalmi autem lyrico metro compositi fuerunt, ut Arator ait: ‘Psalterium lyrici composuere pedes.’”⁸⁸ A similar definition, often likewise incorporating the quotation from Arator, appears in almost all of the other commentaries in the tradition coming after Bruno.⁸⁹

inventione and *Ad Herennium* of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries”, *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 6 (1968), pp. 1-41. Constant Mews discusses the potential involvement of John of Rheims with texts that treat, if not literary interpretation, then speculative grammar: “Nominalism and theology before Abaelard: New light on Roscelin of Compiègne,” *Vivarium*, 30 (1992), pp. 4-34, esp. pp. 13-14 and 33.

⁸⁶ Compare the appearance of rhetorical analysis in the *Glossa ordinaria in Lamentationes*, discussed by Alexander ANDRÉE, “The rhetorical glosses of Gilbert the Universal in his gloss on Lamentations,” *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 17 (2007), pp. 143-158; ID., “From *propheta plangens* to *rethor divinus*: Toward an understanding of the rhetorical hermeneutics of Gilbert the Universal in his gloss on Lamentations”, in *Sapientia et Eloquentia: Meaning and Function in Liturgical Poetry, Music, Drama, and Biblical Commentary*, ed. by N. BELL and G. IVERSEN, Turnhout, 2009 (Disputatio, 11), pp. 115-146; see also Jean CHÂTILLON, “La Bible dans les écoles du Moyen Âge”, in *Le Moyen Âge et la Bible*, ed. by P. RICHÉ and G. LOBRICHON, Paris, 1984 (Bible de tous les temps, 4), pp. 163-197.

⁸⁷ MS Rheims 132, fol. 1r.

⁸⁸ PL 152, col. 638b. The verse comes from Arator’s *Epistola ad Vigilium* 27, PL 68, col. 80.

⁸⁹ For the commentaries incorporating the quotation, see Roscellinus, MS Troyes 1507, fol. 25r; Gilbertus Universalis, MS Laon 17, fol. 1vb; Ps.-Remigius A, MS Admont 99, fol. 1r; Ps.-Remigius M, PL 131, col. 148a.

The specification of the Psalter's meter as lyric was necessarily of limited use to these commentators in their interpretation of individual verses, referring as it does (if inaccurately) to the Hebrew text of the Psalms.⁹⁰ Yet it does highlight the exegetes' interest in the formal qualities of the Psalter, and, in this regard, it could offer some interpretive traction. The likely import of the Psalter's lyric meter for these exegetes is suggested in Isidore's *Etymologiae* VI.ii.15-17.

Omnes autem psalmi apud Hebraeos metrico carmine constant esse compositi. Nam in more Romani Flacci et Graeci Pindari, nunc alii iambo currunt, nunc Alcaico personant, nunc Sapphico nitent trimetro uel tetrametro pede incedentes.⁹¹

As with the *Odes* or *Epodes* of Horace ("Flaccus"), with which the exegetes would have been familiar from their earliest schooling,⁹² the classification of the Psalter as "lyric" indicated to the medieval commentator that it is made up of a collection of discrete poems in various meters. As we will see, exegetes like Bruno are careful to treat every psalm as an internally consistent, poetic unit: each psalm evinces a distinct, unitary authorial *intentio* and treats a *materia* different from the psalms before and after it.⁹³ In some cases,

⁹⁰ Some commentators acknowledge this interpretive problem, such as Honorius Augustodunensis, *PL* 172, coll. 270c-271a ("Omnes quippe Psalmi in Hebraea lingua certo metro decurrunt: sed hoc translatores propter simplices minime seruare curarunt"), and John of Rheims or Ivo II of Chartres, in my "John of Rheims", *op. cit.*, Appendix II ("Quod autem metri rationem non seruauerunt utique translationis causa factum est, quoniam interpres non potuit in aliam linguam ipsos psalmos transferens legem metri seruare").

⁹¹ *Etymologiae* VI.ii.17, *op. cit.*

⁹² Horace serves elsewhere as Isidore's example of a lyric poet, e.g., *Etymologiae* I.xxxix.24. On the reading of Horace in the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries, see Suzanne REYNOLDS, *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric, and the Classical Text*, Cambridge, 1996 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 27), esp. p. 14; Winthrop WETHERBEE, "The study of classical authors: From late antiquity to the twelfth century", in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 2, *The Middle Ages*, pp. 99-144; Vincent GILLESPIE, "The study of classical authors: From the twelfth century to c. 1450", in *Cambridge History*, vol. 2, *The Middle Ages*, pp. 145-235.

⁹³ Bruno therefore records in his preface a single *intentio* for the Psalter as a whole, treating the *intentio* of the first psalm as bespeaking the authorial intention for the collection in its entirety, and he also notes that "intentio...

this formal understanding could impact the interpretation of individual psalms. Though the acrostic structure of Ps. 118, for example, was not preserved in any Latin translation, these exegetes at least knew that the acrostic divided the psalm into sections that are eight verses long. Commentators following after Bruno therefore presented interpretations of each of these sections as discrete units, not allowing their exposition to bleed over from one section to the next.⁹⁴ In both their prologues, therefore, and in the bodies of their commentaries proper, these exegetes demonstrated their interest in the Psalter as a collection of poems.⁹⁵

Their understanding of psalms as poems led these commentators to approach the Psalter in certain, specific ways, resulting in the creation of a coherent, poetic hermeneutic. To take but the most basic, though also most pervasive example: these commentators make a point of illustrating how consecutive verses of individual psalms fit together. While in their patristic sources, such as Augustine and Cassiodorus, each verse was glossed discretely, almost to the point of individual verses being the object of brief commentaries unto themselves, exegetes in the tradition following Bruno sew verses together. Transitional phrases, such as *addens*, *subdens*, and *et sic sequitur*, are ubiquitous in these texts.⁹⁶ For example, moving from

operis huius multiplex esse per titulorum singulorum diuersitatem ostenditur," *PL* 152, col. 637b. Wilmar notes that, in his commentary, the Ps.-Haimo regularly provides an *intentio*, *materia*, and *modus* for each psalm; "Commentaire des Psaumes," 327. In the case of the Gradual Psalms, which are treated as a series within the Psalter, there is continuity and development from one prefatory discussion to the next: see above, n. 43.

⁹⁴ See my discussion of Bruno's treatment of Ps. 118, in "Grammatica and authenticity", pp. 70-74.

⁹⁵ For a comparable example of interpretation developed from an understanding of a biblical poem's formal qualities, see Ann ASTELL, *Job, Boethius, and Epic Truth* (Ithaca, 1994). Compare also the medieval reception and development of classical notions of tragedy, detailed by Henry Ansgar KELLY, *Ideas and Forms of Tragedy from Aristotle to the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1993 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 18).

⁹⁶ Artur LANDGRAF, "Probleme des Schrifttums Brunos des Kartäusers", *Collectanea Franciscana*, 8 (1938), pp. 542-590, at p. 577, notes that this feature is particularly pronounced in Bruno's commentary, and his observation is repeated by VAN DEN EYNDE, "Complementary note", p. 152.

his note on Ps. 72, 22b, “Renes mei commutati sunt,” to gloss Ps. 72, 23a, “Et ego ad nihilum redactus sum,” Bruno writes,

Ostendit autem unde sit commutatus, sic addens: Et priusquam commutarer, *redactus sum ad nihilum*, id est *ad nihilum* uirtutum et rationis meae, ut carerem ex toto; uel *ad nihilum*, id est appetitum temporalium, quae nihil sunt.⁹⁷

These two verses cannot be isolated one from another, Bruno insists, since the Psalmist’s being reduced to nothing in Ps. 72, 23a explains why his kidneys have been transformed in Ps. 72, 22b.

Though further examples could easily be drawn from any of the commentaries in this tradition, it will perhaps be more illuminating to note the persistence of this hermeneutical habit in the interlinear notes of the *Glossa ordinaria in Psalmos*. While the glossed Psalter’s longer, marginal notes tend to expound the Christological or theological content of the Psalms, frequently offering various interpretations that the reader can oppose and sometimes attempt to synthesize, its short interlinear glosses often focus on how the text is to be parsed.⁹⁸ Thus, short glosses constituted entirely by ablative absolute phrases can be understood as preserving the hermeneutical priorities of the Psalms-commentaries coming after Bruno. In the *Glossa* on Ps. 50, 12, for example, there appears a short, prefatory interlinear note: “Deletis malis, *Cor mundum crea in me, Deus*,” with the biblical text presented here in italic print.⁹⁹ The ablative absolute functions both to encapsulate the previous hemistich, “Omnes iniquitates meas dele,” and to give the reader a sense of how that verse relates

⁹⁷ PL 152, col. 1005b.

⁹⁸ This observation suggests a possible distinction between the glossed Psalter and the only book of the *Glossa* to appear in a critical edition: in the introduction to his edition of the *Glossa ordinaria in Lamentationes*, Alexander Andrée notes that he has not found any qualitative difference between the marginal and interlinear notes in the glossed Lamentations. In that book, the length of a gloss alone appears to have determined whether it was to be put in the margins or between the lines. *Glossa ordinaria in Lamentationes Ieremie Prophete: Prothemata at Liber I*, ed. A. ANDRÉE, Stockholm, 2005, p. 60.

⁹⁹ Here I have made use of the Rusch facsimile reprint, ed. GIBSON and FROELICH, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 536.

to this new one. The same function is apparent in the inter-linear gloss on Ps. 50, 21, “*Muris edificatis, Tunc acceptabis sacrificium iusticiae, oblationes et holocausta.*”¹⁰⁰ Such an insistence on continuity reflects the commentators’ understanding of the Psalter as a collection of poems: individual verses of a psalm cannot be isolated, but rather each psalm must be read as a complex and coherent composition.

The commentators’ need for poetic coherence sometimes led them to make use of a literary device, apostrophe. Thus, for example, explaining the potentially jarring shift between Ps. 2, 2, “*Adstiterunt reges terrae et principes conuenerunt in unum aduersus Dominum et aduersus christum eius,*” and Ps. 2, 3, “*Disrumpamus uincula eorum et proiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum,*” Bruno, taking David to be speaking in the voice of Christ,¹⁰¹ writes:

Disrumpamus, etc. Apostropham facit ad suos, adhortans ne ab illis metu aut blanditiis incorporentur, ne ob id in futuro, sicut et ipsi, damnentur. Illi frement et meditabuntur, et conuenient aduersus Dominum. Ego autem et uos, membra mea, *disrumpamus*, id est destruamus, *uincula eorum*, id est blanditias quibus ad imitandum se uolunt uos uincere. *Et proiciamus a nobis*, id est despiciate uos, *iugum ipsorum*, comminationem scilicet tribulationum mortis, qua uolunt uos cogere, quasi iugo.¹⁰²

Bruno sees David’s Christological voice first speaking declaratively and generally in Ps. 2, 2, then changing to a hortatory mode in Ps. 2, 3 and addressing specifically “his own,” i.e., the Church. The same interpretation, though without the use of the term apostrophe, is presented in the commentary on this verse by Gilbertus Universalis: “*Hic conuertit se ad auditores suos, id est ad fideles.*”¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Rusch reprint, vol. 2, p. 537.

¹⁰¹ See the discussion of Bruno’s rubrics for interpreting a *titulus* in Section II above.

¹⁰² *PL* 152, coll. 644d-645a.

¹⁰³ MS Laon 17, fol. 3vb. The phrase “conuertit se ad...” is often used in place of apostrophe in the commentaries following Bruno. In the Ps.-Bede’s Psalms-commentary, for example, “conuertit se ad...” appears twenty-eight times (*PL* 93, coll. 535a, 555a, 567c, 575c, 577c, 599d, 606a, 644a, 723d, 733a, 741c, 765c (two instances), 790a, 798b, 831c, 833b, 838d, 851b, 876b,

I have elsewhere pointed toward the prominent role played by literary devices or schemes in these commentaries.¹⁰⁴ These texts, and Bruno's especially, are strewn with such terminology, which the exegetes drew from their training in the first liberal art, *grammatica*,¹⁰⁵ and, unlike other exegesis in this period, such devices are not used in this body of Psalms-commentaries simply to impress the reader with the commentator's apparent knowledge of Greek.¹⁰⁶ Rather, they appear in almost every instance to be deployed carefully and consciously, and, furthermore, their use seems to be tied directly to the exegetes' understanding of David as both a prophet and a poet.¹⁰⁷

880b, 892a, 892b, 1029b, 1034d, 1035d, 1051a, 1075c), while "facit apostropham ad..." or simply "apostropha ad..." appear on eleven occasions (coll. 618b, 621d, 628d, 644b, 645a, 654b, 722b, 743a, 886c, 983c, 987c). Bruno's commentary includes over one hundred instances of apostrophe and none of "conuertit se ad..."

¹⁰⁴ "*Grammatica* and authenticity." See also Anne GRONDEUX, "Teaching and learning lists of figures in the Middle Ages", *New Medieval Literatures*, 11 (2009), pp. 133-158. Grondeux's discussion of the use of such figures in exegetical literature is partial, focusing on the influence of Cassiodorus – on which, see "*Grammatica* and authenticity", pp. 74-75.

¹⁰⁵ On the place of literary devices within the division of the liberal arts, see IRVINE with THOMSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-20.

¹⁰⁶ Gilbert Dahan, though classifying such schemes as belonging to rhetoric, has noted that these devices appear with some frequency in other commentaries produced throughout the twelfth century. DAHAN, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval, XI^e-XIV^e siècle*, Paris, 1999, pp. 253-262; ID., "Genres, forms, and various methods in Christian exegesis of the Middle Ages", in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, vol. 1, *From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (Until 1300)*, part 2, *The Middle Ages*, ed. M. SÆBØ, Göttingen, 2000, pp. 196-236, at pp. 228-229. Yet, compared to other exegetes known for the attention they paid to the literal sense, the exegetes following Bruno appear to use literary devices in their commentaries in a more consistently significant fashion: the Psalms-exegetes' use of such devices appears to be integral to the interpretations they offer. For example, in his commentary on the sixth plague in Exodus 9, 9, "Erunt enim in hominibus et in iumentis ulcera et uesicae turgentes in uniuersa terra Aegypti," Andrew of St Victor identifies "ulcera et uesicae" as an example of hendiadys. CCCM 53, ed. C. LOHR and R. BERNDT, p. 107. This identification seems strained, and it has no bearing on his gloss of this verse more generally: it may be compared to the use of the same device by Bruno, described in "*Grammatica* and authenticity", 79-80.

¹⁰⁷ The most extreme example of David's prophetic intentionality may be Bruno's conclusion that David intended to hide allegorical meanings in certain

Commenting on Ps. 71, 8, for example, Bruno identifies the use of two literary devices a propos the same word, allowing him to read a reference to the Church in David's verses.

Quia uero posuerat *a mari usque ad mare*, et cum maria multa sint, posset intelligi Mediterraneum mare, uel aliquod proximum, et sic totus mundus eius dominio non intelligeretur esse subditus, additur *a flumine*, id est a baptisate, *usque ad terminos orbis terrarum* damnabitur, id est ubique terrarum. Vel *a flumine* incipiet damnari, id est a Iudaico populo, de quo primitiuam Ecclesiam constituet, qui metonomice per Iordanem, qui flumen antonomastice dicitur, accipitur, eo quod in Iudaea sit *usque ad terminos orbis terrarum*, id est usque in omnes nationes.¹⁰⁸

While the reference to *mare* might suggest that this verse is about the Mediterranean or some other nearby sea, Bruno believes that David was trying to do something more, something prophetic with this text. The reference to *flumen*, he suggests, may be a case of antonomasia, the substitution of an epithet for a proper name, in which case David intended his reader to understand *flumen* as denoting the River Jordan. Further, the Jordan, wherein John baptized the first Christians (Matth. 3, 5-6 *et al.*), could therefore be understood as a metonym for the primitive Church drawn from the Jewish people, making the remainder of the verse, "Vsque ad terminos orbis terrarum," intelligible as bespeaking the spread of Christianity (and, with it, the scope of humanity's culpability at the Last Judgment) from its primitive state (*a flumine*) to all the nations of the world (*in omnes nationes*). Bruno's reading of this verse, therefore, moves from the historical to the realm of the spiritual or prophetic, but it does so specifically by reading the text as poetry.

Similar uses of literary devices are likewise to be found in other commentaries in this tradition, though no other exegete seems to use as many different devices with the same frequency as does Bruno.¹⁰⁹ A simpler case, for example, is

psalms. These examples are discussed in my forthcoming essay, "The place of allegory", *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁸ PL 152, col. 994bc.

¹⁰⁹ For another example of a frequently used device, aposiopesis, in the commentary of the Ps.-Haimo, see "Grammatica and authenticity", 87-88.

found in Gilbertus Universalis's discussion of the repetition that begins Ps. 1, 4, "Non sic impii, non sic."

Non sic impii, non sic. Iste inquam talis erit, ut dixi superius, lignum uitae dans fructum, consummatus in sanctitate, et omnes pii quidem erunt sibi similes suo modo in sanctitate, sicut ipse ideo dicit, *Estote sancti sicut et ego sanctus sum* [cfr Leu. 11, 44; 19, 2]. Impii uero non erunt sic, id est sibi similes. Vnde Apostolus, *Qualis terrenus Adam tales et terreni*, id est conformes, *et quasi spiritualis*, id est Christus, *tales et spirituales* [cfr I Cor. 15, 48]. Repetitio ista, *Non sic*, fit ut deterreat et fit causa assertionis, et est ibi silempsis facta per contrarium. Quia cum dicit, "Non erunt ut Christus impii," subinnuit, "quia pii ita erunt ut Christus."¹¹⁰

Above, we saw the Admont Ps.-Remigius explain the same instance of repetition as indicative of the Psalmist's indignation, and Gilbertus, in part, agrees with this claim: the repeated phrase is intended to frighten the wicked. But, by identifying the repetition as a potential instance of syllepsis, wherein the same phrase could be applied with a different meaning to two different objects, Gilbertus may conclude that the repetition is also meant to reassure the faithful. Further, by invoking a literary device recalled from his reading of various texts in the arts curriculum, such as Servius's commentary on Virgil,¹¹¹ Gilbertus is able to make his interpretation coincide more closely with his most likely source, Bruno or an intermediary, than the Admont Ps.-Remigius was able to do. Bruno's commentary here reads, "Repetitio haec ad hoc fit, ut confirmet pios et exterreat impios," though Bruno does not provide justification for this reading similar to Gilbertus's.¹¹² Such an example bespeaks a well-learned method of interpretation, a hermeneutic: Gilbertus may derive the content of his exegesis from an antecedent commentary, but, thinking in terms of this grammatical or poetic hermeneutic, he finds a

¹¹⁰ MS Laon 17, fol. 3ra.

¹¹¹ Servius locates one instance of syllepsis in his commentary on the *Georgics* and six in his commentary on the *Aeneid*. See J. F. MOUNTFORD and J. T. SCHULTZ, *Index rerum et nominum in scholiis Servii et Aelii Donati tractatorum*, Ithaca, 1930, p. 162a.

¹¹² PL 152, col. 642b.

new way to explain how such an interpretation can be derived from the text under consideration.

The hermeneutic we have found in these Psalms-commentaries, therefore, derives first from a particular valuation of David's role as a prophetic poet. Unlike other prophets, David had a comparatively full knowledge of how the history of humanity's salvation was to unfold, and he could incorporate this knowledge into his psalms as he wrote them.¹¹³ This understanding necessitates a concomitant emphasis on the letter of David's text: if his prophecy is inextricably wrapped up in his actual words, then it is only through the words themselves, and their particular arrangement, that the full meaning of the Psalms might be reached. Treating the Psalms as poems, then, provides a specific set of methods for interpreting the richness of David's words and phrasing, seen especially in the exegetes' interest in the formal qualities of the Psalms and in their careful use of literary devices. In this way, Bruno and the exegetes following him sought to explore the richness of the great Davidic text, bringing the skills they had acquired as students of the liberal arts to bear on the interpretation of a collection of poems whose artistry hid an unparalleled, divinely inspired meaning.

IV

We began above by reviewing the Victorine hermeneutic that has dominated our understanding of biblical studies in the twelfth-century schools since the first publication, in 1941, of *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*. It might, then, be best to conclude with the example of a commentary that, while in the tradition of Psalms-exegesis following Bruno le Chartreux, attempts to reconcile to some degree the poetic and Victorine hermeneutics. The *Commentaria in Psalmos* or *Magna glossatura* of Peter Lombard, as we have seen, follows

¹¹³ This understanding, foregrounding David's unique status as a prophet, may also explain why exegetes following Bruno show little interest in the possibility that writers other than David contributed to the Psalter. For a discussion of authorship in other medieval Psalms-commentaries, see MINNIS, *Theory of Authorship*, pp. 43-44, 47, 90-91.

the other commentaries discussed above in its selection and articulation of patristic and Carolingian sources, and also in its use of the elements we have identified as being central to the poetic hermeneutic. The Lombard is careful to show how the verses of individual psalms flow from one to the next, and he also makes intelligent, sometimes original, use of literary devices.¹¹⁴ But, in Paris, the Lombard also came under the influence of the Victorines, most notably Hugh,¹¹⁵ and the Lombard's commentary reflects an awareness of Victorine hermeneutical priorities. Commenting on Ps. 62, 7b, "Quia fuisti adiutor meus," for example, he writes,

Nisi enim adiuuet hic Deus, bona implere non possumus. Vel ita iuxta moralem sensum, et conuenit in parte cum praecedente sententia. Quasi dicat: Laudabo, *si*, id est quia, *memor fui tui super stratum meum*. Per stratum in quo quiescimus prospera accipe, in quibus iste est memor Dei, quod uix homo facit. Et *meditabor in te in matutinis*, id est in luce gratiae michi illucescente. In nocte enim mala fiunt, sed Christo monstrante tanquam in luce bona debemus facere.¹¹⁶

The Lombard's interpretation follows Bruno and the other commentators in this tradition, and the persistence of their particular hermeneutic is apparent in the emphasis the Lombard places upon the continuity of the verses: "conuenit in parte cum praecedente sententia." Yet the Lombard has added a phrase, "iuxta moralem sensum," which does not appear once in Bruno's commentary. Keeping in mind our earlier observation that spiritual readings are inextricably incorporated into the literal reading of the Psalms in this commentarial tradition, it is perhaps unsurprising that the Lombard's attempt here to distinguish between senses in the Victorine manner appears awkward or incorrect. The reading to which he is presenting an alternative, "Unless God helps, we cannot accomplish anything," appears to be just as tropological

¹¹⁴ See, for example, his novel use of anthropospathos (MS antropospatos) a propos Ps. 2, 5. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.5.4, fol. 12va.

¹¹⁵ See COLISH, *Peter Lombard*, vol. 1, pp. 17-18; see also the discussion in Matthew DOYLE, *Bernard of Clairvaux and the Schools: The Formation of an Intellectual Milieu in the First Half of the Twelfth Century*, Spoleto, 2005.

¹¹⁶ MS Trinity College B.5.4, fol. 154ra.

as his alternative reading: "With Christ teaching us... we can accomplish good deeds."¹¹⁷

If the Lombard's wedding of Victorine and poetic hermeneutics appears ill-fitting, it is simply because the Lombard was attempting to introduce a different way of reading, developed by exegetes whose interests lay primarily with different books of the Bible, to an exegetical tradition that had its own, well-defined methods and priorities. It may be noteworthy that this hermeneutic developed in the treatment of a biblical book that was largely untouched by Victorine exegetes. Apart from the pithy fragments of Psalms-exegesis collected in Hugh's *Miscellanea*,¹¹⁸ the only Victorine Psalms-commentary of which I am aware is Richard of St Victor's *Adnotationes mysticae in Psalmos*, which is hardly a commentary at all: Richard chooses isolated verses from no more than twenty-two psalms, and he treats them as a springboard for his theological discussions.¹¹⁹ Perhaps, then, we might look for further hermeneutical diversity in the commentarial traditions surrounding other books that were less frequently glossed by Victorine exegetes: the Pauline Epistles, for example, were the subject of commentaries by many of the same authors studied here,¹²⁰ and the Gospels, as Smalley indicated in her final

¹¹⁷ On morality in the literal sense, see also Joseph GOERING, "Literal and spiritual morality in the scholastic sermon: An old distinction recovered", in *Predicazione e società nel medioevo: Riflessione etica, valori e modelli di comportamento*, ed. by L. GAFFURI and R. QUINTO, Padova, 2002, pp. 119-128.

¹¹⁸ PL 177, coll. 589a-634a.

¹¹⁹ PL 196, coll. 265d-404d; on the use of the Psalms in non-commentarial literature produced by Victorines, see Grover ZINN, "The Psalms at the Abbey of St. Victor: From the novices' *schola* to the heights of *contemplatio*", in *Transforming Relations: Essays on Jews and Christians throughout History in Honor of Michael A. Signer*, ed. by F. T. HARKINS, Notre Dame, 2010, pp. 75-100.

¹²⁰ On Epistles-commentaries by some of the same authors discussed above, see COLISH, "From *sacra pagina* to *theologia*: Peter Lombard as an exegete of Romans", *Medieval Perspectives*, 6 (1991), pp. 1-19; EAD., "Peter Lombard as an exegete of St. Paul", in *Ad litteram: Authoritative Texts and Their Medieval Readers*, op. cit., pp. 71-92; EAD., *Peter Lombard*, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 192-225; Anselme STOELEN, "Les commentaries scripturaires attribués à Bruno le Chartreux", *Recherches de Théol. anc. méd.*, 25 (1958), pp. 177-247; Artur LANDGRAF, "Untersuchungen zu den Paulinenkommentaren des 12. Jahrhunderts", *Recherches de Théol. anc. méd.*, 8 (1936), pp. 253-281 and 345-368; Mark

book, were the subject of a similarly rich tradition outside of Victorine circles.¹²¹ Without denying the importance of Victorine authors, we must be mindful of the complexities of the intellectual life of the cathedral schools, and of the influence of other exegetes, such as Bruno, on the development of scholarly hermeneutics.

Summary

Commentaries on the Psalter by Bruno le Chartreux and other exegetes of the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries, represent a distinct body of biblical interpretation that has been neglected in earlier scholarship. The common features of this pre-scholastic tradition are described in three sections. Firstly, the commentators' use of their sources is described, allowing us to see the different ways these sources were adapted and mediated within this tradition, as well as revealing how some of the commentaries in this group may be divided into distinct families. Secondly, the exegetes' shared understanding of David *qua* author of the Psalter, and his status as a prophet, are explored. Finally, the exegetes' consideration of the Psalter as a collection of poems reveals that they used the interpretive techniques of the liberal arts curriculum to discern David's prophetic intentions within his verse – and what appear to be allegorical readings may therefore better be understood as literal interpretations.

ZIER, "Peter Lombard and the *Glossa ordinaria*: A missing link?" in *Pietro Lombardo, op. cit.*, pp. 361-409. Ian Christopher Levy is currently undertaking a study of the Epistles-commentary attributed to Bruno.

¹²¹ *The Gospels in the Schools, c. 1100-c. 1280*, London, 1985. See also ANDRÉE, "The *Glossa ordinaria* on the Gospel of John: A preliminary survey of the manuscripts with a presentation of the text and its sources", *Revue bénédictine*, 118 (2008), pp. 109-134 and 289-333; ID., "Anselm of Laon unveiled? The *Glossae super Iohannem* and the origins of the *Glossa ordinaria* on the Bible", *Mediaeval Studies*, 73 (2011), forthcoming.

Entre commentaire, sentence et glose : la « lettre sur la Cène dite de saint Anselme »

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Quelle forme prenait un cours de *sacra pagina* dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle ? La question, simple en apparence, n'a toujours pas reçu de réponse entièrement satisfaisante. Il est certes reconnu que la Bible constituait le fondement de la formation théologique, mais les modalités présidant à l'explication du Livre demeurent obscures. En dépit du progrès des études sur les milieux scolaires, force est donc de reconnaître que les pratiques pédagogiques de l'époque sont encore partiellement inconnues. L'absence de témoignage historique explicite ainsi que l'abondance des sources inédites ou mal éditées constituent autant d'explications objectives. Il faut aussi compter avec la nécessité de définir les genres littéraires pratiqués au XII^e siècle en séparant le commentaire lemmatique continu de formes brèves comme les sentences ou les gloses. De tels classements, assurément inévitables en histoire littéraire, ont tendance à figer une réalité toujours mouvante et, dans le cas précis du XII^e siècle, ajoutent l'inconvénient de faire correspondre à des termes latins polysémiques (*commentum*, *glossa*, *sententia*) un lexique français relativement univoque. Sans renoncer à des principes d'ordonnancement, il est parfois utile de s'intéresser aux cas limites qui résistent au classement et qui invitent à considérer à nouveaux frais les frontières entre genres littéraires. Une telle concession à la diversité fournit une image plus juste des pratiques littéraires,

tout en appelant une question : la fluidité entre genres littéraires, qui relativise les frontières tracées entre eux, ne constitue-t-elle pas précisément l'essence de la pédagogie au ^{xiii}^e siècle ? Autrement dit : étudier le passage d'une forme à une autre, tout obscurci qu'il puisse être par le classement en genres et leur description raisonnée, ne permet-il pas de documenter un des aspects essentiels de la vie littéraire et doctrinale du Moyen Âge ?

Cette perspective générale, pour être vérifiée, requiert l'étude de cas d'espèce suffisamment représentatifs. Par sa complexité, le dossier de la « lettre sur la Cène dite de saint Anselme » illustre parfaitement les rapports subtils entre l'exégèse et la théologie ainsi que la difficulté à débrouiller l'écheveau de tels textes¹. D'abord publié par dom Gabriel Gerberon sous le nom de saint Anselme comme lettre 107 du livre IV, le texte traite principalement des espèces eucharistiques². Il montre la convenance du pain et du vin pour signifier le salut corporel et spirituel de l'homme, insiste sur l'unité du Christ qui demeure malgré la séparation des espèces, et résout plusieurs difficultés liées à la réception de l'eucharistie³. L'authenticité anselmienne, déjà sérieusement mise en doute dès le début du ^{xx}^e siècle, a reçu un coup fatal grâce à la découverte d'Anselme Stoelen qui a montré que la « lettre » était extraite d'un commentaire de la première épître aux Corinthiens⁴. Le

¹ Le meilleur *status quaestionis* demeure l'article d'A. STOELLEN, « Bruno le Chartreux, Jean Gratiadei et la 'Lettre de S. Anselme' sur l'eucharistie », *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 34 (1967), p. 18-83. Il n'a malheureusement pas été suivi des éditions critiques annoncées par l'auteur p. 19. La bibliographie de base demeure donc celle mise à jour en 1973 par A. LANDGRAF, *Introduction à l'histoire de la littérature théologique de la scolastique naissante*, Montréal - Paris, 1973, p. 70, n. 81.

² *PL* 159, col. 255A-258A : « Nota quod tota humana natura... — ... transfundi in sanguinem ». L'édition est faite d'après un manuscrit de Saint-Remi de Reims, détruit en 1774, mais dont la teneur est connue par Paris, BnF, lat. 13070, fol. 12v (abrégé du catalogue moderne). La copie utilisée par dom Gerberon est contenue dans Paris, BnF, lat. 12116, fol. 119r-121v, ^{xviii}^e siècle. Je dois ces renseignements à l'obligeance de François Dolbeau.

³ Voir aussi la présentation synthétique de L. OTT, *Untersuchungen zur theologischen Briefliteratur der Frühscholastik*, Münster, 1937, p. 42-44.

⁴ A. STOELLEN, « Bruno le Chartreux », p. 18-19 confirme les analyses de J. de GHELLINCK, « Eucharistie au ^{xii}^e siècle en Occident », dans *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, t. 5/2, Paris, 1924, col. 1233-1302, aux col. 1243-

commentaire connu d'après une dizaine de témoins a pour auteur un mystérieux Gratiadei, c'est-à-dire Jean, qui l'aurait peut-être rédigé entre 1102 et 1126 dans le milieu monastique poivevin⁵. Par son contenu et ses sources, le texte s'insère dans le renouveau de la question eucharistique typique de la seconde moitié du XI^e siècle, à la suite de la controverse ravivée par Bérenger de Tours⁶. Il est un des témoins de la tendance, active depuis le IX^e siècle, qui tend à historiciser nettement le corps eucharistique comme corps historique du Christ et pour laquelle la présence réelle doit s'entendre d'une façon substantielle⁷. Les commentaires contemporains sur les Psaumes et les épîtres pauliniennes utilisent largement, en effet, l'exégèse de l'Ambrosiaster et l'interprétation strictement

1244, et surtout J. GEISELMANN, « Der Abendmahlsbrief des Anselms von Canterbury ein Werk des Anselms von Laon », *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 111 (1930), p. 320-349, aux p. 333-336.

⁵ La précision est tirée du seul manuscrit qui donne toute la série des commentaires sur les épîtres, Paris, BnF, lat. 14442 : « Incipiuntur glosule epistolarum Pauli ab illo videlicet cujus nomen gratia Dei interpretatur in anno quo consul Pictaviensis de Jherusolima rediit », cité d'après A. STOELEN, « Les commentaires scripturaires attribués à Bruno le Chartreux », *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 25 (1958), p. 177-247, à la p. 186, n. 13. La liste des témoins est donnée par A. STOELEN, « Bruno le Chartreux », p. 20-21, et complétée d'un manuscrit par R. PEPPERMÜLLER, « Der Epistelnkommentar des Cod. Avignon 74 », *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 37 (1970), p. 292-294. Je dois les précisions sur la date et l'origine du commentaire à la courtoisie de Maria Valeria Ingegno qui a soutenu, sous la direction de Gilbert Dahan (EPHE, Ve section), une thèse portant sur plusieurs commentaires de I Cor. du XII^e siècle.

⁶ Pour un cadre interprétatif général, voir G. MACY, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period. A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament according to the Theologians c. 1080-c. 1220*, Oxford, 1984, et du même, « L'eucharistie en Occident de 1000 à 1300 », dans *Eucharistia. Encyclopédie de l'eucharistie*, s.d. M. BROUARD, Paris, 2002, p. 175-193 ; sur les écrits de l'école de Laon, voir W. KNOCH, *Die Einsetzung der Sakramente durch Christus. Eine Untersuchung zur Sakramententheologie der Frühscholastik von Anselm von Laon bis zum Wilhelm von Auxerre*, Münster, 1983, p. 47-57.

⁷ Voir H. de LUBAC, *Corpus mysticum. L'Eucharistie et l'Église au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1944, et A. RAUWEL, « Théologie de l'eucharistie et valorisation de l'autel à l'âge roman », *Hortus artium medievalium*, 11 (2005), p. 177-181.

réaliste de Paschase Radbert pour combattre l'interprétation symbolique des espèces consacrées⁸.

L'importance des enjeux doctrinaux explique donc la circulation du commentaire de Gratiadei qui prend les formes les plus inattendues. En effet, des extraits de son œuvre sont transmis de bien des manières, sous des attributions divergentes comme « Anselme de Laon » ou « Manegold ». Comme souvent face à une tradition manuscrite complexe et déroutante, l'historiographie a voulu trancher, avec des solutions contradictoires, la question de l'origine ultime et celle de l'auteur plutôt que de chercher à interpréter les formes de la transmission. Le cas est patent pour la « lettre de saint Anselme » où la nature même de l'œuvre, successivement reconnue pour une lettre, une sentence théologique, puis l'extrait d'un commentaire paulinien, a cédé la place à la question d'attribution⁹. Selon la perspective ici retenue, il nous paraît plus fructueux de rechercher la fonction remplie par le texte dans les différents manuscrits où il apparaît. En effet, la rubrique dont la fonction est d'indiquer une origine n'est qu'un élément parmi d'autres dans le manuscrit et ne devrait être interprétée qu'en fonction du contexte qui lui donne sens. Pour les textes de cette nature ayant circulé dans les milieux scolaires, les limites précises de l'œuvre matérialisées par l'incipit et l'explicit comptent autant que les rubriques nommant tel auteur. Faute d'attention suffisante portée aux manuscrits, on risque de séparer des éléments dont le contenu est similaire mais dont l'attribution seule diverge¹⁰. D'une meilleure remise en contexte de la rubrique on peut aussi attendre une évaluation plus juste de sa sincérité. Pareillement, le titre donné, le soin

⁸ G. MACY, « Some Examples of the Influence of Exegesis on the Theology of the Eucharist in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries », *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 52 (1985), p. 64-77, aux p. 66-70.

⁹ Le texte est édité comme une lettre en *PL* 159, J. Geiselman en parle comme d'un « Traktat eines Sentenziariers » (« Der Abendmahlsbrief », p. 348), et A. Stoelen comme d'une « partie intégrante du commentaire de Gratiadei » (« Bruno le Chartreux », p. 20).

¹⁰ C'est le défaut principal du classement proposé par G. MACY, « Some Examples », p. 71-72, qui identifie les différentes versions en fonction non de leur contenu, mais de leur auteur supposé, alors que, par exemple, sous la rubrique « Anselme » circulent des textes notablement différents.

apporté à distinguer un texte de ceux qui l'entourent ainsi que le rapport des différentes œuvres entre elles livrent de précieux indices dont il serait dommageable de se priver. Rassemblés, ils indiquent, dans le cas présent, la manière dont les extraits bibliques, perdant graduellement leur nature scripturaire, deviennent des « sentences théologiques ».

1. *Lectiones et gloses bibliques*

Dans le commentaire de Gratiadei, l'amorce scripturaire est constituée des versets 16-17 du chapitre 10 de la première épître aux Corinthiens. Ils prennent place dans le passage où Paul oppose en une vigoureuse symétrie la coupe et le pain de la Nouvelle Alliance aux sacrifices des Israélites charnels :

(16) Calix benedictionis cui benedicimus nonne communicatio sanguinis Christi est? Et panis quem frangimus nonne participatio corporis Domini est? (17) Quoniam unus panis et unum corpus multi sumus, omnes quidem de uno pane et de uno calice participamus.

Nous n'entrons ici dans le détail de l'exégèse que pour montrer le passage précis de l'explication textuelle au développement plus technique. Le sens du texte est donné en ouverture : il s'agit d'éviter de s'assimiler aux démons et de s'unir au Christ par son corps et par « la coupe » :

Calix. Ideo vos fugere debetis, quia qui comedit idolotita sub idoli veneratione, vel alios facit per exemplum suum comedere, unum efficitur cum demone, sicut per calicem et per corpus Christi communicamur cum ipso Christo¹¹.

Après le rappel de l'idée d'ensemble, le commentateur s'attache à la première partie du verset 16. Ce n'est pas un hasard si, dans le résumé qui ouvre le commentaire du lemme, le mot

¹¹ Le texte de référence est l'édition d'A. STOELLEN, « Bruno le Chartreux », p. 42, l. 445-451 : « *La coupe* : vous devez donc fuir, car celui qui mange les dons aux idoles en signe de vénération à l'idole ou fait manger les autres par son exemple, s'unit au démon, de même que par la coupe et le corps du Christ nous entrons en communion avec le Christ ».

« calicem » a été substitué au très attendu « sanguinem ». En effet, toute l'attention du commentateur porte sur le sens à donner au mot. Conformément aux pratiques exégétiques du temps, le même lemme reçoit des interprétations variées qui s'additionnent sans s'annuler. La « coupe de bénédiction » est tout d'abord promesse d'exaltation ici-bas et pour la vie éternelle :

Et hoc est quod dicit : *calix*, id est potus sanguinis Christi, *benedictionis*, id est qui est causa nostre exaltationis presentis et future, quia per sanguinem Christi quo reficimur, hic spiritualiter et in futuro pluribus modis et beatificamur et sublimamur; *cui benedicimus*, id est exaltamus, non indigne accipientes, et omnia necessaria saluti provenire per eum credentes¹².

Elle est également par extension la coupe bénie par le prêtre qui perpétue la bénédiction donnée originellement par le Christ :

Vel *calix benedictionis*, id est benedictus et consecratus, et non tantum ille calix quia Christo benedictus est, sed etiam ille cui quilibet sacerdotum benedicit, et hoc est quod dicit : *cui benedicimus*¹³.

La « coupe » et la « bénédiction » s'entendent donc en un double sens, objectif et historique lorsqu'elles s'appliquent au Christ et à son action salvifique, mais aussi subjectif et personnel si l'on considère l'action du prêtre à l'autel. L'explication est élargie maintenant à la suite du verset :

¹² A. STOELEN, « Bruno le Chartreux », p. 42, l. 453-467 : « Et c'est pourquoi il dit : *la coupe*, c'est-à-dire le fait de boire le sang du Christ, *de bénédiction*, c'est-à-dire qui est la cause de notre exaltation présente et future, car par le sang du Christ qui nous reconforte, nous sommes béatifiés et élevés maintenant spirituellement et dans le futur de diverses manières; *que nous bénissons*, c'est-à-dire exaltons en ne la recevant pas indignement et en croyant que toutes choses nécessaires au salut proviennent d'elle ».

¹³ A. STOELEN, « Bruno le Chartreux », p. 43, l. 469-475 : « Ou bien *la coupe de bénédiction*, c'est-à-dire bénie et consacrée, et non seulement la coupe bénie par le Christ, mais aussi celle que n'importe quel prêtre bénit, et c'est pourquoi il dit : *que nous bénissons* ».

Nonne communicatio id est nonne facit nos habere quandam communionem sanguinis Christi, id est cum anima et vita Jhesu Christi¹⁴.

Le terme même de « communication » est l'occasion d'introduire un nouveau sens pour l'expression « sang du Christ ». Elle signifie ici l'âme et de manière large la vie du Christ. La mise en relation, dans les lignes précédentes, de la coupe de vin et du sang du Christ s'enrichit donc à cette occasion de la mention de son âme représentée sacramentellement par son sang. Reste à expliquer la manière dont l'homme participe à ce mystère : c'est le sens du passage suivant qui correspond au texte de la « lettre de saint Anselme ». Le commentateur y explique que notre âme, symbolisée par le vin, est conformée à l'âme du Christ rendue présente par la transformation du vin en sang :

similiter per vinum in verum sanguinem conversum et similiter a nobis acceptum, animas nostras anime Christi credamus conformes fieri¹⁵.

Tout le texte, qui est éloigné de l'amorce scripturaire mais en découle logiquement, poursuit l'explicitation subtile du sens sacramentel des espèces consacrées (l. 494-550). Il est complété par une question portant sur la manducation eucharistique (l. 551-571) et des considérations sur la réception indigne du sacrement (l. 575-606), son itération (607-614) et sa célébration valide quelle que soit la dignité du ministre (l. 615-620)¹⁶. Une mention explicite confirme le retour du commentateur au texte biblique : « redeamus vero ad textum libri »¹⁷.

¹⁴ A. STOELLEN, « Bruno le Chartreux », p. 43, l. 476-479 : « *N'est-elle pas la communication*, c'est-à-dire ne nous fait-elle pas avoir une certaine communion avec le sang du Christ, c'est-à-dire avec l'âme et la vie de Jésus-Christ ? »

¹⁵ A. STOELLEN, « Bruno le Chartreux », p. 44, l. 509-513 : « < afin que > pareillement par le vin converti dans le vrai sang et pareillement reçu par nous, nous croyions que nos âmes sont rendues conformes au Christ ».

¹⁶ La ligne 620 correspond donc à la fin de la « lettre de saint Anselme » telle que l'édition de la *Patrologie latine* la fait connaître.

¹⁷ A. STOELLEN, « Bruno le Chartreux », p. 49, l. 621 : « Mais revenons au texte du livre ».

L'appartenance de ces développements théologiques au commentaire est donc indubitable¹⁸.

Ce dernier reprend son cours avec l'explication de la deuxième partie du verset 16 : « et panis quem frangimus ». Elle applique au pain une exégèse parallèle à celle déjà donnée pour la coupe (l. 622-643) : le pain fait participer notre corps à la gloire du corps du Christ et manifeste notre adhésion au mystère eucharistique. Les lignes 644-687 donnent, quant à elles, une explication du verset 17 : la participation au pain fait des fidèles un seul corps (l. 644-673), à condition de s'unir au Christ, au moins implicitement pour les enfants baptisés (l. 674-687).

La « lettre » connue sous le nom de saint Anselme prend donc son origine dans un commentaire scripturaire où elle forme un excursus doctrinal, conformément à une pratique typique des textes scolaires contemporains. Ce point acquis, l'étude de la diffusion de cette œuvre et du réseau textuel dans laquelle elle s'insère, offrent l'occasion de montrer le glissement d'un genre scripturaire à un autre, plus systématique.

Précisons que le texte n'est pas une comète isolée : il contient d'importants parallèles avec un autre commentaire sur Paul, bien diffusé mais dont l'auteur est inconnu¹⁹. Traditionnellement attribué à saint Bruno, il a pour point commun avec une nébuleuse de commentaires pauliniens apparentés d'avoir une origine scolaire et de dater des premières décennies du XII^e siècle²⁰. Dans le commentaire du pseudo-Bruno sur I Cor. 10, 16-17, on retrouve la même structure exégétique que dans celui de Gratiadei et une interprétation similaire du texte paulinien. La différence, mais elle est de taille, tient à la

¹⁸ Comme on le verra plus bas, certains manuscrits qui contiennent uniquement l'excursus théologique de Gratiadei portent également la mention « redeamus ad textum libri » : elle suppose à l'évidence que le texte-source est un commentaire.

¹⁹ Le commentaire est imprimé en *PL* 153, col. 13-566. La liste la plus complète comptant vingt-deux manuscrits a été établie par A. STOELLEN, « Les commentaires scripturaire », p. 178.

²⁰ Ce sont les points hors de conteste que l'on peut retenir d'une bibliographie abondante et contradictoire, cf. A. LANDGRAF, *Introduction*, p. 66-67. Faute d'éditions de ces commentaires, nous ne les prenons pas en compte.

place faite aux développements théologiques qui apparaissent chez le pseudo-Bruno sous une forme abrégée ou sont tout à fait absents²¹.

Dans sa glose sur Paul, Anselme de Laon utilise le commentaire du pseudo-Bruno. Pour I Cor. 10, 16-17, il constitue la source de la longue glose marginale sur « Calix benedictionis » ainsi que nous la fait connaître un des bons manuscrits de cette glose²². La glose d'Anselme a donc retenu le cœur de l'argumentaire du pseudo-Bruno sur les espèces consacrées et lui donne une nouvelle diffusion en l'insérant dans ses marges.

Un autre exemple de transmission est fourni par la sentence anselmienne 27 qui illustre les possibilités de réutilisation d'un fonds commun dans une forme brève appelée à être diffusée indépendamment d'un commentaire continu²³. L'auteur de la sentence a commencé par emprunter au pseudo-Bruno son exégèse littérale de I Cor. 10, 16-17 avant de la compléter par une bonne part de l'exposé plus dogmatique de Gratiadei²⁴. La sentence n'est pas copiée dans un livre glosé, mais apparaît dans un florilège patristique provenant de Saint-Amand²⁵. Alors que dans les manuscrits glosés, l'homogénéité

²¹ L'édition en colonnes donnée par A. Stoelen permet de relever concordances et différences, cf. « Bruno le Chartreux », p. 42-52.

²² Cf. Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, 125, fol. 40va-b, qui coïncide avec *PL* 153, col. 175D-176C ou éd. A. STOELEN, « Bruno le Chartreux », p. 42-47, l. 457-573. L'édition imprimée de la Glose n'a en commun avec le manuscrit de la Mazarine que les gloses sur « Calix » et « Quoniam unus panis » (éd. *Biblia latina cum Glossa ordinaria, Facsimile Reprint of the Editio Princeps Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/81*, intr. M. T. Gibson, K. Froehlich, Turnhout, 1992, t. 4, p. 322-323), qui ne sont pas comprises dans le commentaire du pseudo-Bruno. Les deux gloses sur « Quoniam unus panis » sont interverties dans le manuscrit et ne portent pas la référence à Augustin.

²³ Éd. O. LOTTIN, *Psychologie et morale aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, t. 5, *Problèmes d'histoire littéraire. L'école d'Anselme de Laon et de Guillaume de Champeaux*, Gembloux, 1959, p. 27-28.

²⁴ Les lignes 2-20 de la sentence anselmienne 27 correspondent à *PL* 153, col. 176B-C (p. 44 et p. 45-51, l. 501-511 et l. 531-664 de l'édition d'A. Stoelen), toute la fin de la sentence 27 au commentaire de Gratiadei, cf. p. 42-43 et p. 44-48, l. 453-479 et l. 494-592 ; cf. aussi, A. STOELEN, « Bruno le Chartreux », p. 78.

²⁵ Le manuscrit est l'actuel Valenciennes, BM, 180, fol. 72v-73v, XII^e siècle, 107 fol., 165 × 120 mm.

des gloses rendait toute identification superflue ou peu pertinente, le texte, par contraste avec les autres extraits patristiques, annonce très nettement son auteur, un maître, et son origine, le commentaire d'un livre biblique :

De lectione magistri Anselmi Laudunensis in prima epistola ad Corinthios : *et panis quem frangimus...*²⁶

La sincérité de la rubrique n'a donc à nos yeux qu'une importance historique seconde. Fausse, elle signifie une erreur du copiste qui s'est trompé en attribuant à Anselme de Laon des extraits d'œuvres qui lui sont étrangères²⁷. Vraie, elle indique qu'en commentant la première épître aux Corinthiens, Anselme de Laon a utilisé à la fois le pseudo-Bruno et Gratiadei²⁸. Dans les deux cas, la rubrique n'en montre pas moins la place faite à Anselme de Laon dans un florilège dont la visée première est de transmettre la doctrine des Pères.

2. Du florilège à la somme

L'exemple de la sentence anselmienne 27 prouve l'utilisation d'une sentence, au caractère exégétique bien spécifié, dans un nouveau contexte. D'autres témoins montrent encore plus clairement la manière dont l'exposé de Gratiadei devient une véritable sentence référée non plus seulement au texte biblique, mais également à un enseignement eucharistique.

On trouve l'excursus, toujours anonyme et dans sa forme intégrale, dans un groupe de quatre manuscrits, dont trois (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phill. 1732 ; Köln, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, W 4° 137 et Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 591) ont servi à Heinrich Weisweiler pour son édition de la « lettre »²⁹. L'extrait conserve encore nettement son origine exégétique

²⁶ « Extrait de l'explication de maître Anselme de Laon sur la première épître aux Corinthiens : *et le pain que nous rompons* ».

²⁷ Cf. O. LOTTIN, *Psychologie et morale*, p. 146.

²⁸ Compte tenu de l'utilisation du pseudo-Bruno dans la glose anselmienne, la seconde solution est probablement la bonne.

²⁹ H. WEISWEILER, *Das Schrifttum der Schule Anselms von Laon und Wilhelms von Champeaux in deutschen Bibliotheken. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Verbreitung der ältesten scholastischen Schule in deutschen Landen*, Münster, 1936, p. 192-198.

puisque la transition marquant le retour au texte biblique est contenue par les témoins. Le principal changement tient donc au contexte de l'œuvre qui en fait un extrait de florilège ou une sentence théologique, et non plus une glose biblique.

Dans un nouveau témoin, Troyes, BM, 1728, aux feuillets 158r-160r, l'extrait est entouré de textes majoritairement patristiques et aux sujets les plus divers³⁰. Le manuscrit berlinois, provenant de Saint-Denis de Reims, est un recueil composite qui, dans l'unité codicologique considérée, fait voisiner notre extrait avec d'autres œuvres peu individualisées et sans rapport direct, comme un sermon attribué à Augustin et un développement sur le libre arbitre³¹. Dans les deux cas, l'œuvre s'insère dans un corpus de sentences à l'unité peu remarquable.

Beaucoup plus homogène est la séquence offerte par les manuscrits de Cologne et de Trèves. Les deux témoins diffusent l'extrait dans une série d'œuvres au caractère eucharistique bien marqué. Dans le manuscrit de Trèves, l'extrait, aux feuillets 109v-112v, est notamment copié à côté du traité d'Alger de Liège *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, d'extraits eucharistiques

³⁰ Le détail en est donné dans la notice de J.-P. BOUHOT et J.-F. GENET, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle*, t. 2, *Les manuscrits conservés, première partie : Manuscrits bibliques, patristiques et théologiques*, Paris, 1997, p. 375-377 : Troyes, BM, 1728, XII^e siècle, 165 fol., 185 × 130 mm, provient de Clairvaux.

³¹ Le contenu du manuscrit est décrit par V. ROSE, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1893, p. 409-415. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phill. 1732 a été examiné sur place à nouveaux frais. La sentence est comprise dans l'unité codicologique formée des fol. 127-147, XII^e siècle (2^e moitié), 21 fol., 150 × 110 mm (120 × 80 mm), avec un nombre de lignes irrégulier (par ex. 22 au fol. 145v, 25 au fol. 146r et 27 au fol. 146v). Un premier élément est individualisé par son titre : il s'agit du sermon 46 de Césaire d'Arles, « De ebrietate sermo Augustini » (fol. 127r, marg. sup., cf. *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones*, éd. G. MORIN, Turnhout, 1953 [CCSL, 103]), le changement est marqué par un simple retour à la ligne pour « Calix id est potus... – ...constitutus abscedat » (fol. 129v et non fol. 130 comme indiqué par V. Rose et H. Weisweiler). L'extrait prend fin sur un pied-de-mouche au fol. 133r : « ¶ Si quis dixerit... », en pleine ligne 17. La suite est un développement apparemment inédit sur le libre arbitre : « Si quis dixerit liberum arbitrium hominis liberum non esse... – ...sicut in bonis simul gratia et bonum velle et operari » (fol. 133r-135r).

de la *Summa Sententiarum* et de vers eucharistiques d'Hilbert de Lavardin³². Le texte est ainsi devenu partie prenante d'un recueil thématique consacré à un point bien précis de théologie sacramentaire. De même dans le manuscrit colonais, on retrouve, à côté de l'extrait de Gratiadei aux feuillets 1r-3r, une partie des œuvres eucharistiques contenues dans le témoin de Trèves³³. Il est aussi notable que l'extrait eucharistique est associé à des sentences, plus hétérogènes mais d'origine laonnoise, sur la licéité du *transitus* et l'oblation des enfants³⁴. Dans ces deux derniers cas, le copiste a conçu l'extrait comme un document qui vient grossir un dossier thématiquement cohérent. L'œuvre, bien qu'elle puisse être encore identifiée par son origine biblique, s'insère dans un contexte théologique précis.

En outre, même incomplet, le texte exégétique de base peut apparaître retravaillé comme une explication sur l'eucharistie³⁵. C'est par exemple le cas du manuscrit oxfordien, Bod-

³² Sur le détail de Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 591, voir M. KEUFFER, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier*, t. 5, Trèves, 1900, p. 45-46, H. WEISWEILER, *Das Schrifttum*, p. 189-190 et du même, « Eine neue Bearbeitung von Abaelards *Introductio* und der *Summa sententiarum* », *Scholastik*, 9 (1934), p. 346-371, aux p. 366-368. Le témoin date de la première moitié du XIII^e siècle, 117 fol., 175 × 250 mm, et provient de S. Matthias : « Codex S. Eucharii » (fol. 1), cf. P. BECKER, *Die Benediktinerabtei St. Eucharius-St. Matthias von Trier*, Berlin - New York, 1996, p. 125, n° 88.

³³ Voir sur ce point, H. WEISWEILER, *Das Schrifttum*, p. 211-212. Köln, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, W 4° 137 est soigneusement décrit par J. VENNEBUSCH, *Die theologischen Handschriften des Stadtarchivs Köln*, t. 4, *Handschriften der Sammlung Wallraf*, 1986, Cologne - Vienne, p. 51-57 : XII^e siècle, 224 fol., 230 × 130 mm, et provient des chanoines réguliers de Valendar. Le cahier s'achève au fol. 8r-v par un extrait de la *Summa sententiarum* sur la foi : « Duo sunt in quibus maxime consistit fides... — ...illorum errorem potius quam » (PL 176, col. 47C-49A).

³⁴ Voir les sentences anselmiennes 77 et 78, éd. O. LOTTIN, *Psychologie et morale*, p. 66-67. Le manuscrit n'a pas été utilisé par dom Lottin dans son édition.

³⁵ Le statut de l'extrait peut être difficile à apprécier comme dans Douai, BM, 357, où il se trouve anonyme et tronqué : « *Calix benedictionis* id est potus... — ...aliquid immundicie contrahat » (fol. 106r-v, éd. H. WEISWEILER, *Das Schrifttum*, p. 192-195, l. 1-66 ; A. STOELEN, « Bruno le Char-

leian Library, Laudian Misc. 216 qui contient, dans un important florilège, un extrait du commentaire sur Paul sous le nom de Manegold, avec indication de l'origine biblique³⁶. Ainsi que l'a montré Anselme Stoelen, le texte attribué à Manegold n'est qu'une version du dossier plus complexe où il s'insère³⁷. Manegold, ou un copiste lui attribuant l'extrait, a utilisé une version complète dont il a résumé l'amorce biblique et tronqué la fin avec une formule caractéristique : « Et ista sapienti de corpore Christi sufficient ». Or, on retrouve un extrait tout à fait apparenté non plus dans un florilège, mais derrière une somme bien connue de l'école de Laon, les *Sententie divine pagine*, selon la version de Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, 708³⁸. Du point de vue de la présentation des sentences formant le recueil, l'extrait « Nota ubi dicit » apparaît comme une suite cohérente par rapport au standard de présentation : le recueil ne comporte pas de titre général, mais la distinction des diffé-

treux », p. 42-48, l. 453-592) ; XII^e siècle (2^e moitié), 170 fol., 255 × 165 mm, provient d'Anchin. Sur le contenu, cf. Pierre Abélard, *Theologia 'Summi boni', Theologia 'Scholarium'*, éd. E. M. BUYTAERT et C. J. MEWS, Turnhout, 1987 (CCCM, 13), p. 236.

³⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laudian Misc. 216, fol. 153ra-vb : « Manig. in glosis super Apostolum. Nota ubi dicit : *calix cui benedicimus...* — ...vinum transfundit in sanguinem. Et ista sapienti de corpore Christi sufficient » (éd. O. LOTTIN, *Psychologie et morale*, p. 147-149).

³⁷ Contre dom LOTTIN, « Anselme de Laon, auteur de la Lettre de S. Anselme sur la Cène », *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 13 (1946), p. 222-225 et « Manegold de Lautenbach source d'Anselme de Laon », *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 14 (1947), p. 218-223, repris dans « La soi-disant Lettre de saint Anselme de Cantorbéry sur la Cène, et sa source », dans *Psychologie et morale*, p. 143-153, A. Stoelen a nuancé de manière argumentée l'antériorité de la version de Manegold sur celle attribuée à Anselme, cf. « Bruno le Chartreux », p. 66-77.

³⁸ Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, 708, XII^e siècle (2^e moitié), 120 fol., 190 × 130 mm (160 × 100 mm), provient d'un monastère bénédictin (?), cf. la formule de profession d'une main du XV^e siècle : « Ego [...] secundum regulam sancti Benedicti abatis coram Deo et ordinis ejus congregatio[n]e? » (fol. 87v, marg. ext.). Le contenu du manuscrit (e) a été signalé par O. LOTTIN, *Psychologie et morale*, p. 361-372. Par rapport à l'édition de H. WEISWEILER (*Das Schrifttum*, p. 192-197, l. 1-95), le texte (e) emprunte son début et sa finale à la version dite de Manegold (d') : l. 1-9 *Calix id est – quod] nota ubi dicit e, nota ubi dicit calix d' l. 95 in sanguinem] et ista sapienti sufficient de corpore christi e, et ista sapienti de corpore Christi sufficient d'*. Le texte de e présente maintes variantes de détail communes avec d'.

rentes sentences entre elles est marquée par des lettres rubriquées de 10 mm de hauteur en moyenne, avec des séquences textuelles couvrant en moyenne 1 feuillet et demi, comme pour le « De eo quod providentia vel voluntas Dei non destruat liberum arbitrium » (49 lignes, fol. 8r-v) ou « De lege » (55 lignes, fol. 10r-11r). Il n'y a pas de changement dans le standard de copie entre la finale commune des *Sententie divine pagine* (fol. 13v) et la suite du manuscrit, qui comprend notre extrait aux feuillets 16v-17v³⁹. Quoi qu'il en soit de l'unicité d'auteur et de la finale du recueil⁴⁰, il est notable que l'exégèse de I Cor. 16 est ici intégrée au recueil et complète par ses précisions sur l'eucharistie les développements sacramentaires consacrés au baptême, à la confirmation, au mariage et à l'excommunication⁴¹. Dans l'enseignement de l'école de Laon, le texte eucharistique, utilisé parfois comme extrait exégétique isolé, prend aussi le statut de sentence intégrée à une présentation générale de la foi chrétienne.

3. *La sentence comme auctoritas*

Un groupe de manuscrits normands illustre encore plus nettement le passage du commentaire au genre de la sentence théologique⁴². Les témoins sont deux manuscrits originaux de l'abbaye de Fécamp où ils ont été copiés au XII^e siècle⁴³. Alors que, dans les autres manuscrits, seul le contexte perme-

³⁹ Le changement est visible au fol. 18v qui voit l'apparition des pieds-de-mouche comme unité de séparation de courtes sentences comprenant en moyenne une dizaine de lignes.

⁴⁰ O. Lottin s'essaie à résoudre ce problème, *Psychologie et morale*, p. 353-373, en comparant les différents témoins des *Sententie divine pagine*; voir aussi C. GIRAUD, *Per verba magistri. Anselme de Laon et son école au XII^e siècle*, Turnhout, 2010, p. 558-562.

⁴¹ Les textes sont édités par O. LOTTIN, *Psychologie et morale*, p. 362-369.

⁴² Voir P. DELHAYE, « Un dossier eucharistique d'Anselme de Laon à l'abbaye de Fécamp au XII^e siècle », dans *L'abbaye bénédictine de Fécamp. Ouvrage scientifique du XIII^e centenaire 658-1958*, t. 2, Fécamp, 1960, p. 153-161.

⁴³ Ce sont deux manuscrits apparentés, les actuels Paris, BNF, lat. 564, fol. 115r-119r, XII^e siècle, 132 fol., 230 × 170 mm, et Paris, BNF, lat. 2531, fol. 107v-111r, XI^e siècle, 112 fol., 245 × 175 mm, cf. P. DELHAYE, « Un dossier eucharistique », p. 154 et B. BRANCH, « Willermus Peccator et les ma-

tait de deviner le changement de statut accordé au texte, les témoins normands le disent explicitement et qualifient l'extrait de « optima sententia de corpore et sanguine Domini ». Le passage de la glose à la sentence ne se marque pas seulement par un titre sans ambiguïté, mais aussi par la suppression de l'exégèse littérale de I Cor. 16 et de la mention du retour au texte biblique⁴⁴. Il semble donc difficile de considérer avec Philippe Delhayé que le texte, légèrement augmenté par rapport aux éditions de référence, nous livre la version originelle⁴⁵. Les témoins normands ne renferment selon nous que des ajouts postérieurs. Deux passages sur la tripartition de l'hostie et la manducation indigne sont de simples précisions dont la présence importe peu, de l'aveu même de leur éditeur, à la cohérence générale du texte⁴⁶. En outre, deux nouveaux passages, considérés par Philippe Delhayé comme indispensables à la compréhension, peuvent tout aussi bien s'interpréter comme d'habiles compléments. Ainsi, l'excursus portant sur la représentation idoine du sang par le vin n'est requis que si l'on admet déjà l'ajout sur le pain symbole du corps⁴⁷. De même, la distinction des deux types de communions, réelle et sacramentelle pour les justes et simplement sacramentelle pour les autres, est assez claire dans le texte originel sans nécessiter le passage figurant dans les manuscrits normands⁴⁸.

Outre une réécriture qui en développe le contenu, l'extrait promu au rang de sentence a pour caractéristique d'attirer un

nuscripts de Fécamp, 1100-1150 », *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 26 (1983), p. 195-207, à la p. 203.

⁴⁴ Le texte des manuscrits normands se trouve aux lignes 12-95 et 97-106 de l'édition d'H. WEISWEILER, *Das Schrifttum*, p. 192-198 et aux l. 494-620 et 622-687 de l'édition d'A. STOELLEN, « Bruno le Chartreux », p. 44-52.

⁴⁵ Cf. P. DELHAYE, « Un dossier eucharistique », p. 156.

⁴⁶ P. DELHAYE, « Un dossier eucharistique », p. 157 parle d'ailleurs lui-même d'« interpolation » pour le second développement.

⁴⁷ P. DELHAYE, « Un dossier eucharistique », p. 156.

⁴⁸ P. DELHAYE, « Un dossier eucharistique », p. 158, s'interroge sur *alterum* en début de phrase qui lui semble étrange, en l'absence du passage précédent. De fait, la suite du texte, introduite par *videlicet*, donne les deux termes de la proposition et explicite l'alternative : « Nec tamen alterum sufficit, videlicet si quis sacramentum corporis Christi accipiat et quae sacramentum exigit non impleat, scilicet ut se conformet Christo, illud sacramentum non sufficit ».

ensemble de textes apparentés. Il ne s'agit pas uniquement d'œuvres proches par leur contenu mais qui demeurent, comme dans les manuscrits de Trèves et de Cologne, de facture littéraire différente. La sentence apparaît en effet ici complétée par trois exposés traitant de l'eucharistie avec une méthode similaire. Pour s'en persuader, il n'est que de citer leurs incipit respectifs et leur vocabulaire évocateur : « Solet queri de corpore Domini... », « Queritur utrum in cena Domini... » et « Magister Guillelmus : aliorum siquidem sententia est... »⁴⁹. On a donc quitté le terrain de l'explication biblique pour celui de la discussion scolaire procédant par *quaestiones*. La mention d'un maître Guillaume, peut-être Guillaume de Champeaux, ancre encore davantage l'ensemble dans le contexte des débats théologiques contemporains⁵⁰.

⁴⁹ P. DELHAYE, « Un dossier eucharistique », p. 154. L'édition princeps de la première sentence (« Solet queri de corpore Domini utrum intinctum vel non... — ...secuta est damnatio ») est donnée par P. DELHAYE, « Un dossier eucharistique », p. 159. Les deux derniers textes sont édités sous le numéro de sentence 137 d'après Paris, BnF, lat. 18108 (h), fol. 13rb-va, par O. LOTTIN, *Psychologie et morale*, p. 105-106. Dans ce dernier manuscrit composite, la sentence appartient aux feuillets 1-22 (cahiers VI-VIII), XII^e siècle, 22 fol. à longues lignes (fol. 1r-12r) puis 2 col. (fol. 12v-22v), 200 × 145 mm (160 × 125 mm) pour les feuillets à 2 col. Au sein des sentences copiées aux fol. 12r-22v, on distingue les différents unités de base, ici la sentence, à l'aide de détails pertinents : les considérations morales des fol. 12r-13rb sont isolées de la sentence 137 par le module et l'espacement plus importants des derniers mots (fol. 13rb, l. 14-15) : « SERMONE NOSTRO ». La sentence 137 est séparée par l'adoption du pied-de-mouche à l'encre noire. De même les extraits de l'*Enchiridion* d'Augustin sont signalés par une lettre tracée à l'encre rouge (fol. 13vb) et l'indication rubriquée de la capitulation (fol. 14ra-22vb) avec explicit : « Deo gratias. Explicit ». La transcription de dom Lottin contient quelques erreurs : aux l. 22-23 : « tali modo ostenditur simili[tudine] », il fallait noter le signe de renvoi (deux traits parallèles) qui permet de lire : « tali simili modo ostenditur ». Pour la l. 30 qui semble corrompue : de protervorum sentiis prudentiam facere metuentes [Lottin] de pquorum (*sic*) sentiis prejudicium/previdentium facere metuentes *h*, de quorum sentiis prejudicium facere metuentes *conjeci*. P. Delhaye, « Un dossier eucharistique », p. 160, signale la leçon proche des manuscrits normands : « de quorum sentiis iudicium facere metuentes ».

⁵⁰ Il est aussi remarquable que *h* transmette en une seule sentence anonyme les deux derniers développements eucharistiques des manuscrits normands « Queritur utrum » et « Magister Guillelmus ».

Sans entrer dans le détail d'une analyse doctrinale, on peut noter que les différentes sentences eucharistiques équilibrent le développement exégétique originel en développant des questions qu'il laissait dans l'ombre. L'eucharistie reçoit dans le nouveau contexte un traitement de vaste ampleur qui fait place à des questions bien connues par ailleurs, comme celle de la nature du corps donné par le Christ à ses disciples lors de la dernière Cène⁵¹.

En outre, le texte se présente aussi dans une version écourtée comme sentence magistrale le plus souvent sous le nom d'Anselme, telle que l'édition de la Patrologie latine la fait connaître⁵². On la trouve soit isolée parmi des œuvres bibliques comme dans Paris, BNF, lat. 3522A ou, après les *Dialogues* de Grégoire le Grand, dans Troyes, BM, 1318⁵³. Sous la forme abrégée dégagée de toute amorce biblique, la sentence est aussi diffusée sous le nom d'Anselme dans des florilèges comprenant des extraits patristiques et des sentences théologiques⁵⁴. Sous la même forme abrégée, elle apparaît, toujours sous le nom

⁵¹ Le thème est également abordé dans les sentences laonnoises 26, 62 et 138.

⁵² PL 159, col. 255A-258A : « Nota quod tota humana natura... – ...transfundi in sanguinem » = H. WEISWEILER, *Das Schrifttum*, p. 192-197, l. 12-95 ; A. STOELLEN, « Bruno le Chartreux », p. 44-49, l. 494-620.

⁵³ Paris, BNF, lat. 3522A, fin XIII^e siècle, 91 fol., 215 × 145 mm, l'extrait est anonyme : « Nota quia tota humana natura... – ...transfundi in sanguinem » (fol. 48v-50r), cf. le *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, t. 5, Paris, 1966, p. 557-560. Le texte est légèrement abrégé dans Troyes, BM, 1318, XII^e siècle, 119 fol., de Clairvaux : « Anselmus. De corpore et sanguine Domini. Nota quia tota humana natura... – ...ad Christum contineret » (fol. 118r-119r, H. WEISWEILER, *Das Schrifttum*, p. 192-197, l. 12-93 ; A. STOELLEN, « Bruno le Chartreux », p. 44-49, l. 494-619), cf. J.-P. BOUHOT et J.-F. GENET, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux*, p. 443-444.

⁵⁴ La sentence est contenue dans München, BSB, Clm 19136, fol. 15r-16r (signalé par O. LOTTIN, *Psychologie et morale*, p. 143, n. 3) : « Anshelmus. Nota quia tota humana natura... – ...ad Christum pertineret » ; Clm 22273, XIII^e siècle, 125 fol., provenant de Windberg, aux fol. 46r-47v ; Clm 22291, XII^e siècle, 155 fol., Windberg, aux fol. 109r-110r : « Anshelmus. Nota quia tota humana natura... – ...ad Christum pertineret », et dans Laon, BM, 173, XII^e siècle, fol. 88r-89v : « Anselmus de corpore et sanguine Christi. Quia tota humana natura... – ...transfundit in sanguinem ».

d'Anselme, dans un manuscrit anglais comprenant un corpus important des œuvres de l'archevêque de Cantorbéry⁵⁵.

Enfin, le *Liber sententiarum magistri A.* fournit un exemple éclairant de réutilisation du texte de base comme sentence autoritative. Ce recueil important, daté des années 1110-1120, est un ouvrage dont l'auteur demeure inconnu⁵⁶. Après un prologue au riche contenu⁵⁷, le maître a constitué une collection de sentences bien diffusée, en utilisant l'enseignement théologique de l'école de Laon et les œuvres d'Yves de Chartres⁵⁸. La première partie traite sur le mode anthologique de la Trinité, des anges, d'Adam, de la chute et du péché⁵⁹. Un deuxième groupe de sentences développe les points liés aux sacrements, à leurs objets et leurs effets. Pour les exposés sur le mariage, le baptême, la confirmation, l'eucharistie et l'ordination, les compilations d'Yves de Chartres ont été soigneusement dépouillées par le maître pour nourrir son exposé⁶⁰. Toutefois, contrairement aux questions dogmatiques où les extraits patristiques fournissent toute la documentation, les sentences de théologie sacramentaire puisent à des sources contemporaines. Ainsi parmi les sentences d'Ambroise et d'Augustin consacrées à l'eucharistie via les collections d'Yves de Chartres, l'auteur du florilège a fait entrer tout l'exkursus

⁵⁵ Cambridge, UL, Dd I 21, xiv^e siècle, 213 fol. : « Liber Anselmi de corpore et sanguine Christi. Nota quod tota humana natura... – ...transfundi in sanguinem » (fol. 163v-164r). Pour le détail du contenu, cf. *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1856, p. 27-33.

⁵⁶ La somme des connaissances sur les *Sententiae magistri A.* est donnée, avec de nombreuses mises au point et transcriptions, par P. MAAS, *The Liber sententiarum magistri A. Its place amidst the sentences collections of the first half of the 12th century*, Nimègue, 1995.

⁵⁷ H. J. F. REINHARDT, « Literarkritische und theologiegeschichtliche Studie zu den *Sententiae Magistri A.* und deren Prolog *Ad justitiam credere debemus* », *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 36 (1969), p. 23-56.

⁵⁸ Sur les dix témoins complets et les cinq fragmentaires, cf. P. MAAS, *The Liber sententiarum*, p. 33-66.

⁵⁹ L'analyse doctrinale et une transcription sont fournies par P. MAAS, *The Liber sententiarum*, p. 116-195 et p. 224-272.

⁶⁰ Voir les sources indiquées par P. MAAS, *The Liber sententiarum*, p. 315-321. Nous ne tenons pas compte des sentences finales présentes dans certains témoins, d'origine majoritairement augustinienne, semble-t-il de première main.

théologique de Gratiadei, mais sans garder la transition exégétique⁶¹. De la sorte, le passage prend place dans une compilation où son voisinage prestigieux et clairement identifié fait de lui une autorité au sens plein du terme, c'est-à-dire un extrait servant dans le débat théologique et canonique⁶². L'extrait de Gratiadei devient de la sorte un passage classique de théologie eucharistique que l'on retrouve même, sous forme abrégée et remaniée, dans la prédication⁶³.

Du point de vue de l'histoire culturelle, les leçons à tirer de la diffusion des diverses versions du commentaire sur I Corinthiens 10, 16-17 ne sont pas insignifiantes. Sous des formes diverses, le texte, 'réaliste' du point de vue eucharistique, a circulé dans les milieux scolaires et, autant que les attributions permettent d'en juger, comme un produit de l'école de Laon. Compte tenu de la diffusion manuscrite et des rubriques, on ne doit donc pas trop opposer la tendance « mystique » de l'école de Laon à une approche plus réaliste de type paschaisien⁶⁴. À l'époque médiévale, l'enseignement d'Anselme de Laon est perçu de manière infiniment plus complexe que les reconstitutions historiques postérieures ne le font supposer⁶⁵.

⁶¹ Le texte utilisé correspond à celui édité par H. WEISWEILER, *Das Schrifttum*, p. 192-198, l. 1-95, l. 97-136, à l'exception donc de la ligne 96 : « Redeamus ergo ad textum libri ».

⁶² Nous n'entrons pas dans le débat sur l'origine du texte de Gratiadei telle que traitée par P. Maas dans sa thèse inédite, *Voorbereidende studies voor het uitgeven van het 'Liber sententiarum magistri A.'*, Nimègue, 1969, et dont les conclusions sont résumées sommairement par L. HÖDL, « Die ontologische Frage im fröhscholastischen Eucharistietraktat *Calix benedictionis* », dans *Sola ratione. Anselm-Studien für Pater Dr. h. c. Franciscus Salesius Schmitt osb zum 75. Geburtstag am. 20. Dezember 1969*, Stuttgart - Bad Cannstatt, 1970, p. 87-110, aux p. 91-92. En l'absence de preuve contraire développée, l'origine du texte est fermement tenue pour exégétique, contre l'hypothèse d'une provenance sententiaire comme l'affirme P. Maas, croyant voir dans les *Sententiae magistri A.* la source de toutes les autres formes.

⁶³ Ainsi dans le sermon 38 de Geoffroy Babion, *PL* 171, col. 535B-563A, repris par Werner de Saint-Blaise dans ses *Libri deflorationum*, 1, *PL* 157, col. 910A-911A, cf. aussi H. WEISWEILER, *Das Schrifttum*, p. 191.

⁶⁴ La définition de cette approche est donnée par G. MACY, *The Theologies of the Eucharist*, p. 103-105.

⁶⁵ G. Macy, qui propose différents modèles d'interprétation des théologies de l'eucharistie, est d'ailleurs le premier à le reconnaître : « The models

Est également notable la très grande labilité des attributions et des formes de diffusion. Le texte initial apparaît ainsi sous plusieurs noms (Gratiadei, Anselme, Manegold) et comme extrait de commentaire biblique, sentence de florilège, développement de somme ou de sermon. De telles constatations, qui font du texte une vraie *crux eruditionis*, ne doivent pas masquer la tendance massive des manuscrits à proposer le passage sous forme d'extrait et à en gommer le caractère exégétique premier. La culture anthologique, que révèle l'examen des remaniements, est donc loin de se confondre avec le ressassement révérenciel d'autorités sacrées. La liberté d'utilisation peut étonner et oblige donc à ne pas s'en tenir à des catégories d'histoire littéraire trop tranchées. Le passage du commentaire scripturaire à la collection de sentences s'effectue donc selon un mouvement progressif aux variations subtiles.

Le commentaire scripturaire ne constitue par conséquent qu'un aspect de la vie scolaire dans la première moitié du ^{xiii}e siècle. Il coexiste, notamment au sein de l'école de Laon, avec d'autres formes littéraires comme les gloses et les sentences qu'il nourrit et qui à leur tour l'enrichissent. Dans le cas de la « lettre dite de saint Anselme », la diffusion sous la forme du commentaire n'est qu'une modalité pédagogique par rapport à des structures brèves telles que les gloses et les sentences. Cet exemple prouve également le rapport très souple que les milieux scolaires entretiennent avec leurs sources. Le canon des *auctoritates* n'est pas clos, non seulement parce que les pratiques littéraires ne permettent pas à l'époque une critique d'attribution trop poussée, mais aussi en raison d'une ouverture à de nouvelles interprétations. Anonymement ou sous le nom d'un maître, telle sentence entre dans un florilège ou bien dans un recueil et acquiert à son tour, en raison d'un voisinage avec des noms prestigieux, une valeur de vérité. En ce sens, l'absence de limite nette entre les genres littéraires comme le manque de rigueur dans les attributions constituent autant de

used here are not meant as descriptions of reality, but only as useful means of appropriating the past in a schematic fashion » (*The Theologies of the Eucharist*, p. 15). Il est certain que, confronté à la diffusion manuscrite, son modèle n'a aucune réalité.

facteurs de création au sein des écoles, en même temps qu'ils favorisent la promotion de nouvelles autorités, au premier rang desquelles il faut placer celle des *magistri moderni*.

Résumé

L'article étudie l'évolution d'un excursus doctrinal (traditionnellement nommé la « lettre sur la Cène dite de saint Anselme ») tiré d'une leçon sur la première épître aux Corinthiens d'un auteur du début du XII^e siècle, Gratiadei, à travers son utilisation par des maîtres, probablement au sein de l'École de Laon, puis dans des dossiers thématiques et des florilèges à la diffusion plus large, où le passage fonctionne comme une sentence qui peut servir à un enseignement doctrinal en un contexte théologique précis. Devenu une sentence, le texte est utilisable dans les sommes de sentence, toujours en milieu laonnois. Circulant dans les milieux scolaires, la sentence est complétée et passe dans le champ de la *quaestio* et de la dispute. Écourtée ou complétée selon les besoins, on la retrouve, le plus souvent sous le nom d'Anselme comme sentence autoritative, d'où elle essaima vers la prédication. L'absence de limite nette entre les genres littéraires comme le manque de rigueur dans les attributions constituent autant de facteurs de création au sein des écoles, en même temps qu'ils favorisent la promotion de nouvelles autorités, au premier rang desquelles il faut placer celle des *magistri moderni*.

Dactilico metro vacuus.
Ein Epigramm über die Kastration
des Petrus Abaelardus

von
Carsten WOLLIN
(*Buchholz in der Nordheide*)

Die dramatischen Geschehnisse um die Kastration des Petrus Abaelardus sind uns aus der *Historia calamitatum* wohl bekannt. Fulbert, ein einflussreicher Kanoniker an Notre-Dame in Paris, hatte den berühmten Philosophen des Nachts in seiner Wohnung überfallen und kastrieren lassen, um sich für den ohne seine Einwilligung vollzogenen Eintritt seiner Nichte Heloisa ins Kloster Argenteuil zu rächen. Die Strafe rächte aber nicht nur den jüngsten Affront Abaelards, sondern spiegelte zugleich sein eigentliches Vergehen, die Verführung der jungen Schülerin, der sich Abaelard in eigenen Worten wie ein hungriger Wolf dem zarten Lamm genähert hatte (... *non minus apud me obstupui, quam si agnam teneram famelico lupo committeret*¹). Die aufgeregte Stimmung in Paris am Morgen nach der Tat und die immer aufdringlicher wer-

¹ Jacques MONFRIN, *Abélard, Historia calamitatum* (Paris 31967) 72, Z. 323-324; Eric HICKS, *La vie et les epistres Pierres Abaelart et Heloys sa fame* (Paris/Genève 1991) 11, Z. 288-289; Éric HICKS / Thérèse MOREAU / Michel ZINK / Jean-Yves TILLIETTE, *Lettres d'Abélard et Héloïse* (Paris 2007) 58, Z. 313-315; Ileana PAGANI, *Abelardo et Eloisa, Epistolario* (Torino 2008) 136. – In allen Ausgaben fehlt die Auflösung der Anspielung: Otto Nr. 983; *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi* 10 (2000) 5-6, s.v. Schaf 3; Ter. Eun. 832 *Scelesta, ouem lupo commisisti. Ov. ars 2, 363-364 (3, 8) Accipitri timidas credis, furiose, columbas, / plenum montano credis ouile lupo!*

denden Mitleidsbekundigungen und Klagen seiner Anhänger und Schüler schildert Abaelard nicht ohne Genuss²:

Mane autem facto, tota ad me ciuitas congregata, quanta stu-
peret ammiratione, quanta se affligeret lamentatione, quanto
me clamore uexarent, quanto planctu perturbarent, difficile,
immo impossibile est exprimi. Maxime uero clerici ac pre-
cipue scolares nostri intolerabilibus me lamentis et eiulatibus
cruciabant, ut multo amplius ex eorum compassione quam ex
uulneris lederer passione, et plus erubescientiam quam plagam
sentirem, et pudore magis quam dolore affligerer.

In diese Situation gehört das anonyme Epigramm *Cul-
tello tetro rapuit pendentia retro*, welches jedoch erst spät, in
einer Handschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts (W = Wien, Öster-
reichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 13584, fol. 43r) überlie-
fert ist. Schon bei der Beschreibung der Handschrift im Jahr
1875 hatte man die drei Verse abgedruckt und zugleich die
Verbindung zur Kastration Abaelards hergestellt ("Hexametri
tres in P. Abælardum eunuchum")³. Gewissenhaft verzeich-
net Hans Walther das Gedicht in den *Initia carminum* (WIC
3541) und führt es auch im Index unter dem Namen Abae-
lards auf; Joseph Szövérfy nennt im zweiten Band der *Secu-
lar Latin Lyrics* die bibliographischen Daten⁴. Obwohl seit
langem bekannt und publiziert, ist das Epigramm bis heute
von der Abaelard-Forschung nicht zur Kenntnis genommen
worden. Es fehlt in Peter Dronkes Übersicht über die mit-
telalterlichen Abaelard-Zeugnisse und sogar in der *Checklist*⁵.

² MONFRIN 80, Z. 593-600; HICKS 18, Z. 525-535; HICKS / MOREAU /
ZINK / TILLIETTE 74-76, Z. 572-581; PAGANI 160.

³ *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter Graecos et orientales in Biblio-
theca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, Bd. 7 (Wien 1875; Reprint Graz
1965) 235-236.

⁴ HANS WALTHER, *Carmina medii aevi posterioris Latina II/1. Initia carminum
ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen ²1969) 177; Joseph
SZÖVÉRFY, *Secular Latin Lyrics and Minor Poetic Forms of the Middle Ages*,
Bd. 2 (Concord NH, 1993) 282.

⁵ PETER DRONKE, *Abelard and Heloise in Medieval Testimonies* (W. P. Ker Me-
morial Lecture 26; Glasgow 1976); wieder in: ID., *Intellectuals and Poets in
Medieval Europe* (Storia e letteratura 183; Roma 1992) 247-294; Julia BAR-
ROW / Charles BURNETT / David LUSCOMBE, *A checklist of the manuscripts con-
taining the writings of Peter Abelard and Heloise and other works closely associated*

Auch sonst scheint es m. W. keine Beachtung gefunden zu haben, weder als Zeugnis für Abaelards Biographie, noch für die Kultur- und Rechtsgeschichte⁶, noch für die Stilistik der lateinischen Dichtersprache.

Doch kommen wir jetzt zu dem Text des anonymen Epigramms, so wie er in dem Wiener Codex überliefert ist. Eine Überschrift fehlt:

Cultello tetro rapuit pendentia retro
Fulpertus Petro, tantum remanente veretro.
Dactilico metro vacuus, iacet ille feretro.

Die drei leoninisch gereimten Verse werden durch den Tiradenreim *-etro* miteinander verbunden. Der Aufbau ist zweigeteilt: Die V. 1-2 berichten die Kastration als schon geschehen im Perfekt, der V. 3 beschreibt die Situation Abaelards nach der Untat im Präsens. Die Pointe liegt ganz in der witzigen, das konkrete Wort verhüllenden Metaphorik: Abaelard hat nicht sein Geschlechtsorgan, sondern seinen Daktylus verloren. Dabei gibt sich das Epigramm so, als sei die Tat soeben begangen worden und als liege Abaelard gerade in diesem Moment auf dem Krankenbett (*iacet ... feretro*). Das Gedicht lässt deutlich die Empörung der zahlreichen Freunde und Schüler Abaelards erkennen, welche Fulbert ausdrücklich als Täter bezeichnen (*rapuit ... Fulpertus*), obgleich dieser sich gemieteter Helfer bedient hatte und selbst im Hintergrund geblieben war⁷.

Wir besitzen in diesem Epigramm ein Stück mittelalterlicher Publizistik. Hier spricht jemand die Meinung einer gesellschaftlichen Gruppe, der Pariser Intellektuellen, in prägnanter und witziger Form aus, indem er das Verbrechen an Abaelard beschreibt und den eigentlichen Drahtzieher anprangert. In der schriftlichen Fixierung bekommen die Ereignisse

with Abelard and his school, in: *Revue d'histoire des textes* 14/15 (1984/1985) 183-302.

⁶ Vgl. Susan TUCHEL, *Kastration im Mittelalter* (Studia humaniora 30; Düsseldorf 1998).

⁷ Zur Biographie Fulberts vgl. Werner ROBL, *Hersindis mater. Neues zur Familiengeschichte Heloisas mit Ausblicken auf die Familie Peter Abaelards*, in: Ursula NIGGLI (Hrsg.), *Peter Abaelard. Leben - Werk - Wirkung* (Freiburg im Breisgau 2003) 25-89, hier 60-71.

und die Reaktion der Anhänger Abaelards weit deutlichere Konturen, als es im Bericht von Mund zu Mund geschehen könnte. Dabei benutzt der Verfasser als Medium das lateinische Epigramm, eine literarische Form, die für die schnelle Verbreitung unter den Pariser Magistern und Scholaren, Klerikern und Mönchen wie geschaffen war.

Auch unter dem Aspekt der Sprachgeschichte ist unser Epigramm durchaus bemerkenswert. Der unbekannte Dichter hat, soweit sich das heute angesichts der bruchstückhaften Überlieferung der mittellateinischen Dichtung sagen lässt, als einer der ersten den Daktylus als erotische Metapher verwendet: Abaelard liegt auf seinem Bett, nachdem er seinen Daktylus verloren hat (*dactilico metro vacuus*). Auch ist sich der Dichter bewusst, dass der Vergleich nicht ganz zutreffend ist, da man Abaelard zwar die Hoden, nicht aber den Penis entfernt hatte. Deshalb fügt er, um keinen Zweifel aufkommen zu lassen, hinzu: *tantum remanente veretro*. Der Daktylus besteht bekanntlich aus einer langen und zwei kurzen Silben, welche im mittelalterlichen Sprachunterricht mit einem senkrechten Strich und zwei Punkten (/..) über den Buchstaben bezeichnet wurden⁸. Aufgrund der optischen Ähnlichkeit mit dem erigierten Phallus wurde der Daktylus zu einer überaus beliebten Metapher in der lateinischen Dichtung und Briefliteratur. Die eigentliche literarische Tradition begründete um 1150-1155 Alanus de Insulis in seinem satirischen Prosimetrum *De planctu Nature*⁹. Doch belegt unser Epigramm, sollte es denn zeitgenössisch sein, dass diese Metapher schon gut dreißig Jahre früher als Schulscherz in Paris bekannt war.

⁸ So z. B. in der Handschrift Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. C. 58 (s. 12 ex.) fol. 11va; vgl. Johann Jakob WERNER, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Aarau ²1905; Reprint Hildesheim 1979) 44, Nr. 109.

⁹ Die loci classici sind Alan. Ins. *Planct. Nat.* 1, 31-32; Matth. Vindoc. *ars uers.* 1, 53, 77-80; vgl. den Kommentar von Franco MUNARI, *Mathei Vindocinensis Opera*, Bd. 3 (Storia e letteratura 171; Roma 1988) 78. Den großen Lexika hingegen ist die metaphorische Verwendung des Daktylus unbekannt. – Zur Geschichte dieser Metapher in der lateinischen Dichtersprache des Hochmittelalters vgl. Carsten WOLLIN, *Der erotische Daktylus*, in Vorbereitung.

Der Skeptiker wird hier einwenden, dass das Epigramm erst in einer Handschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts überliefert werde, so dass also auch ein späterer Leser der *Historia calamitatum* die Personen und Ereignisse gekannt und in leoninisch gereimten Hexametern dargestellt haben könnte. Diesen Argumenten lässt sich zunächst nichts entgegensetzen. In der Tat wurde der Briefwechsel Abaelards und Heloïsas im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert gerne kopiert und gelesen. Sogar in der Zeit Petrarcas, der in Italien den großen Neubeginn lateinischer Literatur und Dichtung herbeiführte, benutzte man für kürzere Epigramme durchaus noch den ansonsten verpönten mittelalterlichen Reim.

Argumente für eine frühe Entstehung des Epigramms kommen jedoch zum Vorschein, wenn man den Überlieferungskontext genauer betrachtet. Der Wiener Codex 13584 besteht aus einer Sammlung vielfältiger Exzerpte aus antiken und patristischen Schriftstellern. Gedichte finden sich nach Auskunft des Katalogs jedoch nur an zwei Stellen: fol. 33r-39r eine anonyme Zusammenfassung der Bibel in unregelmäßig gebauten Vagantenstrophen (WIC 15567; Inc. *Qui mundanam machinam potenter creasti*)¹⁰ und fol. 40v-43r eine kleine Gedichtsammlung mit Werken des Petrus Pictor und Hildebert von Lavardin¹¹, deren Inhalt ich hier genauer aufführen möchte:

- fol. 40v-42r "Nota de amore denariorum"
 Inc. Cur ultra studeam probus esse probusque videri (118 Verse)
 WIC 3955; Petr. Pictor *carm.* 3.
- fol. 42r-42v "De denario"
 Inc. Denarii saluete mei, per vos ego regno (48 Verse)
 WIC 4247; Petr. Pictor *carm.* 13.

¹⁰ Vgl. Franz Josef WORSTBROCK, *Libri pauperum*, in: Christel MEIER / Dagmar HÜPPER / Hagen KELLER (Hrsg.), *Der Codex im Gebrauch* (Münster-sche Mittelalter-Schriften 70; München 1996) 41-60, hier 54, Anm. 75; wieder in: ID., *Ausgewählte Schriften*, Bd. 1 (Stuttgart 2004) 338-364, hier 356, Anm. 75. Worstbrock gibt einen informativen und materialreichen Überblick über die noch kaum erforschte Gattung der Bibelsummarien.

¹¹ Lieven VAN ACKER, *Petri Pictoris Carmina* (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 25; Turnhout 1972); Alexander Brian SCOTT, *Hildebertus Cenomannensis episcopus, carmina minora* (Leipzig 1969; München/Leipzig 2001).

fol. 42v

“Epitaphium Diogenis”

Diogenes, cui pera pani, cui dolia sedes,

Ad manes abiit; Cerberus inde vocat:

“Parua polenta, tripos, baculus, cifus, arta supellex,

Hec fuerant Cinico, sed putat hec nimia.”

WIC 4505 (nur in W).

Auf dem unteren Blattrand wurden von derselben Hand vier anonyme Verse nachgetragen, welche möglicherweise zusammengehören und Teil oder Auszüge eines Epitaphium sind (vgl. *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi* 10 (2000) 383-384, s.v. sein 8.1):

Respice non hominem, homo, spernas, respice finem!

Respice, quod fueris, quod es, aut quod eris!

WIC 16663 a, WPS 26804 (nur in W).

Sum, quod eris, plora! Quod es, ipse fui, precor, ora,

Vt michi sit requies fine tremenda dies!

WPS 30636 (nur in W).

fol. 43r

“Item de pecunia ad Odonem”

Inc. Moribus, arte, fide, celesti pectore dignus (24 Verse)WIC 11215; Hildeb. *carm. min.* 17 (Fassung ϕ).

“<De> quodam Milone mercatore”

Inc. Milo domi non est. Peregre Milone profecto (4 Verse)WIC 11062; Hildeb. *carm. min.* 7.

Daneben steht von gleicher Hand eine Marginalie:

Non hic de venditione mercimoniorum talium qualium.

Inc. Thura, piper, vestes, argentum, pallia, gemmas (4 Verse)WIC 19283; Hildeb. *carm. min.* 9.*Inc.* Cultello tetro rapuit pendencia retro (3 Verse)

WIC 3541 (nur in W).

Hildebert von Lavardin (1056-1133) hatte sicherlich schon den größten Teil seiner Gedichte geschrieben, als Abaelard im Jahre 1118 kastriert wurde. Die Textgestalt der drei Carmina in W ist weitgehend fehlerfrei: Carm. 9 ist in W ohne Varianten überliefert, in Carm. 7 begegnet eine Wortumstellung (V. 3 *Cur sit ager sterilis* Scott] *Cur sterilis sit ager* W), das Carm. 17 bietet die auch von Scott gedruckte Fassung ϕ (von drei trivialen Fehlern abgesehen, ist erwähnenswert V. 14 *deis* Scott] *bonis* W), nur in V. 22 folgt W plötzlich der Fassung α (*diuinum carmen* ϕ Scott] *diuinos uates* α W).

Über die Biographie des Petrus Pictor lässt sich aufgrund fehlender Quellen kaum etwas sagen¹². Wir wissen nur, dass er sein Carm. 4 *De laude Flandrie* in den Jahren 1110/11 gedichtet hat¹³ und außer in Saint-Omer vermutlich auch an anderen Orten in Nordfrankreich oder Flandern tätig war. Wie Lieven van Acker, der Herausgeber seiner Gedichte, gezeigt hat, kommt der Wiener Codex 13584 (= Wh) im Carm. 13 hinsichtlich der Textgeschichte und Qualität dem berühmten *Liber Floridus* (Gent, UB, Ms. 92 = G) des Lambert von Saint-Omer gleich¹⁴. Im Schlussdistichon (V. 47-48) stehen sich zwei, in sich stimmige und sprachlich korrekte Fassungen gegenüber. Mindestens in der Lesart *bone* scheint W überlegen zu sein:

G Pace tua quod adhuc dicam bene, Iupiter, audi:
Quisquis habet nummos, Iupiter esse potest!

W Pace tua quod adhuc dicam, bone Iupiter, audi:
Nummos siquis habet, Iupiter esse potest!

Auch im Carm. 3 erweist sich die Handschrift W, trotz fehlender Passagen (V. 45-46, 113-120, 123-124, 131-144) als zuverlässiger Textzeuge der Familie v¹⁵.

Der Wiener Codex lässt also weder bei den Gedichten Hildeberts noch bei denen des Petrus Pictor die im Laufe der Überlieferung so häufig eintretende Verwilderung der Texte erkennen, sondern er besitzt denselben Wert wie die frühen autornahen Handschriften. Das Alter und die Herkunft des anonymen *Epitaphium Diogenis* und der vier vermutlich aus einem Epitaphium stammenden Verse auf fol. 42v lassen sich natürlich nicht bestimmen, doch sehe ich keine sprachlichen oder formalen Gründe, die eine Entstehung im 12. Jahrhundert ausschließen würden. Die meisten der in W gesammel-

¹² VAN ACKER, VII-XII.

¹³ Vgl. VAN ACKER, XXXV-XLI; ID., *Petrus Pictor en zijn "De laude Flandriae"*, in: *De Franse Nederlanden*, 8 (1983) 129-145.

¹⁴ VAN ACKER, CXLV. – In der Edition ist im Apparat auf S. 101 die Überschrift der Handschrift W inkorrekt wiedergegeben, sie lautet: *De denario*.

¹⁵ VAN ACKER, CLX-CLXI. – In V. 109 der Edition (S. 53) scheint das Wort *signatum* ein Druckfehler zu sein. Jedenfalls bietet W hier die richtige, syntaktisch zu *archam* passende Form *signatam*.

ten Gedichte waren zur Zeit der Kastration Abaelards in Frankreich bekannt und verbreitet. Ich möchte daher vermuten, dass ein Student zur Zeit Abaelards sich eine kleine Sammlung aus den neuesten französischen Dichtern angelegt hatte, in welche er schließlich auch das aus aktuellem Anlass entstandene Epigramm *Cultello tetro* eintrug. Diese Sammlung ist später auf unbekanntem Wege geschlossen auf das Pult des Schreibers von W gelangt. Für den Wiener Codex gilt also *posterior non deterior*.

Summary

The article provides a new edition and an historical assessment of the anonymous epigram *Cultello tetro rapuit pendentia retro* (WIC 3541) that describes how Peter Abaelard had been mutilated and is now lying on his bed, having lost his “dactylus”. This epigram forms part of a small collection of poems of Hildebert of Lavardin and Petrus Pictor that is preserved in Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 13584, fol. 40v-43r. Though the manuscript dates from the fifteenth century, the collection itself may have been assembled shortly after Abaelard’s castration in 1118.

Ein südfranzösisches Klagelied zum *Correctorium fratris Thomae* des Wilhelm de la Mare

von

Thomas HAYE

(Göttingen)

1. Einführung

Die Pergamenthandschrift Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 5888 (im Folgenden bezeichnet mit der Sigle M) überliefert unikal das epische Loblied (*Speculum pontificale*) eines Johannes Ignotus auf den verstorbenen Papst Bonifacius VIII. (1294-1303)¹. Es handelt sich um ein prachtvoll ausgestattetes Widmungsexemplar, das an Kardinal Francesco Caetani (ca. 1256-1317), den Neffen dieses Pontifex, gerichtet ist. Wie eine abschließende Notiz auf fol. 39r mitteilt (*Datum in concilio Viennensi tempore Clementis quinti*)², wurde das Exemplar auf dem Konzil von Vienne (1311/1312) hergestellt und vermutlich anschließend dem in der Vorrede angesprochenen

¹ Kurze Beschreibung des Codex bei G. DE ANDRÉS, *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, XI, Madrid, 1987, p. 48. Sehr fehlerhafte Edition des Textes bei G. DE ANDRÉS, « 'Speculum pontificale' de Juan Ignotus. Poema sobre la vida del Papa Bonifacio VIII », *Revista Española de teología*, 45 (1985), pp. 155-199 (zur Handschrift dort p. 155f. u. 159). Mit zahlreichen weiteren (überwiegend typographischen) Fehlern und ohne Hinweis auf die vorhergehende Edition wiederabgedruckt G. DE ANDRÉS, « Speculum pontificale de Juan Ignotus. Poema sobre la vida del Papa Bonifacio VIII », *Hispania sacra*, 44 (1992), pp. 745-787. Der Autor wird kurz erwähnt bei Agostino PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *Il papato nel secolo XIII. Cent'anni di bibliografia* (1875-2009), Florenz, 2010, p. xxiii.

² Vgl. DE ANDRÉS, 1985, p. 159.

Kardinal übergeben³. Auch der paläographische Befund weist auf eine Entstehung im Frankreich des 14. Jahrhunderts hin⁴. Im Codex folgen auf das panegyrische Papst-Gedicht (fol. IVv u. 1r-39r) zwei Blank-Seiten (fol. 39v-40r), danach, von einer anderen Hand des 14. Jahrhunderts geschrieben, der Beginn des Johannes-Evangeliums (fol. 40v) und schließlich unter der Überschrift *Lector Tholosanus* ein anonym tradiertes Poem (fol. 41r; geschrieben von einer weiteren zeitgenössischen Hand)⁵. Das Gedicht weist zwei recht oberflächliche Bezüge zum Epos des Johannes Ignotus auf: Zum einen handelt es ebenfalls von religiösen Irrlehren⁶; zum anderen erinnert die Zahl von sieben Strophen, in die es gegliedert ist, an die sieben Bücher des *Speculum pontificale*.

Das Gedicht wird ferner überliefert in der gleichfalls dem 14. Jahrhundert entstammenden Pergamenthandschrift Bamberg, Canon. 29 (olim P I 7; im Folgenden bezeichnet mit der Sigle B)⁷. Diese enthält auf fol. 1r-37v die *Constitutiones* Clemens' V. (1305-1314) und auf fol. 39r-45r einige *Extravagantes* Johannes' XXII. (1316-1334), ferner auf fol. 45r-47r einen Briefwechsel zwischen dem *soldanus Babilonie* und Clemens (datiert Avignon 1307/08) sowie schließlich auf fol. 47r-51r den 1302 verfassten Traktat *De potestate pape* des Heinrich von Cremona⁸. Der Text der (auf dem Konzil von

³ Zum Ereignis vgl. E. MÜLLER, *Das Konzil von Vienne 1311-1312. Seine Quellen und seine Geschichte*, Münster i.W., 1934 (Vorreformationsgeschichtliche Forschungen, 12); zu Caetanis Teilnahme am Konzil vgl. dort p. 73.

⁴ Vgl. DE ANDRÉS, 1985, p. 159: «...letra gótica francesa...».

⁵ Der Text ist verzeichnet bei H. WALTHER, *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum*, Göttingen, 1969 (Carmina medii aevi posterioris latina, I, 1), n° 3372 (DE ANDRÉS, 1987, p. 48, fälschlich «72»).

⁶ Zum diesbezüglichen Inhalt des *Speculum pontificale* vgl. DE ANDRÉS, 1985, p. 158; zu den in Vienne verurteilten Irrlehren (sc. der Beghinen und Begharden) vgl. MÜLLER, 1934, pp. 577-587.

⁷ Vgl. F. LEITSCHUH / H. FISCHER, *Katalog der Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg. Erster Band. Erste Abteilung*, Wiesbaden 1966 (rev. Nachdruck der Ausgabe Bamberg 1895), p. 900f.

⁸ Vgl. J. MIETHKE, «Das Konsistorialmemorandum „De potestate pape“ des Heinrich von Cremona von 1302 und seine handschriftliche Überlieferung», in *Studi sul XIV secolo in memoria di Anneliese Maier*, éd. Alfonso Maierù / Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Rom, 1981 (Storia e letteratura, 151), pp. 421-451, zur Bamberger Handschrift hier p. 426f.

Vienne verabschiedeten) *Constitutiones* endet in der linken Spalte der vorletzten Seite des ersten Quaternio (fol. 37v) mit dem topischen Kolophon *Finito libro sit laudis copia Christo*. Ähnlich wie im Madrider Codex nutzt auch hier ein anderer Schreiber den freigebliebenen Raum, um das genannte Gedicht einzutragen; allerdings fehlt die Überschrift *Lector Tholosanus* (welche in M von derselben Hand geschrieben ist wie der Text des Gedichts).

In beiden Codices ist der Text optisch in Strophen und Verse gegliedert; doch nur in M wird das enthaltene Akrostichon *CONTRA CORRUPTORIUM* durch Majuskeln markiert. In Graphie und Textbestand zeigen sich zudem einige Varianten. Ferner weisen beide Handschriften mehrere Fehler auf. Die eine hängt nicht von der anderen ab. Eine kritische Edition ergibt das folgende Bild⁹:

2. Text

Lector Tholosanus

1	CON tra Caym invidiam Corvi vitans ignaviam Contra Saulis furiam Sagitta contra Siriam	iustus Abel armetur. columba delegetur. cithara temperetur Et David moduletur. directa prosperetur.
2	TRA dita Syon filie Excecat cor Invidie,	doctrina Salomonis filie Babilonis.

1, 1 Cfr Gen. 4, 1-8 2 Cfr Gen. 8, 6-8 3/4 Cfr I Reg. 16, 14-23
5 Cfr II Reg. 8, 5-6

2, 1 Cfr III Reg. 4, 29-34

Lector Tholosanus] *om.* B

1, 1 Caym] Chayn B 3/4 temperetur // Et] temeperetur et // B

2, 2 Excecat cor] Livor cecat B filie] filiam B

⁹ Die Graphie sowie die Heraushebung des Akrostichons sind nach M gestaltet. Allerdings wird zwischen *u* und *v* differenziert. Abkürzungen sind aufgelöst. Die Großschreibung der Eigennamen und die Interpunktion folgen der deutschen Rechtschreibung.

- Quod sancta dantur canibus subtracto iam Iosia.
- 5 **T**ollunt in altum dogmatum figmenta perversorum.
 Strepunt nugas fantasmatum in scola sompniorum.
 Ventum sequens sophismatum errat grex onagrorum.
 Sed hynnulis cervorum
 Super montes aromatum splendet lux divinatorum.
- 6 **R**ite dampnatur macula ludentis Ysmaelis.
 Et Belis patet crapula per artem Danielis.
 Loquentem cernit vetula de terra, non de celis,
 Figuram Samuelis.
 Contempnit pica garula sensum Gamalielis.
- 7 **U**mbris decepti montium ceduntur Siccimite.
 Cum Balaam in premium consurgunt Moabite,
 Tremunt dei iudicium. Nam aspera vox « Ite »,
 Sed dulcis est « Venite ».
 Subversis rotis hostium psallant Israelite.

5 Quod sancta dantur canibus] cfr Matth. 7, 6 (*Nolite dare sanctum canibus*)
 subtracto iam Iosia] cfr Ier. 22, 11-17

5, 3 Cfr Ier. 2, 24 (*onager adsuetus in solitudine in desiderio animae suae
 adtraxit ventum amoris sui*) 4/5 Cfr Cant. 2, 13 (...*vineae florent dede-
 runt odorem...*); Cant. 2, 17 (*donec adspiret dies et inclinentur umbrae rever-
 tere similis esto dilecte mi capreae aut hinulo cervorum super montes Bether*)

6, 1 Cfr Gen 21, 9-10 (*cumque vidisset Sarra filium Agar Aegyptiae ludentem
 dixit ad Abraham / eice ancillam hanc et filium eius*) 2 Cfr Dan. 14,
 10-21 3/4 Cfr I Reg. 28, 13 (*et ait mulier ad Saul deos vidi ascendentes
 de terra*) 5 Cfr Act. 5, 34-42 pica garula] Die Elster hört sich
 an wie ein Mensch, ist jedoch nur ein vernunftloser Vogel. Cfr Martialis,
Epigr. 14, 76.

7, 1 Cfr Iud. 9, 36 (*cumque vidisset populum Gaal dixit ad Zebul ecce de
 montibus multitudo descendit cui ille respondit umbras montium vides quasi
 hominum capita et hoc errore deciperis*) 2/5 Cfr Num. 22-24, insbes.
 22, 6; 22, 11; 22, 17; 23, 7 (jeweils: *veni*); 22, 13 (*ite in terram vestram*)

5, 1 dogmatum] domatum B 2 Strepunt] Scerpunt B 4 hynnulis]
 hinnulis B

6, 1 dampnatur macula] dampnantur vincula B Ysmaelis] Ismahelis
 B 5 garula] garrula B

7, 1 decepti] inscripti M 2 premium] prelium B consurgunt]
 insurgunt B 3 Tremunt] tremant M 4 Sed] et B 5 Israelite]
 Israhelite B

3. Übersetzung

Der Lector aus Toulouse

(1) Gegen die Missgunst des Kain möge sich der gerechte Abel bewaffnen. Um die Untätigkeit des Raben zu meiden, soll die Taube entsandt werden. Gegen den Zorn Sauls möge die Leier besänftigend erklingen und David möge [sc. dazu] singen. Der gegen Syrien gerichtete Pfeil soll Erfolg haben.

(2) Die Lehre Salomons, welche der Tochter Zions [sc. Jerusalem] erteilt worden ist, blendet das Herz der Missgunst, jener Tochter Babylons. Es kocht der Topf des Wahnsinns, des Wirbelsturmes aus dem Norden, gegen die Posaune Gideons. Samsons Füchse entbrennen gegen die Saat der Weisheit.

(3) Eine verbessernde Instanz, die verdorben ist, wird dadurch, dass sie beim Verbessern verdirbt, zu einem Blasebalg, der das Gold schmelzen lässt, indem er die Stürme miteinander verwirbelt. In seinem Spiel entzündet das gottlose Volk den Schmelzofen und formt das [sc. Goldene] Kalb, während es gemäß dem Fünften Evangelium sein Antlitz zum Himmel richtet.

(4) Die Philosophie trauert, da das Kleid ihrer Gelehrsamkeit zerrissen ist. Es jammert die Theologie, da sie durch die Hände der Räuber entblößt wurde. Denn während Alithia [sc. die Wahrheit] gegen¹⁰ die Erfindungen der Pseustis [sc. der Lüge] argumentiert, klagt sie zusammen mit Jeremias, dass Josia jetzt entmachtet ist und die Heiligtümer den Hunden vorgeworfen werden.

(5) Man erhebt die Erfindungen der Verkehrten zu theologischen Lehren. Lauthals verkündet man in der Schule der Träume den Unsinn von Hirngespinnsten. Die Herde der Wildesel folgt dem Wind ihrer Trugschlüsse und irrt umher. Doch in den jungen Hirschen erstrahlt das Licht der göttlichen Mächte auf den Bergen der süßen Düfte.

(6) Zu Recht wird der Makel des spöttischen Ismael verurteilt. Und durch die Kunst Daniels wird die Trunkenheit des Baal offenbar. Die Alte sieht, wie das Abbild Samuels von der Erde aus, nicht vom Himmel aus spricht. Die geschwätzige Elster verachtet Gamaliels Vernunft.

¹⁰ Alternativ könnte man (stärker pointierend) übersetzen: «...mit den Erfindungen».

(7) Die Männer von Sichem lassen sich von den Schatten der Berge täuschen und werden deshalb getötet. Als die Moabiter zu Bileams Vorteil einen Aufstand beginnen, erzittern sie vor dem Urteil Gottes. Denn hart ist das Wort «Geht!», doch süß ist «Kommt!». Jubeln sollen die Israeliten, da die Kampfswagen ihrer Feinde zerstört sind.

4. *Interpretation und historische Einordnung*

In den Strophen 1-2 spielt der Verfasser auf eine Reihe biblischer Exempla an, in denen sich das Gute und Gerechte gegen einen Angriff des Bösen wehren muss (Kain und Abel, David und Saul, Salomon, Gedeon, Samson). Als Laster treten auf: der Neid (1, 1: *invidiam*; 2, 2: *Invidie*), die Untätigkeit (1, 2: *ignaviam*) und die Wut (1, 3: *furiam*; 2, 3: *insanie*). Diesen stehen als Tugenden gegenüber: die Gerechtigkeit (1, 1: *iustus*), die Mäßigung (1, 3: *temperetur*) sowie die Weisheit und Bildung (2, 1: *doctrina*; 2, 5: *sapientie*).

In der dritten Strophe wird die zentrale Botschaft des Textes artikuliert: Wenn eine Instanz, deren Aufgabe eigentlich im Verbessern der menschlichen Moral besteht, ihrerseits verdorben ist, erreicht sie das Gegenteil dessen, wofür sie geschaffen ist: Statt zu korrigieren, korrumpiert sie die (sc. ihr unterstellten) Menschen. Statt die Laster zu unterdrücken, heizt sie wie ein Blasebalg das Feuer der Korruption weiter an (3, 1-2). Dieses Bild des Entfachens eines Feuers überträgt der Autor nun auf das biblische Exemplum vom Goldenen Kalb: Die in der beschriebenen Weise 'angeheizten' Menschen schaffen sich einen neuen Gott, den sie anbeten, und ein neues Evangelium (3, 3-5).

In der vierten Strophe erläutert der Verfasser, worin die 'Korruption' besteht: Im Bereich der theologisch-philosophischen Bildung hat die Wahrheit mit der Lüge zu kämpfen (4, 1-4). Und wie nicht nur die verwendeten Prädikate (4, 1: *meret*; 4, 2: *luget*; 4, 4: *Plangit*), sondern auch das Exemplum von Josia (4, 5) andeuten, scheint die Wahrheit den Irrtümern und Irrlehren zu unterliegen. Der letzte Vers ergänzt zudem, dass die Kontrolle über die wahre Lehre 'gestohlen' worden sei und nun in falschen Händen liege (4, 5: *sub-*

tracto). Schließlich evoziert die vierte Strophe auch die drei wichtigsten Referenztexte des Gedichts: Boethius' *Consolatio* (4, 1)¹¹, die *Ecloga Theoduli* (4, 3)¹² und die biblischen Prophetiezeichnungen des Jeremias (4, 4).

Die fünfte Strophe geht auf die Irrlehren näher ein: Lügen werden zu Wahrheiten stilisiert (5, 1). In den Schulen unterrichtet man 'Träume', 'Unsinn' und geistige 'Truggebilde' (5, 2). Die Vertreter dieser Irrlehre erscheinen als eine Herde von Wildeseln, die kopflos umherirren (und nur ihr lautes, doch sinnloses 'Ia' von sich geben). Dabei erweisen sich ihre scheinbar logischen Argumentationen als Trugschlüsse (5, 3: *sophismatum*). Diesen dummen Eseln stellt der Autor zum Schluss der Strophe eine andere Tierart gegenüber: Die ruhigen und starken Hirsche (d.h. die Vertreter des rechten Glaubens und Wissens)¹³ fungieren als Vermittler göttlicher Weisheit (5, 4-5).

Die sechste und die siebte Strophe knüpfen an die ersten beiden an: Auch hier spielt der Dichter auf eine Reihe biblischer Exempla an, in denen, so die Aussage der primären Textebene, Erkenntnis und Wahrheit über die Täuschung und das leere Geschwätz siegen. Am Ende können die Israeliten, d.h. die Verkünder der wahren Lehre, mit Gottes Hilfe über ihre Feinde triumphieren.

Wie diese kurze Inhaltsübersicht zeigt, ist der Text achsensymmetrisch aufgebaut: In den Strophen 3-5 wird das Thema der falschen Lehre direkt angesprochen; hingegen bilden die Strophen 1-2 und 6-7 einen Rahmen, der die Kernbotschaft durch biblische Exempla unterfüttert. Wie schon das Akrostichon *CONTRA CORRUPTORIUM* andeutet, wendet sich das Gedicht gegen eine offiziell, d.h. in Schulen, Universitäten oder anderen Bildungseinrichtungen tätige Gruppe von Lehrern. Das akrostichische Wort *Corruptorium* greift hierbei die Junktur *Corruptum correctorium* (3, 1) auf. Gemeint ist also nicht eine

¹¹ *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii Philosophiae Consolatio*, éd. L. BIELER, Turnhout, 1957 (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 94, 1).

¹² *Teodulo, Ecloga. Il canto della verità e della menzogna*, éd. F. MOSETTI CASARETTO, Florenz, 1997 (Per Verba, 5).

¹³ Vgl. Cant. 2, 17: "donec adspiret dies et inclinentur umbrae revertere similis esto dilecte mi capreae aut hinulo cervorum super montes Bether".

einzelne Person (*Corruptorium* als Akkusativ zu *Corruptorius*), sondern eine funktional definierte Instanz, deren Aufgabe eigentlich darin besteht, die Menschen auf den rechten Weg zu führen. Aufgrund ihrer Multiplikationsfunktion erweist es sich als fatal, dass diese Bildungsinstanz ihrerseits verdorben ist und somit die Schüler bzw. Studenten mit den falschen Lehren kontaminiert. Die inkriminierten Lehrer werden vom Autor als effektheischende Windbeutel beschrieben, die sich vorzugsweise der (Schein-)Logik und des Trugschlusses bedienen. Es ist offensichtlich, dass sich der Text eines im Hochmittelalter neu entstehenden Stereotyps bedient, gemäß dem eine Gruppe von Hochschullehrern als (rhetorisch begabte) Heuchler, Schaumschläger und Karrieristen hingestellt wird¹⁴.

In texttypologischer Hinsicht ist das Gedicht dem Plancus zuzuweisen¹⁵. Der Autor imitiert dabei die Rolle des in 4, 4 genannten Propheten Jeremias. Wie jener klagt er nicht nur über die aktuellen Missstände, sondern kündigt auch ein göttliches Strafgericht an (vgl. Ier. I, 16) und verspricht den Sieg über die Feinde (7, 5). Wie der akrostichische Richtungsakkusativ *CONTRA CORRUPTORIUM* anzeigt, verharret der Dichter nicht bei der (passiven) Klage, sondern er erhebt – zumindest indirekt – auch Anklage gegen die Verantwortlichen. Damit

¹⁴ Am berühmtesten ist die Zeichnung bei Johannes von Salisbury, *Polycraticus* 7, 12, c. 662a, éd. C. WEBB, London, 1909 / Ndr. Frankfurt a.M., 1965, Tom. II, p. 136f.: «Errant utique et impudenter errant qui philosophiam in solis uerbis consistere opinantur; errant qui uirtutem uerba putant ut lucum ligna. Nam uirtutis commendatio consistit ab opere, et sapientiam uirtus inseparabiliter comitatur. Vnde constat quia illi, qui uerbis inherent, malunt uideri quam esse sapientes. Plateas circumeunt, terunt limina doctiorum, quaestiunculas mouent, intricant uerba ut suum et alienum obducant sensum, paratiores uentilare quam examinare, si quid difficultatis emersit. Verentur tamen prodere imperitiam suam iactatores sapientiae nec amatores, et id quod nesciunt prauo pudore nescire quam quaerere et discere malunt; praesertim si assint alii, quibus notum arbitrentur quod ipsi nesciunt. Fastum tamen eorum ferre non poteris; de omni materia loquuntur subito, diiudicant omnes, culpant alios, seipsos praedicant, iactant se inuenisse de nouo quod tritum est ab antiquis et testimonio librorum per etates multas ad tempora nostra perductum. Verba multiplicant ut saepe minus intellecti sint onere et multitudine uerborum quam rerum difficultate».

¹⁵ Vgl. hierzu den jüngst erschienenen Tagungsband von F. MOSETTI CASARETTO (éd.), *Lachrymae. Mito e metafora del pianto nel Medioevo*, Alessandria, 2011 (mit zahlreichen Beiträgen zur mittellateinischen Klagedichtung).

nähert sich der Text dem Genre der Satire an¹⁶. Gerade der auf dem paulinischen Haupt-Glieder-Modell (Rm 12, 4-5) beruhende Gedanke, dass eine moralisch verderbte Prälatenschicht die ihr unterstellten Laien durch Kontamination und falsches Vorbild korrumpiere, ist in vielen Satiren des hohen und späten Mittelalters zu finden¹⁷. Ebenso sind die Klagelieder des Jeremias ein wichtiges Vorbild für die satirische Poesie¹⁸.

Der vorliegende Text umfasst 35 Verse und setzt sich aus 7 Strophen zu je 5 Versen zusammen. Hierbei bestehen die jeweiligen Verse 1-3 und 5 aus der Kombination eines steigenden Achtsilblers (8pp) mit einem fallenden Siebensilbler (7p)¹⁹; der jeweils vierte Vers besteht nur aus einem fallenden Siebensilbler. In den Versen 1-3 und 5 reimen die jeweiligen ersten und die zweiten Hälften miteinander; der vierte Vers reimt mit den zweiten Hälften der anderen Verse. Ein vergleichbares Strophensystem ist bisher nicht belegt. Ungeöhnlich ist auch die Verknüpfung mit einem Akrostichon, zu dem die Strophen 1-4 jeweils drei Buchstaben, die Strophen 5-7 jeweils zwei beisteuern. Da sich der Autor offenbar in der Rolle des Propheten Jeremias sieht, könnte er in dieser Technik durch dessen abecedarische *Lamentationes* inspiriert worden sein. Denn auch in spätmittelalterlichen Bibelhandschriften werden die der einzelnen *Lamentatio* vorangestellten

¹⁶ Zum satirischen Klagelied vgl. etwa F. SCHNOOR, «Der „Planctus“ des Bernhard von Westerröde und die mittellateinische Klerikersatire», in *Epochen der Satire. Traditionslinien einer literarischen Gattung in Antike, Mittelalter und Renaissance*, éd. Th. HAYE / F. SCHNOOR, Hildesheim, 2008 (Spolia Berolinensia, 28), pp. 119-154.

¹⁷ Vgl. Th. HAYE, «Moralisch-satirische Dichtung in Avignon – die spätmittelalterliche Kurie im Spiegel einer zeitgenössischen Handschrift», *Studi medievali*, 52 (2011), pp. 287-345, hier p. 297f. u. 305f.

¹⁸ Vgl. Th. HAYE, «Anonymus: *Satira trenorum*», *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 34, 1 (1999), pp. 57-83.

¹⁹ Dabei sind die Eigennamen *Caym* (1, 1) und *Saulis* (1, 3) zweisilbig, *Balaam* (7, 2) dreisilbig zu lesen. Zum Versmaß vgl. D. NORBERG, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*, Stockholm, 1958 (Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, 5), pp. 106-111 (Belege für jeweils stichische Verwendung der beiden genannten Rhythmen) u. 123 (strophische Kombination von 8pp und 7p, wenngleich nicht in der oben genannten Weise).

Buchstaben des hebräischen Alphabets mitunter durch Majuskeln hervorgehoben.

Einen ersten Hinweis auf die Datierung des Textes kann die Rezeption der im 10. oder frühen 11. Jahrhundert verfassten *Ecloga Theoduli* geben. Tatsächlich dürfte das Gedicht jedoch deutlich später geschrieben worden sein. So ist die Klage über die neuen, effekthaschenden Lehrer wohl erst seit dem 12. Jahrhundert denkbar. Auch der Hinweis auf deren in Theologie und Philosophie praktizierten *sophismata* (5, 3) setzt ein scholastisches Bildungssystem voraus. Ferner legt die offenbar auf den Autor verweisende Überschrift *Lector Tholosanus* eine Entstehung im dominikanischen Milieu nahe (Gründung des Ordens 1215 in Toulouse). Die im Text vorgetragene Kritik an den 'Irrlehren' (inbes. 5, 1-5) und die ausschließlich an der Bibel geschulte Sprache (die pagane Poesie wird vollständig ausgeblendet) stützen eine solche Vermutung. Der Verfasser dürfte also ein im Ordensstudium tätiger Lehrer der Theologie sein.

Die beiden Überlieferungsträger aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts bieten weitere Indizien zur Entstehung des Textes: Im Madrider Codex wird das Gedicht zusammen mit dem Papst-Encomium des Johannes Ignotus tradiert, welches dem Widmungsnehmer auf dem von Clemens V. einberufenen Konzil von Vienne (1311/1312) überreicht worden sein dürfte. Im Bamberger Codex erscheint der Text unmittelbar nach den auf dem Konzil von Vienne verabschiedeten *Constitutiones* Clemens' V. Bei aller Vorsicht darf man daher eine Abfassung des Textes im Südfrankreich des beginnenden 14. Jahrhunderts annehmen.

Der Autor verschweigt – vermutlich aus Demut – seinen eigenen Namen (im Text begegnet auch die Ich-Form nicht). Die Zahl der im genannten Zeitraum tätigen *lectores Tholosani* ist recht hoch, zudem sind wohl keineswegs alle namentlich bekannt²⁰. Unter den historisch fassbaren Personen kämen etwa in Frage: erstens Hugo de Marciaco aus Albi

²⁰ Vgl. die (unvollständige) Liste bei J.-J. DE PERCIN (éd.), *Monumenta conventus Tolosani ordinis FF. Praedicatorum primi*, Toulouse, 1693, p. 196; viele *lectores* verzeichnet bei C. DOUAIS, *Les Frères Prêcheurs en Gascogne au XIII^e et au XIV^e siècle*, Paris / Auch, 1885.

(gest. 1327), bis 1321 *lector* in Toulouse; zweitens Raimundus Bequin (gest. 1328), wohl bis 1321 *lector* in Toulouse, danach Sentenzen-Lehrer in Paris und 1324 Patriarch von Jerusalem; drittens Arnaldus de Barreria (Barrie/Barrio), welcher 1292 in Toulouse und 1298 in Paris studiert, seit 1308 als *lector* in Toulouse tätig ist und 1310 als Zeuge in dem dort verkündeten Inquisitionsurteil über den Ketzer Petrus Auterii genannt wird²¹. Doch ist diese Aufzählung der Kandidaten kaum mehr als ein Stochern im Nebel. Auch die große Zahl der nachweislich literarisch tätigen Dominikaner aus Südfrankreich bietet keinen Anhaltspunkt für eine Identifizierung des Autors²².

Weitere Indizien für die Datierung und Einordnung des Textes sind das Akrostichon *CONTRA CORRUPTORIUM* und der in Vers 3, 1 geäußerte Gedanke *Corruptum correctorium corrumpens corrigendo*. Beide Formulierungen erinnern in verdächtiger Weise an den sog. 'Korrektorienstreit'²³, welcher 1277/79 durch den Franziskaner Wilhelm de la Mare ausgelöst wurde und bis zur Heiligsprechung des Thomas von Aquin im Jahre 1323 anhielt. Wilhelms *Correctorium fratris Thomae* übte harsche Kritik am dogmatischen Fundament des Aquinaten sowie an weiteren zeitgenössischen 'Irrlehren'. Die empörten Thomisten verkehrten in ihren literarischen Antworten den Titel des Werkes ins Gegenteil und bezeichneten es stets als *Corruptorium*. So entstanden in den folgenden Jahren – jeweils unter dem Titel *Correctorium Corruptorii* – zahlreiche Gegenschriften von Mitgliedern des Dominikanerordens: Fassbar sind Richard von Knapwell, Robert von Orford, Johannes Quidort de Paris, Thomas Sutton und Wilhelm von Macklesfield. Ferner schrieb Ramberto dei Prima-

²¹ Vgl. H. Chr. STODT, *Katharismus im Untergrund: die Reorganisation durch Petrus Auterii 1300-1310*, Tübingen, 1996 (Spätmittelalter und Reformation. Neue Reihe, 5), p. 334; zum Prozess vgl. pp. 325-329; zur Person vgl. auch C. DOUAIS, *Les Frères Prêcheurs en Gascogne au XIII^e et au XIV^e siècle. Chapitres, couvents et notices. II^e et III^e Parties: Couvents et notices*, Paris / Auch, 1885, p. 358.

²² Th. KAEPELI, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, Vol. 1-4, Rom, 1970-1993.

²³ Vgl. einführend L. HÖDL, Art. «Korrektorienstreit», in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 5 (1999), col. 1448; U. G. LEINSLE, *Einführung in die scholastische Theologie*, Paderborn u.a., 1995, pp. 159-163 u. 175-177.

dizzi vor 1299 ein *Apologeticum veritatis contra corruptorium*²⁴. In diese Tradition der antifranziskanischen Antworten dürfte auch das vorliegende Gedicht einzureihen sein. Der dominikanische Autor attackiert in seinem Text offenbar nicht nur das *Correctorium* Wilhelms de la Mare, sondern die gesamte Lehrpraxis der Franziskaner, welche das Werk des Thomas von Aquin zu dieser Zeit nicht direkt, sondern nur durch den 'korrigierenden' Filter Wilhelms de la Mare rezipierten. Der unbekannte Dichter gibt seiner Überzeugung Ausdruck, dass die franziskanischen Kritiker des Aquinaten ihre Linie nicht durchhalten, sondern am Ende unterliegen werden. Und mit dieser Prophezeiung hat er wohl Recht behalten: Nach der im Jahre 1323 erfolgten Heiligsprechung des umstrittenen Idols verlor Wilhelms *Correctorium* rasch an Bedeutung.

Summary

Two manuscripts of the fourteenth century (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms 5888, and Bamberg, Canon. 29) contain a hitherto unknown Latin poem in which an anonymous *lector Tholosanus* complains about contemporary heresies. The text seems to be composed by a Dominican in Southern France at the beginning of the fourteenth century. As it is indicated by the acrostic *CONTRA CORRUPTORIUM*, the poet intends to attack the famous tract *Correctorium fratris Thomae* written by the Franciscan friar William de la Mare in 1277/79.

This paper presents a critical edition of the Latin text and a historical interpretation.

²⁴ Rambert de' Primadizzi de Bologne, *Apologeticum veritatis contra corruptorium*, éd. J.-P. MULLER, Vatikanstadt, 1943 (*Studi e Testi*, 108); zur theologischen Debatte und ihren Akteuren siehe dort pp. xxvii-xxxiii.

Christological Aspects of the Mystical Union with God in John of Ruusbroec and the *Arnhem Mystical Sermons*

by

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Christian mystical literature traditionally distinguishes between three aspects of the spiritual experience: the *via purgativa*, the *via illuminativa* and the *via unitiva*. The third aspect, the mystical union with God, is usually considered to be a direct, unmediated union:

After he has left the realm of sensory images behind, after he has transcended the play of concepts and reasoning, and after he – strengthened by an active and passive purification – has rejected the preferences of the egotistical I, the contemplative confirms, based on an experience he has been subjected to and cannot describe, that undeservedly, an ineffable knowledge of God has been granted him through contact with Him: ‘The knowledge of God which is most worthy of Him, is knowing Him through unknowing, in a union which transcends all insight, when the mind turns away from all things, even from itself, and when it is made one with the dazzling rays, being then and there enlightened by the inscrutable depth of Wisdom’ (Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Divine Names*, VII, 3).¹

¹ Après avoir dépassé le domaine des images sensibles, transcendé le jeu des conceptions et des raisonnements, renoncé par une purification active et passive aux préférences du moi égoïste, le contemplatif affirme, en se fondant sur une expérience éprouvée et incommunicable, que lui est donnée gratuitement une ineffable connaissance de Dieu par contact avec lui: « La manière de connaître Dieu la plus digne de lui, c’est de connaître par mode d’inconnaissance dans une union qui dépasse toute intelligence, lorsque l’intelligence, détaché

It is precisely on this point that a fundamental difficulty may arise. If the contemplative claims that his or her union with God is a direct union, unmediated by language or human concepts, what remains of the mediation of Jesus Christ? Does this explicit assertion, repeated so often by mystics throughout the history of Christian literature, not result in a far-reaching relativisation of the Alpha and Omega of Christian faith, Jesus Christ himself?

Self-evidently, this issue has been reflected on and discussed extensively throughout the centuries, not least by Christian mystical authors themselves. In this contribution, we shall examine the position of an important fourteenth century author, John of Ruusbroec (1293-1381), and its development in a little-known yet fascinating sixteenth century collection of texts, the *Arnhem Mystical Sermons*.²

1. *Aspects of Ruusbroec's Christological Thought after the Bull In agro dominico*

In 1329, Pope John XXII promulgated the bull *In agro dominico*. It was sent to Cologne with the explicit instruction to make it known both in the archdiocese and the ecclesiasti-

d'abord de tous les êtres, puis sortie d'elle-même, s'unit aux rayons plus lumineux que la lumière même, et, grâce à ces rayons, resplendit là-haut dans l'insondable profondeur de la Sagesse » (Pseudo-Denys, *Noms divins*, VII, 3), P. AGAESSE & M. SALES, "Mystique : III. La vie mystique chrétienne," in : *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, ed. by A. RAYEZ, A. DERVILLE, A. SOLIGNAC, vol. 10, Paris, 1980, p. 1965.

² This article is an abridged and revised version of a session of three lectures presented by Satoshi Kikuchi, Ineke Cornet and Rob Faesen during the *International Medieval Congress* at the University of Leeds in June 2009. The first part of the article was written by Rob Faesen and the second part was written by Ineke Cornet. For the first part, see also : R. FAESEN, "Ruusbroec at the Charterhouse of Herne: How did the Carthusians React to the Eckhart-Shock?" in : T. GAENS & S. MOLVAREC (eds.), *A Fish out of Water? From Contemplative Solitude to Carthusian Involvement in Pastoral Care and Reform Activity* (Miscellanea Neerlandica, 41 / Studia Cartusiana, 2) Leuven, 2011, forthcoming, and R. FAESEN, "'We Were Perplexed By What He Wrote': The Carthusians and a Crucial Moment in the Development of Mystical Literature in the Low Countries," in : P. NISSEN & K. PANSTERS, *Carthusian Worlds. Exploring the Carthusians and Their Heritage*, Leuven, 2011, forthcoming.

cal province. Only a few years later, in approximately 1338, John of Ruusbroec finished his first work. He was living in Brussels at the time and even though this city was not part of the ecclesiastical province of Cologne, it is quite probable that he was aware of the bull's contents. The precise historical connection between Ruusbroec and Eckhart is still unclear, but it is certainly striking that Ruusbroec's works, which were written soon after the promulgation of the famous bull, are occasionally reminiscent of some expressions in Eckhart.

The specific position of Ruusbroec regarding Christ's role in the *unio mystica* becomes clearer when we consider it in light of the issue as presented in the bull. Indeed, the bull indicates the problems quite precisely and it appears that Ruusbroec was very well aware of this. Therefore, we shall first examine the preceding history, and more particularly the connection with the bull *In agro dominico*, before analysing Ruusbroec's position.

a. The Christological Problem as Presented by the Bull³

There is no doubt that the idea of the *unio mystica*, the union of God and the human person, has an ancient tradition, which is to be found in the oldest Christian literature. The Christological dimension of the *unio* was discussed relatively freely until the twelfth century – one may think, for example, of the important difference in the positions defended by Bernard of Clairvaux and his friend William of Saint-Thierry in this regard⁴ – but the issue became problematic from the thirteenth century onwards. This is very clear from the condemnation in the bull *In agro dominico* of a number of sentences extracted from the works of Meister Eckhart. The preparation of this condemnation is relatively easy to fol-

³ Cf. S. KIKUCHI, "Christological Problems in the Understanding of the Sonship in Meister Eckhart," *Bijdragen: International Journal in Philosophy and Theology*, 69 (2008), pp. 365-381.

⁴ According to William, the human person shares completely in the loving unity between the Father and the Son; according to Bernard, however, a distinction remains between the way in which the Father and the Son are unified and what the human person receives, cf. P. VERDEYEN, *La théologie mystique de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry*, Paris, 1991.

low, as the so-called *Votum theologorum Avenionensium* – the written record of the discussions between the committee of theologians in Avignon and Meister Eckhart – is extant.⁵ It appears that seven of the twenty-eight articles that were considered suspicious, and which were listed explicitly in the bull, concern this Christological dimension :

[10] We shall all be transformed totally into God and changed into Him. In the same way, when in the sacrament bread is changed into Christ's Body, I am so changed into Him that He makes me His one existence, and not just similar. By the living God it is true that there is no distinction there.

(Nos transformamur totaliter in Deum et convertimur in eum; simili modo sicut in sacramento panis convertitur in corpus Christi, sic ego convertor in eum, quod ipse operatur me suum esse unum, non simile. Per viventem Deum verum est, quod ibi nulla est distinctio).

[11] Whatever God the Father gave to His Only-Begotten Son in human nature, He gave all this to me. I exclude nothing, neither union, nor sanctity; but He gave the whole to me, just as He did to Him.

(Quicquid deus pater dedit filio suo unigenito in humana natura, hoc totum dedit michi. Hic nichil excipio, nec unionem nec sanctitatem, sed totum dedit michi sicut sibi).

[12] Whatever Holy Scripture says of Christ, all that is also true of every good and divine man.

(Quidquid dicit sacra Scriptura de Christo, hoc etiam totum verificatur de omni bono et divino homine).

⁵ For the full text of this document, see *Processus contra mag. Echardum*, n. 59: *Votum theologorum Avenionensium* in: *Meister Eckhart: Die Lateinischen Werke* [= LW V], Bd. 5, *Acta Echardiana*, ed. by L. STURLESE, Stuttgart, 2006, pp. 568-590. This document does not contain the full record, but it consists of the abstract of the debate between the theologians and Eckhart on each of the twenty eight-articles that are to be found in *In agro dominico*. The names of the theologians are not known, cf. W. TRUSEN, *Der Prozeß gegen Meister Eckhart: Vorgeschichte, Verlauf und Folgen*, Paderborn, 1988 (Rechts- und Staatswissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Görres-Gesellschaft, Neue Folge, Heft 54), p. 117.

[13] Whatever is proper to the divine nature, all that is proper to the just and divine man. Because of that, this man performs whatever God performs, and he created heaven and earth together with God, and he is the begetter of the Eternal Word, and God would not know how to do anything without such a man.

(Quidquid proprium est divinae naturae, hoc totum proprium est homini iusto et divino ; propter hoc iste homo operatur, quidquid Deus operatur, et creavit una cum deo caelum et terram, et est generator Verbi aeterni, et deus sine tali homine nesciret quidquam facere).

[20] That the good man is the Only-Begotten Son of God".

(Quod bonus homo est unigenitus filius dei).

[21] The noble man is that Only-Begotten Son of God whom the Father generates from all eternity.

(Homo nobilis est ille unigenitus filius dei, quem pater eternaliter genuit).

[22] The Father gives birth to me as His Son and the same Son. Everything that God performs is one; therefore He gives me, His Son, birth without any distinction.

(Pater generat me suum filium et eundem filium. Quicquid deus operatur, hoc est unum ; propter hoc generat ipse me suum filium sine omni distinctione).⁶

Eckhart took pains to emphasise that the human person shares completely in the life of Christ. The expressions he used, however, seem to suggest that this is the case to such an extent that the mediation of Christ becomes superfluous. In fact, decades earlier, in the brief period that he was Bishop of Regensburg (1260-1262), Albertus Magnus had noted that a similar idea was being propagated :

[Those heretics] say that a man may be put in the equal state to the Father and may transcend the Son.⁷

⁶ LW V, 598-599, English translation by Bernard McGinn. Cf. E. COLLEDGE & B. MCGINN, *Meister Eckhart: The Essential Sermons, Commentaries, Treatises, and Defense*, New York, 1981, pp. 78-79, slightly modified.

⁷ "Dicere quod homo aequetur Patri et transcendat Filium." Cf. J. de GUIBERT, *Documenta Ecclesiastica Christianae Perfectionis Studium Spectantia*,

The committee of theologians considered Eckhart's use of the expression "Only-Begotten Son" (*unigenitus filius*) to denote the "good" or "noble" person to be particularly problematic. This is obviously not surprising, considering that *genitus non factus* is precisely what can only be said of the Son, and not of creatures. By using the expression "Only-Begotten Son" to denote the "good" or "noble" person, Eckhart seems to suggest that according to him, these people "become Christ."

In the discussion, Eckhart explicitly stated that it was not his intention to imply that the human person becomes the second person of the Trinity:

(...) A holy person or a just person, whoever he may be, can neither become Christ Himself or the First-born Son, nor are others saved by him, or it is impossible that he can be the Image of God or the Only-Begotten Son, but he is towards the Image of God, and is His member, and the Image is truly and perfectly the Son, and the First-born Son and the Heir, however we are co-heirs.

*(Homo enim sanctus sive bonus quicumque non fit ipse Christus nec primogenitus nec per ipsum salvantur alii nec est imago dei, filius dei unigenitus, sed est ad imaginem dei, membrum ipsius, qui vere et perfecte filius est primogenitus et heres, nos autem coheredes).*⁸

During this discussion, however, Eckhart did not actually make his precise meaning clear.⁹ To clarify his position, he

Roma, 1931, pp. 122.

⁸ Proc. Col. I, n. 132 (LW V, p. 296).

⁹ It appears that he probably intended to refer primarily to the indwelling of God and the human person, as is indicated by a brief excerpt from one of his German sermons: "Oh my dear, what harm does it do to you, to permit God to be God in you? Go out of yourself completely for God's sake, and then God goes out of Himself completely for your sake. When these two go out, whatever remains there is one, simple óne. In this óne the Father gives birth to His Son in the inmost source. Out of this the Holy Spirit blossoms, and there arises in God a will which belongs to the soul" (*Eyâ, lieber mensche, waz schadet dir, daz dû gote gûnnest, daz got got in dir sî? Ganc dîn selbes alzemâle ûz durch got, sô gât got alzemâle sîn selbes ûz durch dich. Dâ disiû zwei ûzgânt, swaz dâ blîbet, daz ist ein einvaltigez ein. In disem ein gebirt der vater sînen sun in dem innersten gequelle. Dâ blûejet ûz der heilige geist, und dâ entspringet in gote ein wille, der behæret der sêle zuo, Predigt 5b*), Meister Eckhart.

simply stated that it is the same Son who is begotten by the Father through all eternity and who is born in the human person.¹⁰ The theological commission rejected this statement as being irrelevant to their objections.¹¹ It seemed evident to the commission that the expression “to be the Only-Begotten Son” could not be understood to imply anything other than that the “good” or “noble” person “becomes Christ,” and that it remained unclear how Eckhart could make this position compatible with the personal reality of the human person:

We judge this article as heretical, as far as the words sound [...], because he (i.e., Eckhart) insists that God gave birth to this man who is speaking (i.e., Eckhart), and that [...] whoever he may be, a just man is the Son of God, and the same Son without distinction including the unity (between Father and Son).¹²

In the same way, the commission also rejected the sentence in which Eckhart said that “whatever God the Father gave to his Only-Begotten Son in human nature, he gave all this to me” (11th article). According to the commission, it was impos-

Die deutschen Werke [= DW], Band I: *Predigten*, ed. by J. QUINT, Stuttgart, 1958, pp. 93-94.

¹⁰ The Son, whom the Father generates in the Trinity according to the nature, and the Son, whom He generates in us through grace, is the same Son without any distinction. Just as many (documents on) parchments are made by one single seal, or as images in many mirrors are produced by one single face. (*idem est filius absque omni distinctione, quam pater generat in trinitate naturaliter et quem in nobis generat per gratiam, sicut uno sigillo formantur multae membranae et una facie generantur multae imagines plurium speculorum*). *Vot. Aven. a. 19* (LW V, p. 581).

¹¹ It is indeed true that the Son, who was born from the Father in eternity, and the Son, through whom we are adopted sons and co-heirs, is the same. However, this argument helps nothing to prove that a good man, as a man, can be called the Only-Begotten Son born from the Father in eternity. (*Hoc quidem verum est, quod idem est dei filius unigenitus qui a patre aeternaliter genitus et per quem sumus filii adoptionis et coheredes. Sed istud nihil facit ad verificationem articuli, ut bonus homo possit dici unigenitus dei filius a patre aeternaliter genitus secundum quod homo* [...]). *Vot. Aven. a. 19* (LW V, p. 581).

¹² “Hunc articulum, ut sonat, haereticum reputamus [...], quia ponit quod deus genuit istum loquentem et secundum dictos articulos quemcumque bonum hominem filium suum et eundem cum unitate absque aliqua distinctione,” *Vot. Aven. art. 19* (LW V, p. 581).

sible to interpret this sentence as not implying identification between the human person and the Incarnate Word:

[...] namely we could understand (the meaning of Eckhart's sentence) like this. Everything that the Father gave to His Son formally (*formaliter*), all that is given to me formally, so that, just as the Son is God and man, I am also God and man [...]. But this is obviously a heretical idea. The incarnation of the Word, the birth from the Virgin, suffering, death etc, they are all applicable only to Christ.¹³

In short, it was very clear to the theologians in Avignon that Eckhart's position necessarily resulted in an identification between Christ and the human person. This position was formally and explicitly condemned in 1329, though the text of the bull added that a number of the statements could be interpreted in manner that was consonant with Christian faith, on the condition that better and more extensive explanations be provided. The extent to which Ruusbroec was aware of the discussions at the papal court is difficult to determine. It is clear, however, that he paid great heed to the content of the bull and the theological concerns it expressed. On the one hand, his thinking is tied to an ancient mystical-theological tradition of "union with God," in which Eckhart also stood. On the other hand, he took pains to avoid using expressions that may have implied an identification with Christ. The choice he made is not a half-hearted, circumspect compromise; on the contrary, he opted for a radical, relational perspective of the "being" of the human person. We shall examine the three elements he describes below.

b. Similar Concern

First, it is important to note that with respect to Christology, Ruusbroec's writing is very similar to Eckhart's. One of the sentences from Eckhart that the theological commission

¹³ "Scilicet quod intelligitur quod totum quod pater dedit filio formaliter, totum dedit mihi formaliter, ut sicut ipse est deus homo, sic et ego, (...) quod plane est haereticum, ut quod sit verbum caro, et quod sit natus de virgine, passus, mortuus et cetera quae Christo conveniunt soli." *Vot. Aven.* a. 22 (LW V, p. 584).

in Avignon qualified as being problematic states that: "Whatever God the Father gave to his Only-Begotten Son in human nature, he gave all this to me. I exclude nothing, neither union nor sanctity." It appears that one of Ruusbroec's main concerns was to describe that, indeed, there is no qualitative difference at all between how the Son is loved by the Father and how a good human person is loved by the Father. Or, in other words, that the Christ-reality of being the beloved son of the Father is shared completely by every good person. The contemplative person experiences this reality especially strongly. In one of Ruusbroec's early works, *The Sparkling Stone*, he states:

When we have ascended with Jesus the mountain where our images cease, if we then follow him with onefold vision, with intimate pleasure and with joyful inclination, we feel the strong heat of the holy Spirit, that makes us burn and melt in God's unity. For where, one with God's Son (*een met den sone gods*), we are brought lovingly back to our beginning, we hear the voice of the Father that touches us, drawing us in. For he speaks to all he has chosen in his eternal Word: 'This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased.' For you must know that the Father with the Son and the Son with the Father have taken eternal pleasure in that the Son should assume our humanity and die and bring all the chosen back to their beginning. And therefore, when we are elevated into our origin by the Son, we hear the voice of the Father that draws us in and enlightens us with truth eternal.¹⁴

¹⁴ "Ende hier omme, alse wij gheclommen sijn met Jhesumme opden berch onser onghеbeeltheit, eest dat wij hem dan na volghen met eenvoldighen ghesichte, met inneghen behagene, met ghebrukelijcker neyghinghen, soe ghevoelen wij de sterke hitte des heilichs gheests, die ons verberren ende versmelten doet tot in die eenicheit gods. Want daer wij een met den sone gods minlijc wederboecht sijn in onse beghin, daer horen wij des vaders stemme, die ons intreckende gherijnt. Want hi spreect alle sine vercorne in sinen ewighen woorde: "Dit es mijn lieve sone inden welcken ic my met behaghede." Want ghi zult weten dat die vader met den sone, ende die sone met den vader hebben gheoeffent een ewich behaghen van dien dat die sone onse menscheyt aen nemen soude, ende sterven soude, ende alle die vercorne wederbringen soude in haer beghin. Ende hier omme, eest dat wij overmids den sone verheven werden in onsen oerspronc, so horen wij die intreckende stemme des

It is of course very suggestive that Ruusbroec states that we hear the voice of the Father, who expresses exactly the same as what he expressed with regard to his Only-Begotten Son at the moment of his baptism in the river Jordan (Mt 3, 17), or on the occasion of his transfiguration on mount Thabor (Mt 17, 5). Since 'being the beloved Son of the Father' is precisely the identity of the second person of the Trinity (e.g. Jn 5, 19-20), Ruusbroec could fully agree with Eckhart's statement that "Whatever God the Father gave to his Only-Begotten Son in human nature, he gave all this to me."

And after all, this is not so surprising. There is a long theological tradition which holds the same conviction. One example is the immensely popular eleventh century *Confessio theologica* by John of Fécamp (Johannes Fiscanensis), which states that since Christ has assumed our humanity, and has ascended into heaven, we human persons are seated at the right hand of the Father :

In Christ as a human person, there is a part of each one of us, our blood and flesh. Where a part of me reigns, there I believe me to reign ; where my blood governs, I experience me to govern. Where my flesh is glorified, I know me to be glorified.¹⁵

At a certain moment in the history of medieval thought, the reflection on our divinisation in Christ focused on how one should understand Christ's prayer in the Gospel of John : "that they may be one just as we are one" (Jn 17, 22). As we shall see, the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) seems to emphasise an essential distinction in the relationships between the Father and the Son on the one hand, and between the Father and the disciples on the other. But when we consider how

vaders die ons verlaert met eewigher waerheit", Jan van Ruusbroec, *Vanden blinkenden steen*, ed. by H. Noë, Turnhout, 1991 (CCCM, 110), p. 177.

¹⁵ "Est enim in illo Christo homine uniuscuiusque nostrum et portio et sanguis et caro. Ubi ergo portio mea regnet, regnare me credo. Ubi sanguis meus dominetur, dominari me sentio. Ubi caro mea glorificatur, gloriosum me esse cognosco. Quamvis peccator sim, de hac tamen communione gratiae non diffido. Et si peccata me prohibent, substantia me requirit ; et si delicta propria me excludunt, naturae communio non repellit", J. LECLERCQ & J.-P. BONNES, *Un maître de la vie spirituelle au x^e siècle : Jean de Fécamp*, Paris, 1946 (Études de théologie et d'histoire de la spiritualité, 9), p. 128.

Ruusbroec understands Christ's prayer, it becomes clear that his concern is rather to emphasise the full communion with Christ. In his *Little book of enlightenment*, he states:

Then Christ further prayed the highest prayer: that all his beloved should be brought to perfect unity, even as he (= Christ) is one with the Father.¹⁶

This should be understood as a complete equality with Christ, as Ruusbroec adds:

As one and in the same unity where he (= Christ) is, without distinction: one enjoyment and one beatitude with the Father in essential love.¹⁷

In other words, there is no qualitative difference between the mutual love of the Father and his Only-begotten Son on the one hand, and that of the Father and every good person on the other hand.

c. Union with Christ but not sameness with Christ

In a second step, we must appreciate that Ruusbroec carefully avoids the idea of the identity of a human person with the Only-Begotten Son. According to him, full life-communion with Christ should not be understood as coinciding with Christ. In this respect, Ruusbroec distances himself from some Eckhartian expressions. The *Votum* reports a sentence in which Eckhart supposedly claimed that "the good person is the Only-Begotten Son of God" (*quod bonus homo est unigenitus filius dei*).¹⁸ Eckhart admitted that this sentence sounds wrong (*erroneos sicut sonant*). He did not want to imply an identity with Christ. Yet, his words could have been misread in that sense.

¹⁶ "Voert so bat Cristus die hoechste bede, dat es, dat alle sine geminde volbracht worden in een, alsoe als hi een es met den vader", Jan van Ruusbroec, *Boecksken der verclaeringhe*, ed. by G. DE BAERE, Turnhout, 1981 (CCCM, 101), p. 151

¹⁷ "Alsoe een ende in der selver enechheit daer hi sonder onderscheet een ghebruken ende ene salecheit es met den vader in weseleker minnen", *ibid.*, p. 153.

¹⁸ LW, p. 580.

In order to avoid similar misunderstandings, Ruusbroec repeatedly insists that the creature cannot become God (the creator). For example, in the passage from the *Little book of enlightenment* quoted above, in which Ruusbroec explicitly states that there is no distinction between the unity of Christ with the Father and that of Christ's beloved ones with the Father, he adds: "not as one as he is one single substance of divinity with the Father, which is impossible for us."¹⁹

Again, Ruusbroec's position is not surprising. There is a long theological tradition in the Medieval Latin Church which holds the same conviction. This line of thought can also be found in a sentence from the Fourth Lateran Council, where it states:

When [Christ] prays to his Father in favour of his disciples with the words 'I want that they would be one in us, just as we are one,' the word 'one' is to be understood with regard to the disciples as a union of love in grace, but with regard to the divine persons as a unity of identity in nature.²⁰

There can be no doubt that Ruusbroec would have agreed with this.

d. Union with Christ as the Eternal Coming of Christ in the Human Reality

Third, we must examine how Ruusbroec combines these two seemingly contradictory positions. On the one hand, he intended to affirm the full and complete communion with Christ, especially in the relationship with the Father, a sonship which is in no way lesser to that of the Only-begotten Son. On the other hand, he intended to ensure that this does not imply an identity with Christ. He does not limit himself

¹⁹ "Niet alsoe een alse hi es met den vader ene enege substantie der godheit, want dat es ons onmoghelec", *Boecksen der verclaeringhe* (CCCM, 101), p. 151.

²⁰ "(...) cum vero Veritas pro fidelibus suis ait ad patrem, Volo (inquens) ut ipsi sint unum in nobis, sicut et nos unum sumus, hoc nomen 'unum' pro fidelibus quidem accipitur, ut intelligatur unio caritatis in gratia, pro personis vero divinis, ut attendatur identitatis unitas in natura", *Enchiridion symbolorum definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, ed. by H. DENZINGER & A. SCHÖNMETZER, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1976, p. 262, no. 806.

to simply quoting the formula that 'Christ is son by nature and we are sons by grace', but instead presents a detailed analysis.

We will focus now on Ruusbroec's *Spiritual Espousals*, and more specifically on the final part. It is here that he describes how Christ becomes present in the being of a 'lover of God', in his or her *wesen*.

Following an ancient spiritual-theological tradition, Ruusbroec distinguishes three domains within the human person. First, the domain of the bodily faculties (i.e. the five senses), then the domain of the higher faculties (intelligence, will and memory) and third, the deepest dimension, namely the fact that the human person exists, as a creature, and therefore "hangs in God," and cannot exist without this continuous contact with the Creator. Ruusbroec calls this the *wesen*, which is translated rather awkwardly as *essentia* or *essence*, though it is more closely related to "existence" (to be, to exist) than to "essence." This *wesen* is simultaneously passive – because it *receives* existence continuously from the Creator – and the source of all activity (bodily and spiritual). Since God is the creating source of the *wesen*, He is "deeper" or, in Ruusbroec's words, "higher" than the *wesen*. Therefore, God's life is the *overwesen* ("supra-essence," i.e. that which remains beyond the "essence") for the human person.

Ruusbroec indicates that the human person can perceive the coming of Christ in the present *indirectly*, through his gifts – a coming in which Christ is incognito. But on the deepest level, Ruusbroec describes how *Christ himself* comes present, and how the human person experiences this. Let us examine two passages in which he describes this in detail.

First, Ruusbroec indicates the specific circumstances:

In the abyss of this darkness in which the loving spirit has died to itself, there begins the revelation of God and eternal life. For in this darkness there shines and is born an incomprehensible light which is the Son of God, in whom one contemplates eternal life. And in this light one becomes seeing. And this divine light is granted in the simple being of the spirit, where the spirit receives the brightness – which is God Himself – above all gifts and above all creaturely activity, in the empty

void of the spirit in which it has lost itself through enjoyable love and receives the brightness of God without intermediary. And without cease, it becomes the very brightness which it receives. See, this hidden brightness in which one contemplates everything that one desires according to the mode of emptiness of spirit, this brightness is so great that the loving contemplative neither sees nor feels anything in his ground in which he rests except an incomprehensible light. And according to the simple bareness which encompasses all things, he finds and feels himself to be that very light by which he sees, and nothing else.²¹

The key phrase in this passage is an obvious reference to the prologue of St John's Gospel: "For in this darkness there shines and is born an incomprehensible light which is the Son of God, in whom one contemplates eternal life".²²

From the very beginning, Ruusbroec indicates how he understands the "darkness." He clearly does not interpret it as the darkness of sin. He understands it as the *wesen* of the human person, "the simple being of the spirit". From the point of view of reason, this *wesen* can be called a darkness

²¹ "[H]i moet hem selven verloren hebben in een onwise ende in een duysternisse daer alle scouwende menschen ghebrukelijcke in verdoelt sijn, ende hem selven nemmermeer creatuerlijcker wijs en connen vinden. Inden afront deser duysternissen, daer de minnende gheest sijns selfs in ghestorven es, daer beghint die openbaringhe Gods ende dat ewige leven. Want in dier duysternissen schijnt ende werdet gheboren een ombegripelijc licht, dat es de sone gods, daermen in scouwet ewich leven. Ende in desen lichte wertmen siende. Ende dit godlicke licht wert ghegheven inden eenvuldighen sine des gheests, daer de gheest die claerheit – die god selve es – ontfteet boven alle gaven ende boven creatuerlijc werk, in die ledighe idelheit des gheests daer hi overmids ghebrukelijcke minne hem selven in verloren hevet ende ontfteet die claerheit gods sonder middel. Ende hi wert die claerheit selve sonder onderlaet die hi ontfteet. Siet, dese verborghene claerheit daermen al in scouwet diesmen beghert na wise des gheests ledicheit, dese claerheit es alsoe groot dat de minnende scouwere in sinen gronde, daer hi in rast, niet en siet noch en ghevoelt dan een ombegripelijc licht. Ende nader eenvuldigher bloetheit die alle dinc beveet, soe vint hi hem ende ghevoelt dat selve licht daer hi met siet, ende niet anders. Ende hier met hebdi dat eerste poent hoemen siende wert in godlijcken lichte. Salich sijn die oghen die aldus siende sijn, want si besitten dat ewich leven," Jan van Ruusbroec, *Die geestelike brulocht*, ed. by J. ALAERTS (CCCM, 103), pp. 581-583.

²² Cf. Jo 1, 5.

– not because it is irrational, but rather because it is the foundation of reason itself, the foundation of the knowing human person. Moreover, this is also a “darkness” because here “the loving spirit has died to itself”, that is, has lost itself in love; has given itself completely to the beloved Other.

According to Ruusbroec, it is at this precise moment, in the total self-gift of a person, that the birth of the Son of God occurs. God’s light is born, and the human person is able to see. Moreover, he receives such an excessive light that he does not see anything except this light. Further still, Ruusbroec continues, “without cease, [the spirit] becomes the very brightness which it receives... He finds and feels himself to be that very light by which he sees, and nothing else”. Thus, Ruusbroec states that the contemplative receives the awareness that in the ground of his existence (*wesen*), Christ, the Son of God, is shining in such a way that the contemplative himself becomes that light – which means that he himself becomes the son of God.²³

To appreciate fully what Ruusbroec means by this, we must keep two things in mind. First, it is important to note that Ruusbroec occasionally uses the metaphors of light in the air or iron in a fire to illustrate his position. In these metaphors, the air is so penetrated by the light (or the iron so penetrated by the fire) that the air can be said to be light, or the iron can be said to be fire. Nevertheless, they do not cease to be of a different category. Therefore, the indwelling or interpenetration does not result in fusion. This imagery is intended to clarify that this most intimate, inner presence of the one *in* the other, respects the complete alterity of the two.

The second crucial point for a proper understanding of Ruusbroec concerns the *coming* of Christ in the human person. This should not be understood as Christ’s presence “by nature”, but as a constantly renewed initiative:

When we have become thus seeing, then we can contemplate, in joy, the eternal coming of our Bridegroom, which is the second point about which we are going to speak. Now what

²³ Cf. the extensive explorations of this theme in Ruusbroec’s *Sparkling Stone*.

is the coming of our Bridegroom which is eternal? It is a new birth and a new enlightenment without cease. For the ground out of which the brightness shines, and which is the brightness itself, is living and fruitful. And therefore, the revelation of the eternal light is renewed without cease in the hiddenness of the spirit. See, all creaturely activity and all practice of virtues must fail here, for here (what) God works is nothing but Himself in the highest nobility of the spirit. And here there is nothing but an eternal contemplation and gazing at the light with the light and in the light. And the coming of the Bridegroom is so rapid that He is always having come and (is) indwelling with fathomless riches, and (that He) is coming anew personally, without cease, with such new brightness just as though He had never come before. But his coming consists in an eternal now, without time, which is always received with new lust and in new joy. Behold, the bliss and the joy which this Bridegroom brings in His coming are fathomless and incommensurable, for He Himself is that (bliss and joy).²⁴

²⁴ "Also wij aldus siende zijn worden, soe moghen wij in vrouwen scouwen die eeuwiche toecomst ons brudegoms, dat dat ander poent es daer wij af spreken willen. Welc es nu die toecomst ons brudegoms die ewich es? Dats die nuwe ghehort ende een nuwe verclaren sonder onderlaet. Want die gront daer die clærheit ute schijnt ende die de clærheit selve es, hi es levende ende vruchtbaer. Ende hier omme wert die oppenbaringhe des ewichs lichts sonder onderlaet vernuwet in die verburghenheit des gheests. Siet, alle creatuerlijcke werke ende alle oefeninghe der duechde moet hier onder bliven, want hier werket god hem selven alleene indie hoochste edelheit des gheests. Ende hier en es anders niet dan een ewich scouwen ende staren dat licht metten lichte ende inden lichte. Ende die toecomst des brudegoms es also snel, dat hi altoes comen es ende in blivende met grondeloser rijcheit; ende persoonlijc, sonder onderlaet, nuwe met alsulcker nuwer clærheit comende es, rechte ochte hi vore nie comen en ware. Want zijn comen bestaat, sonder tijt, in eenen ewighen nu, dat altoes in nuwer ghelost ende in nuwer vrouwen wert ontfæen. Siet, de welde ende die vroude die dese brudegom brinct in sire toecomst die es grondeloes ende onghemeten, want hi eest selve. Ende hier omme zijn die oghen des gheests, daer hi met scouwet ende anestaert sinen brudegom, soe wide ontploken datse nummermeer en werden gheloken. Want staren ende scouwen des gheests blivet ewich in die verborghene oppenbaringhe gods, ende dat begrijp des gheests es soe wide ontploken jeghen die toecomst des brudegoms, dat die gheest selve die wijtheit worden es die hi begrijpt. Ende aldus wert god met gode begrepen ende ghesien, daer alle onse zalicheit in gheleghet. Dit es dat ander poent, hoe wij die eeuwiche toecomst ons brudegoms in onsen gheeste sonder onderlaet ontfæen", *Die geestelike brulocht* (CCCM, 103), pp. 583-585.

What is revealed to the contemplative in and by the light? "The eternal coming of our Bridegroom", Ruusbroec states, "a new birth and a new enlightenment without cease".

In the first passage, Ruusbroec explicitly indicates that the human person is taken up in the life of the Son, in such a way that the person himself becomes the light that shines through. In the second passage he provides an important clarifying addition. Indeed, one might be inclined to think that, by the transformation that takes place through the birth of the light, the human person becomes this light – once and for all. However, this interpretation overlooks the most beautiful and joyful aspect, namely that this light is *given* continuously. The human person sees the light coming towards him, and perceives that it is generated by a source which is different from his own "highest nobility of the spirit". Thus, this perception implies the awareness that, in the highest nobility of the spirit, Another is actively present, continuously *giving* himself. The Other is giving himself in love, again and again. This, precisely, is what explains the ceaseless amazement and joy in the one who experiences it. If the transformation were to cause an ontological change in the human person – who would then become so divinised that he would be God once and for all, resting in himself – there would be an end to the joy, the amazement and the contemplation.

In order to understand Ruusbroec's nuanced position – similar and yet different from Eckhart's – we must examine three elements. First, Ruusbroec affirms the full and complete communion with Christ, especially in the relationship with the Father, a sonship which is in no way inferior to that of the Only-Begotten Son. Since he describes how Christ himself is born in the simple being of the spirit, the connection between the Only-Begotten Son and the human person appears to be located on the most fundamental ontological level, namely that of being. When Ruusbroec says that "the spirit becomes the very brightness which it receives," his position is very similar to what Eckhart states in this regard: "Where the Father gives birth to his son in me, I am the same son, and not another; we are another as to the human reality, but there

I am the same son and not another.’²⁵ This view of a total life-communion with Christ is not necessarily at odds with what the Fourth Lateran Council promulgated. The council made a distinction between the loving union with the Father by nature and that by grace. But there is no reason to suppose that the effect of grace would be inferior to that of nature.

Second, Ruusbroec’s description shows that this does not imply an identity with Christ. Metaphors such as that of “Christ being born,” or of “the light that shines” suggest a dynamic move from the Only-Begotten Son towards the human person. Expressions such as “the eternal coming” or “a new birth and a new enlightenment without cease” emphasise that this is never accomplished once and for all. If, at a certain moment, the light would cease to shine in the being of the spirit, the spirit would immediately cease to be that brightness which it receives.

Third and last, the basis of Ruusbroec’s description is, in fact, an analysis of being. Eckhart said *ich bin der selbe sun*, and Ruusbroec analyses the content of the word *bin*. In Ruusbroec’s thought, being is the locus of a fundamental relationship. The human person can become aware of this coming of Christ in his/her innermost being, namely while being lost in love. This is not a coincidence. According to Ruusbroec, “being,” *esse*, is fundamentally *esse ad alium*, i.e. mutual indwelling. The relational structure of being is correlative to the fact that “being” is an act, done by Another, namely the Giver and Source of being. It is not a natural emanation from the First Principle, it is an act of love.

2. Union and Distinction in the Sixteenth-Century Arnhem Mystical Sermons

Ruusbroec’s texts were widely read in the Low Countries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The *Arnhem Mystical*

²⁵ “Dâ der vader sînen sun in mir gebirt, dâ bin ich der selbe sun und nicht ein ander; wir sîn wol ein ander an menscheit, aber dâ bin ich der selbe sun und nicht ein ander”, DW I, pp. 72-73.

Sermons (hereafter *AMS*²⁶) is one text in which, in one of the sermons, the author has integrated a part of Ruusbroec's *Spiritual Espousals*.²⁷ The *AMS* consists in a Middle Dutch collection of sermon that was copied at the canonesses of the Saint Agnes monastery in Arnhem. This monastery had its origins in the movement of the Modern Devotion at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and adopted the rule of St Augustine in 1459.²⁸ The *AMS* were written between approximately 1525 and 1580 and they were handed down completely anonymously.²⁹ The collection, which was copied in St. Agnes in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, consists of 162 sermons for the whole liturgical year, for both the Cycle of Seasons and the Cycle of Saints. From what remained of St. Agnes's Library, we can deduce that the convent possessed a good number of mystical texts, including fourteenth century mystics such as Eckhart and especially Ruusbroec,³⁰ and fifteenth century mystics such as Herp and Mande.³¹

²⁶ This collection is currently kept in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (National Library of the Netherlands), The Hague, ms. 133 H 13. A description is available in M. SHERWOOD-SMITH and P. STOOP, *Repertorium van Middelnederlandse preken in handschriften tot en met 1550* / *Repertorium of Middle Dutch Sermons preserved in manuscripts from before 1550*, vol. 2, Leuven, 2003, pp. 1079-1157.

²⁷ *AMS*, Sermon 111 (*Dominica 7 post Trinitatem*) is clearly based on the part of the second book of Ruusbroec's *Spiritual Espousals* which is about the seven inner gifts of the Spirit. The parallel text is found in part B of JAN VAN RUUSBROEC, *Opera Omnia 3: Die geestelike brulocht* / *The Spiritual Espousals*, ed. by J. ALAERTS, Tiel and Turnhout, 1988 (CCCM, 103). The Middle Dutch text that corresponds with the *AMS* goes from p. 491 (line b1818) till p. 525 (line b2157); the English translation goes from p. 490 (line b1565) till p. 524 (line b1857).

²⁸ K. SCHEPERS, "Het verborgen leven van de zusters Agnieten. Mystieke cultuur te Arnhem in de zestiende eeuw," *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 79, 3 (2008), pp. 287-288.

²⁹ For more details on dating the manuscript, see K. SCHEPERS, "De historische verankering van het *Sanctorale* in de *Arnhemse Mystieke Preken*," *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 81, 1 (2010), pp. 65-84.

³⁰ The most up to date list of manuscripts from the St. Agnes library can be found in: SCHEPERS, "Het verborgen leven van de zusters Agnieten," pp. 309-312. The four manuscripts containing texts of Ruusbroec are: 1. Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 2412-2413, containing *A Mirror of Eternal Blessedness* and *Little Book of Enlightenment*; 2. Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 14716, containing *The Mirror of Eternal Blessedness*; 3. *Olim* Gaesdonck, Col-

The Christological dimension of the mystical union in the *AMS* will be investigated through an analysis of sermon 97, written for the occasion of Christ's Ascension, since the sermon thematises both the mystical union and Christ's uniqueness. The Ascension sermon is structured as a mystical commentary on both the Gospel reading of that day, Mk 16, 14-20, which describes Christ's Ascension as seen by Jesus' disciples, and the Epistle reading from Eph 4, 7-13, which elaborates on Christ's Ascension and the consequent gifts for believers. In line with the fourfold sense of Scripture, the Scriptural readings are applied to the relationship between the loving soul and God. This section analyses three key concepts of this sermon, namely anthropology, union with God in Christ, and Christ's uniqueness.

a. The Human Person as God's Heaven

The author of the *AMS* outlines the mutual indwelling of God and man in a commentary on Mk 16, 19, "And after the Lord Jesus had spoken to them, He was taken up into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God,"³² says Marc."³³ The author applies the concept of heaven to the human soul: "O, all you just, God-loving souls, who more truly and more appropriately are God's heaven than the heaven Empireo. That one was created by God's might and made as His seat and chair, but you are made by Him in His image and likeness, to

legium Augustinianum, ms. 16, containing *The Seven Rungs* (edited version); 4. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 2692 (olim Gaesdonck ms. 62), containing *The First Letter* and *The Seven Enclosures*. The manuscript that contains some sermons from Eckhart is *Olim Gaesdonck, Collegium Augustinianum*, ms. 16. It contains for example the sermons *Intravit Iesus in quoddam castellum* and *Beati pauperes spiritu*. See R. A. UBBINK, *De receptie van Meister Eckhart in de Nederlanden gedurende de Middeleeuwen. Een studie op basis van middelnederlandse handschriften*, Amsterdam, 1978, p. 15.

³¹ The list of remaining manuscripts from the St. Agnes's library is listed in SCHEPERS, "Het verborgen leven van de zusters Agnieten," pp. 309-312.

³² Cf. Mk 16, 19.

³³ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 211ra: "Ende nae dat die here Jhesus haer toegesproken heeft, is hi opgenomen inden hemel ende sit ter rechterhand gods, seit Marcus."

not only be His abode, but His essential enjoyment.”³⁴ The loving soul is called the true heaven of God, because she is created in God’s image and likeness and He dwells in her, and, moreover, she is created to be enjoyed by God. God is thus not only transcendent but also immanent in His created human persons.

In this Ascension sermon, the author does not only refer to the human person as God’s heaven, but also to God as the heaven for humans. The author explains how Christ ascends in the person as His heaven, and the human person ascends with and in Christ to the heaven, which is into His unity with the Father, as will be elaborated on later in this article. The mutuality of heaven is summarised as follows: “But how He shall now ascend in us, and we in Him, above all in the heaven of heavens [...]?”³⁵ Thus, the author applies the concept of ascension into heaven as Christ ascending in us and we in Him, thus pointing to the concept of a mutual heaven. Though the metaphor of the soul as God’s heaven has been used by various Christian authors, the author of the *AMS* might have been influenced by William of Saint Thierry regarding the concept of a mutual heaven. He wrote in his *Meditations* that “because you live in us, we are your heaven and enjoyment [...]. Thus our [heaven], as I see it, is in you, and your indwelling in us is our heaven.”³⁶ For him, the heaven of the human person is in God and God’s heaven is in humans, an interpretation which is similar to the *AMS*.

In the *AMS*, the ontological condition of God’s indwelling in the heaven of the soul functions as the foundation for the

³⁴ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 211ra-211rb: “O du alle rechtverdige, godmynnende zielen, die daer waerlicker ende eygentlicker den hemel gods biste dan den hemel Emphireo, welck van gods moegentheit geschapen ende gemaect is tot sijnen setel ende stoel, mer du biste van hem gemaect nae sijn eygen beelde ende gelickenisse om nyet alleen te wesen sijn woeninge, mer sijn weselick gebruck.”

³⁵ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 214ra: “Mer hoe hi nu in ons ende wi in hem opvaren sullen aver all inden hemel der hemelen [...]”

³⁶ “[...] Cum autem nos inhabitas, caelum tuum sumus utique [...]. Nostra ergo, ut video, in te, vel tue in nobis habitation nobis caelum est.” Guillelmus a Sancto Theodorico, *Opera Omnia*, IV, *Meditationes Devotissimae*, ed. by P. Verdeyen, Turnhout, 2005 (*CCCM*, 89), p. 36.

exhortation to enter into full dwelling within God, namely to being God's "essential enjoyment:" "Now, observe in the bottomless annihilation and sinking away from yourself how Jesus Christ, who once ascended above all heavens, wants to ascend today into the heaven of your spirit."³⁷ Thus, in order to be filled with Christ and to be taken up with Him into the heaven of the life of the Trinity, the human person has to become detached from self and attached to Christ, "until His power makes the prison of your nature a captive, and releases you from the hell of your selfishness, and ascends with you in His essential unity."³⁸ The soul that sinks away into Christ is transformed by Him and taken up with Him into His unity with the Father and the Spirit.

b. The Human Person United With Christ

The author of the *AMS* expands on the union between the human person and Christ, elaborating on how in Christ human nature can be joined with Divine nature. Just as Christ descended from heaven towards humankind by entering into Mary, who is a human person, so, in the same way, Christ "could not return to His Father in the Divinity other than through us all, yes, in us and with us all He had to come."³⁹ Thus, human persons can be taken up into the heaven of God's enjoyment in Christ, because He came down to earth to take them along with Him. This ascension requires that the human person participates in Christ's holiness. As long as humans are not fully Christ-like, they hinder Christ through sins: "For as long as He had not yet made us in Him perfect like Him, in the least and in the most, we hindered Him on his way with intermediaries. But when He saw us completely

³⁷ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 211rb: "Eya, neemt waer in dat grondeloese vernyetende ontsynken uws selues hoe dat Jhesus Christus die eens opgevaren is baven allen hemelen, huden in u opvaren wil inden hemel uws geestes."

³⁸ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 211va: "tot dat sijn moegentheit die gevanckenisse uwer nature ten gevangen neemt in hem ende verlost u uutter hellen uwer eygentheit, ende vaert mit u op in sijn weselicke eenheit."

³⁹ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 211vb: "hi [...] en cost nyet weder coemen tot sijnen vader inder godheit dan doer ons allen, ya in ons ende mit ons allen most hij coemen."

bright and united in Him, He ascended in, through and with us, that is, in our own nature [...].”⁴⁰ Thus, full communion with Christ is explained as being divinised and perfected in Him. The human person and Christ are then fully united and thus the human person participates in Christ’s perfection. Then Christ ascends through, in and with the human person to God. However, although the author of the *AMS* holds to a full union with Christ, the reference to the indwelling of Christ in the human person prevents any interpretation that would blur the boundaries between Christ and the human person, such as an ontological fusion or the denial of Christ’s unique position. Being “united in Him”, in Christ, presupposes His everlasting mediation in the human person’s relationship to the Father.

The distinction between Christ and the human person is also noticeable in the fact that the *AMS* do not use ‘without distinction’ when referring to the union between Christ and the human person. The author of the *AMS* does not strictly avoid this term, for it is used in some other sermons.⁴¹ In those places, however, it refers to the soul’s union with the Trinity, which is there experienced as a union without distinction. It may be due to precaution that the author of the *AMS* did not use the expression unity without distinction when referring to Christ in the same way as Eckhart did in his condemned statements, especially article 10. The author of the *AMS* emphasises the indwelling in Christ as the basis for sharing in His unity with the Divinity. Thus, human persons are sons in the Son, which is traditionally expressed with the phrase *fili in Filio*.⁴² Christ came down while remaining united with the Father and the Spirit, and, likewise, He

⁴⁰ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 212ra: “Want soe lange hi ons noch niet int alre mynste ende meeste in hem gelick hem volmaect en had, soe hielden wi hem tegen recht als mit myddelen geschutte in sijnen wech. Mer doe hi ons altemael claer ende in hem geenicht sach, doe voer hi in ons, doer ons ende mit ons, dats in onse eygen natuer, op mit alre macht tot in die hoecheit der hemelen, daer onse geschapen natuer nye had geweest.”

⁴¹ Both sermon 23 and 45 refer to the union without distinction.

⁴² The expression *fili in Filio* was already very commonly used in the Patristic Period, based on the biblical letters of Paul and John. For an extensive overview of this expression, see Mersch’s chapter on *fili in Filio*, in

ascends with us towards the Father and the Spirit: "For He [Christ] who did neither come to us or is in us without the guidance of His Fatherly Power nor without their common burning Love of the Spirit, was not received without special glory and triumph, together with us all."⁴³ Thus, in Christ, the human person ascends into the heavenly unity of Father and Son with the Spirit as their mutual Love.

The author of the *AMS* expands here on the love-dynamic between Father and Son, in which the human person is taken up in Christ. He/she describes how the Father and the Son approach each other after Christ's Ascension: "The invisible, eternal, all-powerful, immovable Father in the Godhead approached His Blessed Son [...] and the Son approached his blessed Father in the Godhead with an ineffable reverence and honour, with a fathomless inclination and bowing, with an immeasurable, uncountable host of His beloved saints [...]"⁴⁴ Both go out to encounter the other in such a way that they "incline themselves and dedicate themselves completely with an incomprehensible reverence and kissing as a melting into each other, so that they become what they were: a supernatural, single One."⁴⁵ Thus, Christ's Ascension reaffirmed the everlasting love-bond between the Father and the Son. The Trinity is oneness, but at the same time the otherness, the threeness, remains. The author of the *AMS* describes how the Father and the Son become one in love, without becoming a fused identity. The oneness consists in a mutual embrace:

É. MERSCH, *La théologie du corps mystique*, vol. II, Paris and Bruxelles, 1944 (Museum Lessianum, Section théologique, 39), pp. 9-68.

⁴³ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 212rb: "Want hi die nyet en is gecoemen sonder dat geleyde sijnre vaderlicker moegentheit ende sonder hoere beyder mynnenbrant des geestes tot ons ende in ons, die en is oeck nyet sonder sunderlinge glorie ende tryumphyringe ontfangen mit ons allen."

⁴⁴ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 212vb-213ra: "Die onsichlicke, ewige, almoe-gende, onbewegelicke vader inder godheit trat sijnen gebenediden soen tegen mit een onbegripelick, heerlick gewalt alder hemelscher schaeren, ende die soen quam mit een ongemeten, ontellicke schaer sijnre liever heiligen [...] mit die onuutsprekelicker reverentien ende eren, mit ongrondierlicken nijgen ende buygen sijnen gebenediden vader inder godheit tegen."

⁴⁵ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 213rb: "[...] sich neychden ende te mael toevoechden mit een onbegripelicke verweedinge ende cussinge als ineensmeltinge, soe dat se worden als se waren: een avernatuerlick, enich een."

In this incomprehensible working of the Father and the Son – namely in their mutual approach, inclination, and bowing, and in their loving reverence towards the other, and in the blessing, embrace and kissing, and in the supernatural becoming one, so that the Father gave all His power in its splendour to His Son – the Holy Spirit made such a sweet, incomprehensible, divine melody within the Holy Trinity [...].⁴⁶

Although no direct textual parallels have been found, this Trinitarian mysticism is very similar to Ruusbroec's mysticism, whereas the description of passionate love resembles the commentaries on the Song of Songs by Bernard of Clairvaux and William of Saint Thierry.

In, with, and through Christ, who has both human and divine nature, the human person ascends with Him to the heaven and shares in His unity with the Father and the Spirit: "Thus, in our nature, substance and form, He ascended above all, and He gave gifts to the people, namely the unity of His Divinity and humanity."⁴⁷ The fact that Christ shares the gift of His Divinity, which is the unity with the Father and Spirit, with other human persons shows that the human person can be in full communion with God without being equal to Christ, because Christ is the Mediator. Thus, the human person's union with the Father is not the same as the aforementioned Son's unity, which is a "supernatural becoming one."⁴⁸ In the next paragraph, the author of the *AMS* explains how Christ and the human person ascend within each other:

⁴⁶ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 213rb-va: "In dese onbegripelicke werckinge des vaders ende des soens – als in die te samen tegentredinge, nijginge ende buyginge, ende in hoer mynlicker reverentie tegen den anderen, ende in die benedijnghe, omhelsinghe ende cussinge, ende in die avertuerlicke eenwerdige, soe dat die vader den soen al sijn gewalt in sijnre heerlicheit gaf – maecten die heilige geest alsulken zueten, onbegripelicken, godlicken melodijnghe inder heiliger drievoldicheit [...]."

⁴⁷ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 214ra: "Dus is hi in onse natuer, substantie ende form opgevaren aver all, ende heeft die menschen gegeven gaven, dats die eenheit sijnre godheit ende mensheit."

⁴⁸ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 213rb: "avertuerlicke eenwerdige."

But, how will He now ascend in us, and we in Him, above all in the heaven of heavens? That happens [...] by the re-presentation and re-demonstration in an eternal newness of all Christ's holy exercises and miraculous works which He ever performed and suffered in human nature, for humankind's blessedness. Behold, through its re-presentation Christ ascends constantly with an eternal newness in us and we in Him, so that the created mind or memory of Christ's divine soul there re-commemorates now the works for our blessedness, to His Father's honour and the glory and joy of Himself, while constantly observing, knowing and loving [these works], as if they happen anew for the first time. [...]⁴⁹

Christ's ascension in the human person occurs through the making present anew of Christ's holy life, "all Christ's holy exercises and miraculous works which He ever performed and suffered in human nature."⁵⁰ The author expresses that Christ ascends within the human person who is alike to Him. This is related to what the author expressed earlier in the sermon, namely "But when He saw us completely bright and united in Him, He ascended in, through and with us, that is in our nature [...]"⁵¹ This explains that Christ ascends in a human person who has become Christ-like and no longer inhibits Christ's ascension with sins. It is remarkable that the author defines this process with the words re-presentation, re-demonstration, and re-memorisation, words that are very

⁴⁹ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 214ra-214va: "Mer hoe hi nu in ons ende wi in hem opvaren sullen aver all inden hemel der hemelen, dat geschiet [...] doer die representieringe ende wedertoeninge in een ewige nijiheit alle die heilige oeffeningen ende wonderlicke werken Christi, die hi in menschelicker natueren ye om der menschen selicheit gewracht ende geleden heeft, siet, doer die wedertoeninge soe opvaert Christus stadelick mit een ewige nijiheit in ons op ende wi in hem, soe dat dat geschapen gemoede of gehoechenisse der godlicker zielen Christi die werken onser selicheit tot sijns vaders lof ende sijns selves glorie ende vroude daer nu alsoe weder gedenckt mit een stadich aensien, bekenninge ende mynne, recht of se nijes noch yerst geschieden."

⁵⁰ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 214rb: "alle die heilige oeffeningen ende wonderlicke werken Christi, die hi in menschelicker natueren ye om der menschen selicheit gewracht ende geleden heeft."

⁵¹ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 212ra: "Mer doe hi ons altemael claer ende in hem geenicht sach, doe voer hi in ons, doer ons ende mit ons, dats in onse eygen natuer [...]"

rare in the Middle Dutch context.⁵² The only work in which we find *representieringhe* is the Dutch translation of Gerlach Peters's Latin *Soliloquium*, and there it means the representation of Christ on the altar.⁵³ Though the author of the *AMS* regularly describes the Eucharist as transforming the human person,⁵⁴ it seems likely that in this sermon he/she is describing the union between Christ and the human person. In being united with Him, human persons are a representation and re-demonstration of Christ. The author also uses other words to express Christ's reflection in us, such as replication (*wederantwoerdinge*),⁵⁵ re-contemplation (*wederschouwen*)⁵⁶ and reflection (*wederschijn*).⁵⁷ These mean that Christ is fully reflected in the human person because He sees Himself within us. Thus, through this strong union with Christ, a human

⁵² The *AMS* is the only text containing these words in the *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*, and they are only found infrequently in the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*. They do not appear in the *Evangelical Pearl*, of which I accessed the preliminary critical edition that is being prepared by Dirk Boone.

⁵³ See *representering* in the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, which quotes a reference from the 1621 translation of Gerlach Peeters: "Op dat ghelijckerwijs die Hemelen honichbloeyende gheworden zijn door die wonderlijcke toecoemst des Woort Godts, des Bruydegoms Jesu inden vleesch: door daeghelijcxse representieringhe syns selfs op den Outaer [...]"

⁵⁴ *AMS*, Sermon 1, fol. 1vb expresses that the transformation in Christ also takes place when the person who is turned inwards receives the Eucharist: "the soul sees [...] that the Father in the Godhead comes and takes away the meekness and frailty from the body, and wants to possess it with his omnipotence and liken it to the body of his clarity, that is of his Son. And this happens truly each day in the receiving and the transformation of the holy sacrament." (*Dan siet die ziel mit die inwendige ogen hoers redelicken gemoets dat die vader inder godheit coemt ende neemt dat licham hoer oetmoedicheit ende crancheit, ende wil dat besitten mit sijnre almoegentheit ende geliject den licham sijnre claeurheit, dat is sijns soens. Ende dit geschiet waerlick alle dage in dat ontfangen ende verwandelinghe des heiligen sacraments.*)

⁵⁵ *AMS*, Sermon 111, fol. 254vb. For comparison: this word is also not found in the *Evangelical Pearl*.

⁵⁶ *AMS*, Sermon 128, fol. 287va.

⁵⁷ *AMS*, Sermon 63, fol. 121ra. The word 'reflection' is found at least three times in the *Pearl*. The first place is in Part II, chapter 25: "ende dat wij also leven, dat God een weder schijnsele aen ons vint aller zijnder wercken;" The second place is in Part II, chapter 35: "op dat ghy also een weder schijnen mocht vinden in mi al uwer wercken." The third place is in Part III, chapter 6: "so dat God in hem vinde een wederschijn al sijnre wercken."

person will reflect "Christ's holy exercises and miraculous works."⁵⁸

c. Christ's Uniqueness

After elaborating on how Christ is reflected in the human person, thus showing the similarity between Christ and the human person, he/she explicitly demonstrates how Christ and the human person differ from one another :

For therein she [Christ's soul] enjoys her own blessedness, which is the blessedness of the Divinity and all people, which He himself is according to His Divinity and humanity, which no one else can do apart from Christ's soul, which alone is united with the Eternal Word. For no one else is able to enjoy his own form for his own blessedness, and [no one else] can be the blessedness for all mankind other than Christ Jesus, our Lord, alone. And therefore, never will anyone be able to understand the ways of knowing, loving and enjoyment of Christ's soul, which she has now of herself and us in the embracement of the Divinity above us all, beyond what she herself could understand here below. For this good of which we will ever be deficient and which will ever be absent in us, is to be God and Man in one person, which no one else can be apart from the Person who is the Eternal Word, Christ Jesus. [...] But Divinity and Humanity are one Christ and one Lord, with distinction of natures. This divine person is this good of which we will ever be deficient and which must remain absent from all souls eternally, although this essential good is for every soul forever an eternal, full, enjoyable, exemplary goodness from which one will never be fully sated.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 214ra: "oeffeningen ende wonderlicke werken Christi."

⁵⁹ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 214va-215rb: "Want daer in gebruckt se hoers selves selicheit, dats die godheit ende alre menschen selicheit, dat hi nae sijn godheit ende mensheit selven is, dat nyemant doen en kan dan die ziel Christi die alleen mit dat ewige woert verenicht is. Want nyemant anders en kan sijn eygen form tot sijns selves selicheit gebrucken ende selve alre menschen selicheit wesen dan alleen Christus Jhesus, onse here. Ende daerom en sal nummermeer yemant connen begripen die manyer der bekenninge der mynnen ende der gebruckinge der zielen Christi, die se nu ende ewilick van hoer selven ende ons in die omhelsinghe der godheit hebben sal baven ons allen, meer dan se selve hier begripen conde. Want dat ontbljvende guet, dat ons ewilick

Thus, although human persons are united with Christ, He remains a unique Person, which the author finds in Christ's hypostatic union. The Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon defined this hypostatic union and declared that in Christ two natures, human and divine, are united in one person, each nature maintaining their own properties.⁶⁰ The author of the *AMS* explicitly states that Christ's hypostatic union implies that Christ is the only One who is God's Son by nature, and that no one else will ever be another Incarnated Godhead. In this way, the author unambiguously avoids a statement that could be misinterpreted as an identification between Christ and the human person. The author applies this Christology in such a way that it becomes an argument for a remaining difference between Christ and the human person in the way in which God's love is experienced. The author states that nobody can understand the way in which Christ enjoys the embrace of the Divinity and us within the Divinity, whereas Ruusbroec accentuates that everything that the Father gives to His Son is also given to all good people, and that there is thus no qualitative difference in the love of the Father towards Christ and other human persons. The author does not deny that the Father loves humans with the same love as He loves Christ, but accentuates that Christ's hypostatic union leads to a more sophisticated receptivity of that love, because He alone enjoys God, Himself, and all human persons within Himself in one embrace. The sermon connects an accentuation of the difference between Christ and the human person with

ontblijven sal, dat is te wesen god ende mensche in een persoonlicheit, welck nyemant wesen en can dan die persoene des ewigen woerts Christus Jhesus. [...] Mer godheit ende mensheit sijn mit onderscheit der natueren een Christo ende here. Dese godlicke persoonlicheit is dat ontblijvende guet dat alle zielen ewilick ontblijven moet, hoe wael dat dit weselick guet een yegelicke ziel inder ewicheit een ewich vol gebruckich, onverzadelick, voerspuelende guet is."

⁶⁰ The Council of Ephesus (431) declared the hypostatic union of the two natures, stating that Christ is God and Man in one Person; see H. DENZINGER and A. SCHÖNMETZER, *Enchiridion Symbolorum. Definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, 32nd ed., Freiburg im Breisgau, 1968, n^{os} 250-262. The Council of Chalcedon (451) declared that the human and divine natures are unmixed and unmingled in Christ. See DENZINGER and SCHÖNMETZER, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, n^o 300-302.

holding to the mystical enjoyment, by bringing the concept of mutual indwelling to the fore. Mystical enjoyment takes place within those who are lifted up to God *in* Christ: "And because only Christ's blessed soul will enjoy this essential good eternally, because of her union with the Eternal Word, therefore she constantly lovingly draws, with the Divinity's flame with which she is united, all released, loving souls into the enjoyment of the Divinity."⁶¹ Thus, the author of the *AMS* combines both Christ's unique position and the fullness of the mystical union experienced by the human person who is drawn into the life of the Trinity by Christ.

The sermon's final exhortation could be called programmatic: "May God grant us that we be assumed in the unity of his Divinity through Christ, with Christ, and in Christ, in such a way that we can never descend but in Him, through the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Amen." It reiterates the importance of Christ's mediation with a formula ("through, with and in Him") derived from the final doxology in the Eucharistic Prayer, as well as the full participation of the human person in the life of the Trinity through being united with Christ.

This accentuation of Christ's mediation can be qualified as a core theme in the *AMS*. We have seen that the author grounds the mystical ascension on the indwelling of God in the human person by describing the human person as God's heaven. This ontological reality is the foundation for an appeal to become self-detached and united with Christ, so that the human person also becomes God's enjoyment. Through a release of the self in Christ, Christ ascends in the person and lifts the person up to the love of the Trinity. The author clearly states that though Christ and the human person ascend in each other, there is no fusion of identities. In addition, the author uses Christ's hypostatic union as an argument when stating that Christ is able to experience God's love in a different way than the human person. An interesting

⁶¹ *AMS*, Sermon 97, fol. 214rb-215va: "Ende want die gebenedide ziel Christi ewilick dit weselicke guet alleen gebrucken sal vermids die eninge die se heeft mit dat ewige woert, soe treckt se sonder onderlaet mit die flame der godheit daer se mede geenicht is, myndelick tot hoer alle ontsoucken, mynende geesten in die gebruckinge der godheit [...]."

question is whether the accentuation of Christ's uniqueness influences the way in which the mystical union is qualified. A stronger emphasis on the unique position of Christ could result in the union being considered less important or less possible. A preliminary conclusion is that though there is a greater accent on Christ's mediation, the author states that in Christ the human person is participating in the love of the Trinity and thus fully appreciates the mystical tradition.

A question that arises is the reason for this emphasis on Christ's uniqueness. Is it typical for the *AMS*, or is it found in contemporaneous works? In sermon 12, the author of the *AMS* even states that the human person must be the *same* Son as Christ: "Whoever wants to know the Father must be one in the Son, yes, he must be the same Son, not by nature, but by the perfection of virtues and the holiness of his human nature by grace."⁶² It is striking that the author of the *Temple of Our Soul* (1543), a mystical treatise structured as commentaries on the Cycle of Seasons that is very similar to the *AMS*,⁶³ writes about the transformed soul that: "God gives birth to himself in the soul. [...] There, the soul is the same Son of God, whom the Father, by a gracious union, gives birth to in the soul – yet it remains a creature."⁶⁴ Both the author of the *Temple* and the author of the *AMS* are careful in their statements in order to avoid a confusion regarding the difference between Christ and the human person. Yet, it seems that the author

⁶² *AMS*, Sermon 12, fol. 22vb-23ra: "Die nu den vader kennen sal, moet inden soen een sijn, ya, die selve soen sijn, niet van natueren, mer die volmaectheit der doechden ende heilicheit sijnre menschelicker natueren van gratien. Soe mach die vader van ons als in die gelicheit ende eenheit sijns soens gesien ende bekent werden nae sijnre godlicker natueren."

⁶³ Schepers has outlined the possible links between the *AMS*, the *Temple* and the *Pearl* in SCHEPERS, "Het verborgen leven van de zusters Agnieten," pp. 296-304.

⁶⁴ "The Temple of Our Soul (extracts)," Translated by R. FAESEN, in *Late Medieval Mysticism of the Low Countries*, ed. by R. VAN NIEUWENHOVE, R. FAESEN, and H. ROLFSON, New York and Mahwah, 2008), chapter 11, p. 337. Quoted with slight adaptations, approved by the translator. In Middle Dutch: "God ghebaert hem inder sielen. [...] Daer is si die selve Sone dien die Vader gebaert, door die gracieuse vereeninghe, blivende altoes creature." See *Den tempel onser sielen. Door de schrijfster der Evangelische Peerle*, ed. by A. AMPE, Antwerpen, 1968, p. 302.

of the *AMS* states more elaborately that the human person is different from Christ. Perhaps the author of the *AMS* witnesses to the foreshadowing of the debate in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century between those who emphasised the ongoing mediation of Christ and those who one-sidedly stressed contemplation without images and mediation.⁶⁵

3. Conclusion

From this investigation, it appears that these two authors, John of Ruusbroec and the anonymous author of the *Arnhem Mystical Sermons*, treated the issue of the immediate union of the human person with God in a very nuanced, careful manner. John of Ruusbroec appears to have been acutely aware of the misunderstandings caused by a number of the expressions in Eckhart's writings. He attempted to express the same mystical-theological concern, namely that the human person lives completely in the Trinitarian life of Christ, and that there is thus no qualitative difference between the mutual love of the Father and his Only-Begotten-Son on the one hand, and every good person on the other. To Ruusbroec, this by no means implies that a fusion occurs between Christ and

⁶⁵ The late sixteenth and early seventeenth century witnessed crucial controversies about the role of Christ's humanity among, for example, the Capuchin and Carmelite orders. The Flemish Capuchins were divided between those who favoured imageless contemplation and those who encouraged seeking God through the mediation of Christ's life and passion. See P. MOMMAERS, "Union mystique et imitation de Jésus Christ. Une controverse cruciale chez les Capucins Flamands vers la fin du xvi^e siècle," in *I Francescani in Europa tra Riforma e Controriforma. Atti del XIII convegno internazionale*, Perugia, 1987, pp. 27-49. Not long after that, Anna de Jesus, the foundress of the first reformed Carmel in the Low Countries, tried to direct her novices more towards the *imitation Christi* after discovering that many advocated a mysticism without a focus on Christ: "For me it is necessary that (the novices) consider and imitate Our Lord Jesus Christ, for here they do not remember him much: it all takes place in a simple view of God. I do not know how this can be. Since the days of Saint Denys, who wrote the Mystical Theology, all have continued to apply themselves to God by suspension rather than by imitation. That is a strange way of proceeding; really, I do not understand it." Quoted from MOMMAERS' translation in P. MOMMAERS, *The Riddle of Christian Mystical Experience. The Role of the Humanity of Jesus*, Leuven, 2003, p. 97.

the person. He analyses the issue concerned in terms of the “indwelling” of Christ *in* the human person, more still, of a continuous, inner, present *coming* of Christ in the person, on the level of his/her *wesen* – which in turn implies a radically relational perspective of the *wesen*.

Two centuries later, the *Arnhem Mystical Sermons* – of which a textual dependence on the works of Ruusbroec is clearly demonstrable – treated this issue equally carefully, though with slightly different emphases. The *Arnhem Mystical Sermons* also describe deification through the indwelling of Christ in the human person, and of a full life communion with God. And yet, it is striking that the *Arnhem Mystical Sermons* indicate – briefly but significantly – that no human can have the experience of the manners of knowing, loving and enjoying Christ’s soul, precisely because of the unicity of the hypostatic union.

The above is merely a first investigation, and the topic requires further research, but these texts – which are undoubtedly part of the Christian mystical tradition, and which, moreover, treat the subjects of “deification” and “union with God” – appear to safeguard the unicity of Christ successfully, without lapsing into inconsistency.

Summary

This article presents how John of Ruusbroec and the anonymous author of the sixteenth-century *Arnhem Mystical Sermons* treated the issue of the immediate union of the human person with God. Ruusbroec attempted to express that there is no qualitative difference between the mutual love of the Father and his Only-Begotten-Son on the one hand, and every good person on the other. This by no means implies that a fusion occurs between Christ and the person, because union occurs through a continuous, inner, present *coming* of Christ in the person. The *Arnhem Mystical Sermons* treated this issue equally carefully, though with slightly different emphases. The *Arnhem Mystical Sermons* describe deification through the indwelling of Christ in the human person, but indicate as well that no human person can have the experience of the manners of knowing, loving and enjoying Christ’s soul, precisely because of the unicity of the hypostatic union.

CORPVS CHRISTIANORVM

LIBRARY & KNOWLEDGE CENTRE

The Sint-Annaconvent in the beguinage of Turnhout houses the CORPVS CHRISTIANORVM – LIBRARY & KNOWLEDGE CENTRE or CCBK (the Dutch acronym for *Corpus Christianorum – Bibliotheek en Kenniscentrum*)*. This centre manages and develops a specialized research library of over 25,000 books and current journals, primarily for the study of Christian texts from the Patristic period and the Middle Ages, transmitted in Latin and Greek. It is also a knowledge centre, where the editorial team of *Corpus Christianorum* oversees numerous projects for the editing of texts and studies on the Christian cultural heritage, and where the *Centre 'Traditio Litterarum Occidentaliū'* offers computer-assisted research into Latin language and literature.

The first *Ministerium Sermonis* colloquium which took place at Turnhout and Leuven on May 29-31, 2008, has been followed by a second one.

Ministerium Sermonis.

An International Colloquium on Saint Augustine's Sermons
on the New Testament and their Context.

On September 15-17, 2011, the research units *History of Church and Theology*, *Literary Studies: Latin Literature* and *De Wulf-Mansion Centre for Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance Philosophy* of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven organized, in collaboration with the *Augustinian Historical Institute* (Heverlee/Leuven), an international conference on Augustine's New Testament sermons and their reception. This conference, which enjoyed the support of the Scientific Committee of the *Series Latina* of the *Corpus Christianorum* (Brepols Publishers)

* CORPVS CHRISTIANORVM – LIBRARY & KNOWLEDGE CENTRE, Begijnhof 37, B-2300 Turnhout (Belgium): <http://www.corpuschristianorum.org/ccbk/ccbk.html>.

and the reviews *Revue Bénédictine* (Maredsous), *Augustiniana* (Heverlee/Leuven) and *Augustinus* (Madrid), brought together scholars who have recently made important contributions to the study of Augustine's work in general and his preaching in particular, as well as specialists in the field of homiletics and reception studies.

The conference was a sequel to the conference organised a few years ago in Leuven and Turnhout: '*Ministerium sermonis. An International Colloquium on Saint Augustine's Sermones ad Populum*' (May 30-31, 2008), the proceedings of which have been published in the series *Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia* 53 (Brepols, Turnhout 2009). While the first conference focused on Augustine's *sermones ad populum*, the 2011 conference was dedicated to Augustine's sermons on the New Testament (*sermones* and *tractatus*) and their *Wirkungsgeschichte*. The 2011 edition of *Ministerium Sermonis* took place in Rome and was graciously hosted by the *Academia Belgica* (www.academiabelgica.it), which aims to improve Italo-Belgian relations on the level of both science and culture, by housing Belgian researchers and artists and allowing them to present their accomplishments to the Italian public. As such, the *Academia* has grown into a unique platform for research, creation, cooperation and promotion in the heart of Rome.

Augustine's sermons, a part of his corpus that was previously largely neglected, have recently enjoyed a renewed scientific interest as containing important historical, philological, philosophical and theological elements which are crucial to the study of Augustine's thinking, writing, and the era in which he lived. Despite this recent rise in the study of Augustine's sermons, there are still important lacunas in this research, which concern e.g. their dating and chronology, the way in which the bishop translated his often complex theories and scriptural exegesis for an actual public, their reception in the work of medieval and later authors etc. The organizers of the conference aimed at giving systematic research on these texts a renewed impulse. Three important topics were studied in the lectures and subsequent discussions: the transmission of Augustine's sermons, Augustine's argumentation (doctrine, exegesis, and rhetoric), and the reception of Augustine's sermons on the New Testament.

The colloquium was opened by Prof. Walter Geerts on behalf of the *Academia Belgica*, who referenced the fruitful scientific rela-

tions between Belgium and Rome, Prof. Rita Beyers on behalf of *Corpus Christianorum*, who offered an overview of research on the sermons done since the first conference in 2008, and Prof. Gerd Van Riel on behalf of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, who emphasized the close interdisciplinary bonds between the three organizing faculties through their joint dedication to the study of Augustine.

Hubertus Drobner delivered the first lecture of the conference on *The transmission of Augustine's sermons. A critical assessment*. He provided a general overview of the status of current research on the transmission of the sermons with emphasis on the limits of our knowledge because of the small amount of preserved material. Prof. Drobner further focused on sermon 148 and offered a critical assessment of Lambot's localization of the sermon in a sequence based on its position in the ancient *De alleluia* collection. His concluding remarks centered on the necessity of caution when making statements on the transmission of Augustine's sermons and the relative impossibility of moving beyond the status of hypothesis.

Wim François' lecture was titled *Non habent nisi ista tria. The threefold Concupiscence according to Augustine's Second Homily on the First Epistle of John, and its Reception in the Early Modern Commentaries of J. Hessels, Cajetan, and W. Estius*. He used Augustine's concept of the three forms of concupiscence to study the knowledge his early modern subjects had of Augustine's doctrines and works and how – or more specifically – through which textual mediators, the Venerable Bede, Thomas Aquinas, but also their own early modern context and environment, their interpretations and personal opinions on the subject were colored.

Anthony Dupont spoke on *Gratia in Augustine's Sermones ad Populum on Christological Liturgical Feasts*. His presentation centered on two research questions. Firstly, whether Augustine touches upon the topic of grace in his Christological liturgical sermons, which are generally not polemical in tone and if he does so, does he do so in a different way? Secondly, does a current controversy have an observable influence on the content and treatment of *gratia* in these non-controversial sermons, and if so how exactly? After a thorough analysis of the sermons involved, he reached the conclusion that while themes that may be anti-Donatist or anti-Pelagian in inspiration are present in these sermons, they are

mentioned here by Augustine in a non-controversial context, without a polemical purpose.

Isabelle Bochet, in *L'exégèse augustinienne de Jn 6, 44 et la théologie augustinienne de la grâce: le Sermon 131 et la 26^e Homélie sur l'Évangile de Jean*, commented on the thesis of M.-F. Berrouard according to which Augustine's *Sermon 131* demonstrates a change in his interpretation of Jn 6, 44 (*Nemo uenit ad me, nisi Pater qui misit me traxerit eum.*) and, correspondingly, in his perspective on grace. The lecturer questioned Berrouard's opinion that in the 26th *Homily on the Gospel according to John*, Augustine describes Christ's attraction as a form of education respecting the free will, while in sermon 131, grace is characterized as a violent force in the human heart. A careful examination of the role Augustine gave in these two works to the human intellect and will in the context of grace, led Prof. Bochet to question whether we really have to admit an evolution in Augustine's conception of grace during the Pelagian controversy.

Alicia Eelen presented a paper titled *La prédestination et la justification. Augustin sur. Rom. 8, 30-31. Analyse des sermons 158-159*. She analyzed the argumentative structures of sermons 158-159, paying special attention to Augustine's presentation of predestination and justification in both sermons. Furthermore, she indicated the textual elements referring to the presence of different types of public as discursive elements that could possibly explain Augustine's use of different argumentative structures.

Diana Stanciu, in her presentation titled *Augustine's Sermon 227 on the Sacraments and the Unity of the Church*, analyzed how the issue of the unity of the Church is treated in sermon 227 in comparison with other Augustinian texts, how this sermon reflects Augustine's views on inner transformation and spiritual ascension in the context of the Eucharist, and how the relationship between the sacraments of Baptism and of the Eucharist is manifested in the text. Finally, a tentative connection with Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings was explored on the basis of the dating of the sermon.

On the first evening, supper was graciously offered by Prof. Walter Geerts and his wife in the *Academia Belgica*.

François Dolbeau opened the session on textual criticism of the second day with his lecture, *Un recueil homilétique sur les Psaumes, en relation avec les psautiers de Vérone et du Sinaï*. Starting from a fifteenth century manuscript (Gdańsk, Mar. F. 227), Prof. Dol-

beau examined the dating of one of the collections (R) represented in this manuscript. Several arguments – the resemblance between R and the Psalters of Verona and Sināi; the resemblance between the model of R and that of late antique collections; the fact the variations show an independence from *De diuersis rebus*; the presence of an original discourse of Caesarius – led Prof. Dolbeau to conclude that R should be dated before the first half of the sixth century and that the Augustinian sermons present in R could be dated even earlier.

Pierre-Maurice Bogaert could not be present at the colloquium in person, but he nevertheless contributed by sending his paper, titled *Les sermons 4 et 88 de saint Augustin: D'Hippone à Fulda?*, to be read. In this paper, P.-M. Bogaert treated the way in which the Augustinian sermons 4 and 88 are presented in the manuscript called the *codex Pithoeanus* – sermon 88 immediately follows sermon 4, while a part of sermon 88 has already been intercalated in sermon 4 – and traced this mode of presentation back to the library of Hippo. Furthermore, comparing the mode of presentation of the Pithou manuscript with the order in which the sermons are presented in Possidius' *Indiculum*, Dom Bogaert showed that editors should not neglect the importance of the *Indiculum* in distinguishing sequences of sermons.

Clemens Weidmann, in *Discovering Augustine's words in Pseudo-Augustinian Sermons*, proposed the use of anonymous or pseudo-Augustinian sermons to reconstruct authentic sermons or sermon fragments which are preserved to us directly either in a limited transmission or not at all. He offered new examples of how the original wording of Augustine's sermons might be amended or completed by recurring to the indirect tradition. Furthermore, he demonstrated that some text passages and even a whole sermon, which were hitherto neglected by editors of Augustine's sermons, are in fact authentic.

Shari Boodts and Gert Partoens presented a paper, *The manuscript transmission of the 'De uerbis apostoli' collection. A new perspective*, in two parts. Firstly Gert Partoens provided an overview of his research on a medieval Augustinian sermon collection, titled *De uerbis apostoli*, offering also a new hypothesis regarding the genesis of the collection. Secondly Shari Boodts offered a new perspective on the collection's stemmatical organization, using sermons without a parallel transmission to indicate that previous

results regarding a hyparchetype posited within the collection's stemma need to be revised.

Volker-Henning Drecoll, in his paper *Der Gebrauch der alttestamentlichen Zitate in Augustins Predigten über das Matthäusevangelium*, treated the frequent use of citations of the Old Testament in Augustine's sermons on the Gospel of Matthew. He paid attention to Augustine's use of Joel 2, 32 in sermons 57, 1 and 56, 1, to continue with the presence of the citation of Ps. 89, 1 in sermon 55, 1-3.5 and the theological consequences of this citation. Finally, Augustine's use of citations from the Prophets and from the book of Wisdom in sermons 53A, 6; 51, 13-15 and 53, 13-15 and their theological importance were discussed.

Uta Heil expressed the wish to start filling the anti-Arian gap in the study of Augustine's sermons with her presentation *Anti-arianisches in den Predigten von Augustinus-eine Problemanzeige*. First, Prof. Heil sketched Augustine's late introduction to the Arian problem. Secondly, the influence of the Arian problem on Augustine's sermons was treated, with special attention to Augustine's sermons on the Gospel of John. Finally, Prof. Heil showed the difficulties one is confronted with when trying to establish a chronology of Augustine's anti-Arian work.

Andrea Bizzozero, in *Les trois naissances du Christ: une christologie des Sermones de saint Augustin*, first described the sermons as the accomplishment of Augustine's theological reflections. The sermons made it possible for Augustine to make the truth accessible to all believers because of the strong link they established between faith and human life. After having given this initial remark, A. Bizzozero examined Augustine's treatment of Christology in the sermons on three levels: the mystery of the Word in the presence of the Father, the mystery of the Word made flesh through the Virgin Mary and the mystery of the Word being incarnated through the faith of the believers.

Jonathan Yates, in his paper *Preaching a Good and Immutable God: Augustine on James 1:17*, analyzed Augustine's view on the doctrine of God's immutability. He did so by examining Augustine's 40-odd references to James 1:17, which Augustine interprets in a particular way. More specifically, Prof. Yates compared the use of this verse in Augustine's philosophical, dogmatic and polemical works with its presence in the *sermones ad populum*, in order to find out whether and how Augustine altered his presentation

of the Bible text when addressing 'regular' people with differing degrees of theological sophistication.

On the second evening of the conference, the participants were invited to a dinner offered by *Brepols Publishers*, preceded by a marvelous organ recital by Prof. Paul Tombeur at *S. Iuliani Flandrensium*, the Royal Belgian Church in Rome. Prof. Tombeur chose a selection of *Musica dei Fiaminghi del Nord e del Sud* (XVII-XX s.).

Paul Mattei presented a paper titled *Notes sur le Sermon CLIII. La loi et la chair. De la lutte contre les manichéens à la controverse anti-pélagienne: les choix d'Augustin*. In this paper, Prof. Mattei first provided a detailed rhetorical analysis of sermon 153, paying much attention to Augustine's treatment of *lex* and *caro* and to the turning point of the sermon, where Augustine stops refuting the Manichees and starts fighting the Pelagians. The analysis of sermon 153 then led to broader reflections on the continuity between the two Testaments expressed in this sermon, on its date, on the influence of polemic debates and of pastoral activity on Augustine's sermon and on the influence of the public.

Pierre-Marie Hombert, in his paper *Homo-Deus. La prédication sur le Verbe incarné dans les sermons augustinien pour Noël et l'Ascension. Rhétorique et théologie*, first indicated that the sermons Augustine pronounced on the occasion of the important liturgical feasts were often short and focused mainly on the mystery that was celebrated. Furthermore, it was indicated that Augustine made use of rhetorical means (mainly those used to defend a cause) to show the truth of the celebrated mystery. These characteristics of this specific group of sermons being affirmed, Prof. Hombert presented a rhetorical analysis of three sermons pronounced at the occasion of the liturgical feasts of Christmas and Ascension (*serm.* 186, 192, Mai 98), paying much attention to the way in which Augustine's rhetoric supported the theological content he was delivering.

Stan Rosenberg spoke on the importance of using the notion of oral communication to supplement or revise our interpretation of preachers and their audiences, in his paper *Beside Books: Approaching Augustine's Sermones in the Oral and Textual Cultures of Late Antiquity*. His methodological analysis studied the viability of using sermons – particularly Augustine's sermons – as gateways into the oral and textual cultures of both the elite and the populace of Late Antiquity and stressed the distinctions between sermons and books, as well as the implications of these distinctions.

Peter Van Nuffelen, in his paper *Asking, Seeking, Knocking. Petitioning God in Augustine's Sermons*, drew a comparison between the late antique petition system and the way Christians were encouraged to lay their demands before God, with holy men as intermediaries. Through an analysis of Augustine's sermons on the Lord's prayer (*serm.* 56-59), he showed how the relationship between God and the individual Christian was reconstructed along the lines of that between the emperor and his subject, but also that the ideological foundation of the petition system is a specific identification of hierarchy and morality.

Marleen Verschoren, in her presentation on *Scriptural exegesis: Old Testament and New Testament themes on sinfulness in Augustine's Enarratio in Psalmum 118*, provided an analysis of Augustine's *Enarratio in Psalmum 118*, more specifically of the context in which it was written, of the internal structure of the work, and of the treatment of Biblical passages, particularly of Paul. Her conclusion centered on the avenues of future research still open with regard to this work.

Paul van Geest delivered the final lecture of the conference with his *Confident Reverence. The principal functions of fear in some of Saint Augustine's Sermons*. He proposed a new perspective on Augustine's influence on the experience of fear. Whereas previously, Augustine was regarded as the instigator of a *Logik des Schreckens* through his minimization of human autonomy, freedom and responsibility by stressing the arbitrary nature of God's grace, Prof. van Geest made the provisional proposition – based on an analysis of certain significant passages in his sermons – that Augustine intensified fear in order to evoke hope in the end.

Matthijs Lamberigts closed the colloquium, remarking that it had become clear from the lectures that Augustinian studies still have a lot of work to do in catching "the ever surprising Augustine". Prof. Lamberigts stressed the interdisciplinary character of the colloquium, and, therefore, of Augustinian studies as such, and thanked the institutes and individuals that made the colloquium possible.

On the last evening, the conference organization offered dinner in a restaurant close to the beautiful Piazza del Popolo.

Shari BOODTS & Alicia EELEN
(Leuven)

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